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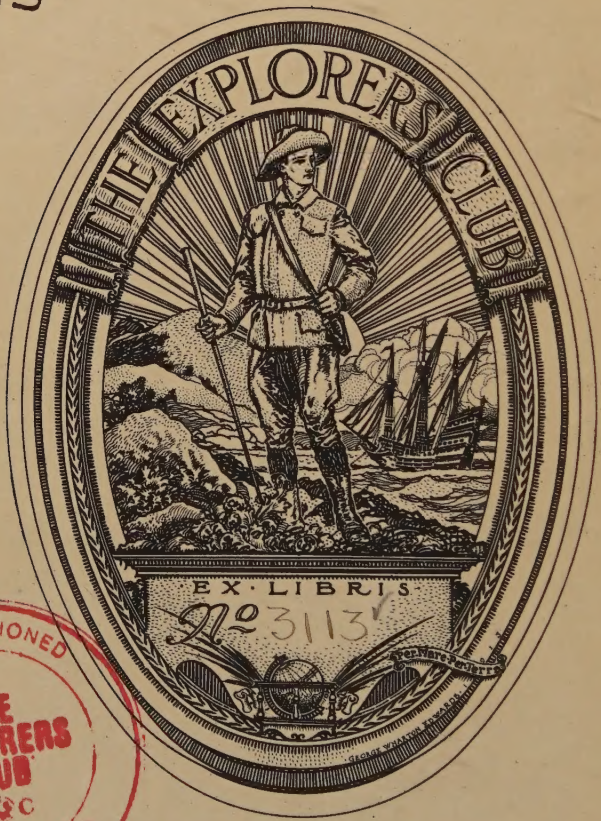
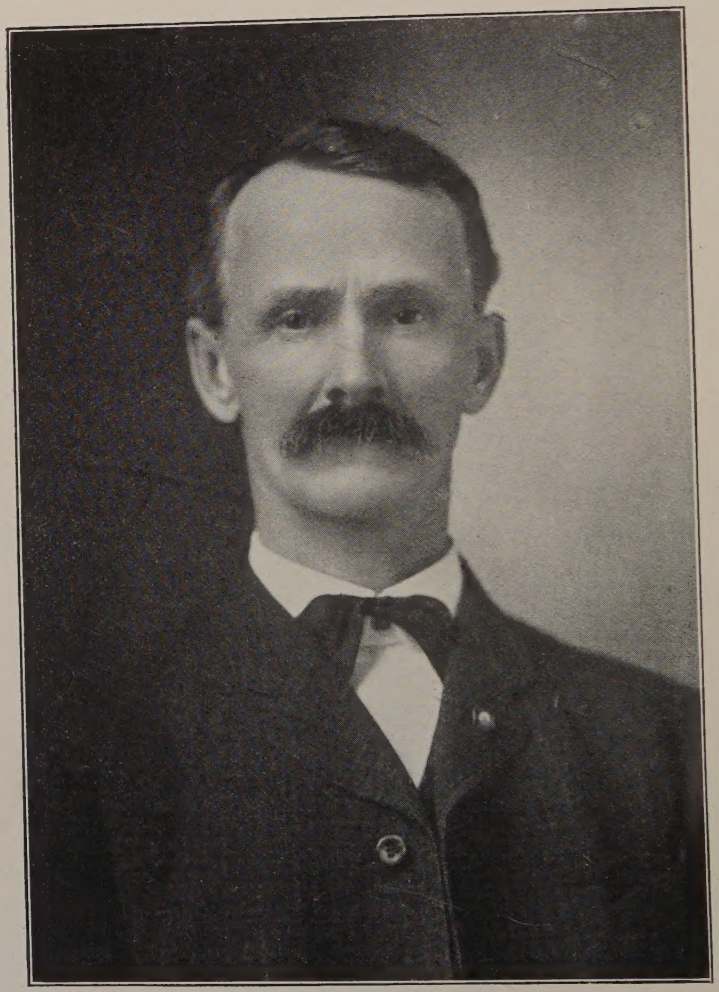


DEACCESSIONED
THE EXPLORERS CLUB
DEACCESSIONED

PRESENTED BY

James B. Ford, Esq.



GOV. SAMUEL H. ELROD, 1905-1907

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SOUTH DAKOTA

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS

COMPILED BY THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME III

1906

1906
NEWS PRINTING COMPANY
ABERDEEN, S. D.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Hon. Samuel H. Elrod, Governor,

Pierre, South Dakota.

Sir: I have the honor to hand you herewith the third biennial report and Collections of the State Historical Society, as required by Section 3285 of the Political Code, this report being for the biennium ending June 30, 1906.

Faithfully,

DOANE ROBINSON,
Secretary.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Thomas M. Shanafelt, President.
Robert F. Kerr, Vice President.
Doane Robinson, Secretary.
Charles B. Collins, ex-officio, Treasurer.

Executive Committee

Charles E. DeLand, term expires 1907.
Burton A. Cummins, term expires 1907.
John Hayes, term expires 1907.
Charles M. Daley, term expires 1907.
Seth Bullock, term expires 1909.
George W. Nash, term expires 1909.
Louis K. Lord, term expires 1909.
Thomas L. Riggs, term expires 1911.
Thomas M. Shanafelt, term expires 1911.
Robert F. Kerr, term expires 1911.
DeLorme W. Robinson, term expires 1911.
Samuel H. Elrod, Governor, ex-officio.
David D. Wipf, Secretary of State, ex-officio.
John F. Halliday, State Auditor, ex-officio.
Doane Robinson, Secretary, ex-officio.

Subordinate Committees

Finance—Cummins, DeLand and Kerr.

Printing—DeLorme W. Robinson, DeLand and the Secretory.

Library—Daley, DeLorme W. Robinson and the Secretary.

Museum—Kerr, Hayes and the Secretary.

Gallery—DeLand, Nash and the Secretary.

MEMBERSHIP

The State Historical Society of South Dakota was duly organized on January 21, 1901, and was chartered as the Department of History by act of the legislature of February 5, 1901. It is composed of the following life, annual, honorary and corresponding members:

LIFE MEMBERS

Thomas O'Gorman, Sioux Falls
Robert F. Kerr, Brookings
Burton A. Cummins, Pierre
David Eastman, Wilmot
Cassius C. Bennett, Pierre
Emiel Brauch, Hurley
C. B. Billinghurst, Pierre
E. E. Collins, Vermillion
Howard C. Shober, Highmore
William H .Roddle, Brookings
Isaac Lincoln, Aberdeen
Coe I. Crawford, Huron
Frank Crane, Watertown
Robert J. Gamble, Yankton
John Hayes, Fort Pierre
John Schamber, Freeman
Joseph M. Greene, Chamberlain
Dick Haney, Mitchell
Robert E. McDowell, Yankton
Pattison F. McClure, Pierre
E. P. Farr, Pierre
Louis G. Ochsenreiter, Webster
Charles M. Daley, Huron
John D. Lavin, Aberdeen
Frank A. Morris, Huron
James D. Elliott, Tyndall
John T. Kean, Woonsocket
Nathan P. Johnson, Vinita, I. T.
Charles L. Hyde, Pierre
F. W. Boettcher, Eureka
John E. Hipple, Pierre
Seth Bullock, Deadwood
James D. Reeves, Groton
L. B. Albright, Pierre
Charles H. Burke, Pierre
Louis K. Lord, Parker
Garrett Droppers, Vermillion
George V. Ayres, Deadwood
John Sutherland, Pierre
Thomas M. Shanafelt, Huron
Charles N. Herreid, Aberdeen
John Q. Anderson, Crow Creek Ag'cy
Thomas L. Riggs, Oahe
E. H. Wilson, Salem
George W. Snow, Springfield
Mrs. George W. Snow, Springfield
Ellery C. Chilcott, Brookings
Charles E. DeLand, Pierre
Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, Pierre
Doane Robinson, Pierre
G. J. Schellenger, Selby
Marcus P. Beebe, Ipswich
James Halley, Rapid City
Samuel Grant Dewell, Pierre
John Westdahl, Huron
B. F. Pucket, Hosmer
Herman Ellerman, Aberdeen
Charles B. Foncanon, Eureka
Theodore F. Riggs, Oahe
Cephas W. Ainsworth, Oak Park, Ill.
Charles E. McKinney, Sioux Falls
James M. Brown, Eureka
Walter M. Cheever, Brookings
Ben C. Ash, Pierre
David E. Lloyd, Yankton
Horace G. Tilton, Vermillion
David Williams, Webster
Edmund Cook, Wilmot
O. S. Swenson, Sioux Falls
Philip Lawrence, Huron
John D. Logan, New York City
Ernest J. Warner, Leslie
Joseph William Parmley, Ipswich
Charles Bartlett Kennedy, Canton
William Herbert Thrall, Huron
Charles A. Howard, Aberdeen
Thomas M. Goddard, Hot Springs
Morris A. Lange, Canistota
Abraham L. VonOsdel, Mission Hill
George Grosvenor Lasell, Waubay
Edward Ashley, Cheyenne Agency
Robert Person, Washington, D. C.
G. T. Notson, Pierre
Mary Noyes Farr, Pierre
Myrtle Richmond, Ree Heights
Dr. Richard L. Smith, Ree Heights
George W. Nash, Aberdeen
Irwin Dayton Aldrich, Big Stone
Eben W. Martin, Deadwood
William Peake Dunlevy, Pierre
Ferdinand J Goodfellow, Brookings
Thomas Sterling Vermillion
Joseph Mills Hanson, St. Louis, Mo.
Wilmer David Nelson, Pierre

HONORARY MEMBERS

Pierre Chouteau, St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. John P. Williamson, Greenwood

ANNUAL MEMBERS

J. H. Maynard, Waubay
Henry Kimball Warren, Yankton
Eugene Huntington, Webster
Willis Bower, Washington, D. C.
Frank L. Fuller, Pierre
James Chalmers, Brookings
Agnes C. Laut, Wassaic, N. Y.
John F. Schroeder, Rapid City
Robert C. Hayes, Deadwood
Ernest May, Lead
J. L. Knowles, Sioux Falls
A. Clarence Hipple, Pierre
Johnston Jeffries, Pierre
M. F. Greeley, Gary

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Reuben Gold Thwaite, Madison, Wisconsin
Warren Upham, St. Paul, Minnesota
Charles Aldrich, DesMoines, Iowa
Grace King, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Jay Amos Barrett, Lincoln, Nebraska

MEMBERS WHO HAVE DIED

John L. Pyle, February 21, 1902
Newman Curtis Nash, February 8, 1905
Sidney Russell Gold, March 6, 1905
Otto C. Berg, August 1, 1905
Moses Kimball Armstrong, 1905

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand in society's private fund, July 1, 1904	$ 141.66
Received from membership fees	58.00
Received from sale of books	18.35
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1905	2,900.00
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1906	3,520.00
Total revenue for biennium	$6,638.01

DISBURSEMENTS

Secretary's salary, two years	$2,800.00	
Curator's salary, two years	1,320.00	
Clerks and assistants	313.84	
Express, freight and dray	127.20	
Stationery and postage	236.59	
Incidental expense	148.93	
Museum	146.17	
Library	897.21	
Gallery	59.25	
Furniture and fixtures	531.17	
Railway fares	37.28	
Hotel bills	18.65	
Balance in society's private fund	1.79	
		$6,638.01

PROCEEDINGS

The second biennial meeting of the State Historical Society was held in the hall of the house of representatives at the capitol on the evening of January 18, 1905. President Thomas L. Riggs presided and Governor Samuel H. Elrod occupied a seat upon the stage. Prayer was offered by Dr. Horace V. Tilden of the First Baptist church. Dr. Riggs presented the president's biennial address and the biennial oration was delivered by Dr. John P. Williamson of Greenwood, an honorary member of the society. Dr. Williamson's address is printed in this volume.

Thomas L. Riggs, Thomas M. Shanafelt, DeLorme W. Robinson and Robert F. Kerr were by ballot unanimously elected to succeed themselves as members of the executive committee for the term ending January, 1911.

At the close of the biennial meeting the executive committee met and elected Thomas M. Shanafelt, D. D., president for the ensuing term, and Robert F. Kerr vice president.

The regular standing committees as elsewhere published were duly appointed.

GENERAL PROGRESS

The biennium has been a period of continued progress and growth in the affairs of the department. Its activities have been varied and successful. In its historical society work much has been accomplished in the development and verification of historic fact; in its museum many specimens and relics illustrative of historic incidents, persons or epochs have been secured; there have been some additions to the gallery of portraiture and the library has received many accessions.

The State Census

The responsibility for taking and compiling the second census of the state was placed upon this department by the last legislature. The work taxed the energies of the department for the greater portion of the year 1905, but the result in providing an exhaustive and authoritative census of the population and productions of the state quite justifies, it is believed, the effort and expense. The tables of population are presented with great assurance of their accuracy as a very complete representation of the actual population of the state at the date of enumeration, correctly classified as contemplated by the census act. The tables of agricultural productions are believed to give with approximate accuracy the acreage and yield of crops and the number of live stock.

As an incident of the census this department has preserved the enumeration cards upon which the census was taken and has arranged the same in a monster cabinet, alphabetically, giving us for easy reference a memorandum, giving name, residence, age, color, sex, occupation, ability to read or write, other personal description, birthplace, and birthplace of parents, of every person residing in South Dakota at the date of taking said census, May 1, 1905. This information is invaluable from

a historic point of view and is of constant practical value to citizens who desire to trace missing relatives and friends.

Vital Statistics

The legislature, too, provided that this department should superintend and record the vital statistics of the state. As provided by the statute, a separate report is made of the results of this compilation, but it may be said here, that while involving a large amount of labor which has been a severe tax upon the slender means of the department, the results attained have been most satisfactory. The wisdom of the law has certainly been amply demonstrated. The records of this are kept in substantial books, each birth, death, marriage, divorce and naturalization numbered consecutively and the whole indexed by a card system for easy reference. Daily they are more and more consulted by the people and the demand for certified copies of records is constantly becoming more of a tax upon the time of the superintendent.

The statute makes the records of the vital statistics bureau prima facie evidence of the facts stated in the courts of the state. I think that certified copies of the record should be made prima facie evidence and that the law should be amended in that particular.

State Library

The last legislature also made the secretary of the Department of History ex-officio state librarian, and defined the state library "to consist of the books, papers and documents collected by the State Historical Society and the miscellaneous collection of books, papers and documents hitherto in the custody of the secretary of state, and exclusive of the library of the supreme court."

As soon after the law went into effect as it was possible to secure the necessary shelving, the secretary of state turned over to this department all of the property of the state library and it was removed to the rooms assigned to its use upon the upper floor of the capitol. This collection was chiefly documentary, comprising a broken set of the government publications and broken sets of the publications of most of the states. Some of the state sets are nearly complete, as is the case of New York

and Massachusetts, while of the publications of some states only occasional volumes appear.

Of the government publications in what is known as the Congressional Sheep Set, I found the list practically complete from the Forty-second congress (1872-73) forward, but nothing prior to that time. The matter was at once taken up with the superintendent of documents at Washington and he was able to supply us with a large portion of the set from the beginning of the government, so with the addition of the purchase of some of the state papers and archives we have the Congressional Sheep Set complete with the exception of 563 scattering volumes. While we hope to yet be able to fill the set, there is some doubt of our ability to do so, as the publications of the earlier congresses are not longer available at Washington and the only manner in which they may be secured is through purchase from second hand dealers.

Several hundred volumes of this set supplied to us by the superintendent of documents are in bad condition and should be rebound.

We found it impossible to provide shelf room for a large number of state publications and the reports of the patent office, which have been stored in the basement and in closets. The patent office reports should be made available for examination, as they are much resorted to by inventors and their attorneys, but because of lack of room and the great weight of these documents, it has not been expedient to keep them in position.

The superintendent of documents has supplied a complete and very convenient catalogue of the Congressional Sheep Set, of which we have availed ourselves the use, but owing to the pressure of other duties it has been impossible to catalogue the state publications and miscellaneous books. However, a personal knowledge of the general contents of most of these books has made it possible to assist most inquirers in securing the authorities desired.

While most of the states have signified a willingness to as far as possible complete to us sets of their publications, lack of space has rendered it inexpedient to receive them at this time.

About three hundred newspapers and periodicals are received into the library regularly and are carefully preserved

and bound. These publications are supplied gratis by publishers, to whom thanks are due. Some of the files of the long established publications are housed in the fireproof safe, but generally we are compelled to leave them without protection.

We have a large and constantly accumulating quantity of periodicals, reports, bulletins, proceedings of state bodies and similar publications of great historic interest, which we have been unable to bind from lack of funds. We also have in prospect the custody of unbound files of several long established newspapers, which must be bound for preservation. This demand for binding will increase with each year of the life of the department, and it is earnestly recommended, in the interest of economy, that a small bindery be procured and placed in charge of a competent person, who can keep up all the binding necessary for the department at relatively small expense and have some leisure to devote to the care of the newspaper department.

In sorting up the miscellaneous books turned over by the secretary of state about one thousand volumes of duplicate documents were found. Some of these are old, rare and valuable. Under the provision of the statute which provides that "the librarian may sell or exchange any duplicate works which may be or come into possession of the state library," the librarian has advertised these duplicates for sale, but has not found a purchaser. As stated, many of these are too valuable to destroy, but in the crowded condition of the state house they occupy valuable space, are much in the way, and what disposal to make of them is a serious problem.

The library at present consists of a few more than fifteen thousand bound volumes, besides pamphlets and unbound documents. The public more and more avails itself of the library for reference as the fact that it has been made available becomes known.

Educational Exhibit

At the close of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904, the educational exhibit made there by the schools and colleges of South Dakota, together with the cabinets in which the exhibit was disposed, were turned over to this society by the exposition commissioners, and the same makes a valuable addition to the museum of the society. The exhibit consist of

fourteen large cabinets filled with written examinations, drawings, photographs, maps and manual productions. There is in addition a considerable exhibit of basketry. The majority of counties and the chief city schools and colleges are represented.

Mineral Exhibit

Under the provision of the statute creating the Louisiana Purchase commission and providing money for the state exhibit, it is provided that the mineral exhibit to be made at the exposition shall be the property of the state and placed upon permanent display at the capitol building, the said mineral exhibit was turned over to this society. It consists of a large quantity of ores of precious and base metals from the principal mines of the state and is kept upon exhibition in the museum.

Philippine Museum

In the autumn of 1904 we set out to collect a museum of relics of the campaign of the First South Dakota regiment in the Philippines. The plan adopted was to request from every member of the regiment one or more relics. The response was not so general as hoped, but nevertheless a quite extensive collection was secured by gift and loan. It consists of guns and other weapons captured, the native weapons of the Philippines, domestic utensils of native make, flags, fabrics, wares, curiosities and ornamental goods, including the large individual collection of Mr. Ed. Phares of Pierre, which is loaned to the society, and the Hodson crayon portraits of the officers and men of the regiment in many evolutions, loaned by Chaplain Daley.

Indian Collection

The effort to secure a representative exhibit of the native utensils and manufactures of the Sioux and Ree Indians has been continued and many interesting additions have been made to the collection, chiefly by purchase. The effort has been principally directed to securing the native domestic utensils and weapons of the Sioux, made and used by them before coming

into the use of the white man's wares, and our museum now contains a fairly representative line of these things.

As representative of the Ree Indians, who were the primitive settlers of South Dakota, we have many flint and stone arrows and stone and bone implements, some bone beads and bone shovels and hoes.

Annual Reviews

The secretary has continued the policy adopted with the foundation of the society of publishing about the first of December in each year a review of the progress of the state for the preceding year, setting down in an orderly way the chief events, the course of legislation affecting the state, the progress of education, financial and industrial conditions, and particularly the character and yield of crops. The society's approximation of the value of agricultural productions is accepted as the best authority upon the subject, and so far as it is possible to verify them, these approximations have been generally correct. The fourth and fifth reviews, for the years 1904 and 1905, respectively, are printed herewith.

Correspondence

The correspondence of the society is constantly growing in volume and is a tax upon a considerable portion of the time of the secretary, inasmuch as the funds do not justify the employment of a stenographer. This correspondence covers a wide range of topics, since the public more and more regard the department as a bureau of general information, and it has been the constant study of the secretary to be prepared to supply authoritative information upon every topic relating to the state which does not come immediately under the jurisdiction of some of the other established offices. The census and vital statistics departments add very materially to the volume of the correspondence. All letters, however trivial, are carefully preserved by the vertical filing system.

Rooms Occupied

The affairs of the department now crowd six rooms on the second floor of the capitol, besides a large overflow into the halls, the house of representatives and the basement. The plans for the new capitol provide very generous storage rooms for the department in the basement, with reasonable room upon the first or ground floor for the library and museum. It is inevitable that within a few years even greater room than the new capitol can give us will be demanded, but for a considerable period the provision in that building can be made to answer.

Assistants

Mr. Goodfellow, who most efficiently served the department as curator for two and a half years, resigned on January 1, 1906. The salary provided by law is insufficient to secure the services of so capable a man.

Being thus left without a curator and unable to secure another efficient one at the salary which could be offered, it was determined to employ two young lady clerks, by adding to the appropriation for a curator's salary a sum drawn from the appropriation for general expense, sufficient to provide wages for both.

Miss Hazel Muckler, who had proven herself exceptionally efficient in the census work, was placed in charge of the vital statistics records, and Miss Sadie Notson given supervision of the newspapers and general indexing. I wish here to express my appreciation of the efficiency both of Mr. Goodfellow and of these ladies in their respective departments.

The society receives frequent requests from lawyers and owners of real estate asking that legal notices be cut from the newspapers on file in this office to complete legal records. We have constantly refused to thus mutilate our files, but in many instances the copies here are the only ones in existence of newspapers containing important legal notices, upon which frequently the title to real estate rests. I believe it would be in the public interest if certified copies of legal notices or other documents in the possession of the Department of History, made by an officer of the department and certified under the seal of the department, be made prima facie evidence in every case

where such notice or document be required. A reasonable fee should be required for making such copies, to be paid into the general fund of the society.

Deceased Members

Since the last report of this society was made public five life members have received the last summons: Newman Curtis Nash, who died at his home in Canton on February 8, 1905; Sidney Russell Gold of Big Stone, who died, March 6, 1905, and Otto C. Berg of Redfield, whose death occurred at his home in Redfield on August 1, 1905. The other death referred to was that of Hon. M. K. Armstrong of St. James, Minnesota, an honorary member. Mr. Armstrong was the founder and secretary of the Historical Society of Dakota Territory; wrote a history of the state, and his later work, The Early Empire Builders of the Great West, which related entirely to the early history of this section of Dakota, and of which he presented this society several hundred copies. Mr. Armstrong was also a member of several of the early Dakota legislatures, was territorial adjutant general, auditor, and finally delegate in congress from 1870 to 1874. For many years he has been a banker at St. James.

Inaugurating a practice, which it is hoped the society will be able to continue, dignified studies of the life work of each of the deceased members, carefully prepared by persons in every way qualified to do the subject justice, are presented in this volume.

The Collections

As usual, and in conformity to the statutory requirement, there is appended to this volume several historical papers prepared during the biennium by members and others interested in historical topics. The memoirs of General Beadle and the Aborigines of South Dakota are each works of vast historic interest. The memoirs of Colonel John Pattee and a history of the early land surveys in South Dakota, both of which have been edited for this volume, have necessarily been deferred to another volume by reason of the lack of space.

It is with real satisfaction that the department submits its third biennial report. In view of the accomplishments and the recognized usefulness of the Department of History, it feels that its existence is amply justified and it believes that it is entitled to reasonable support as one of the state's great educational institutions.

DOANE ROBINSON,
Secretary.

CONTRIBUTIONS SINCE JULY 1, 1904

Bonney, George H., Sanborn county—Framed photograph of collection of jack rabbits.

Brown, Mrs. Thomas, Pierre—Twenty-three pre-glacial specimens.

Crane, Frank, Pierre—Letter from Theodore Roosevelt, when governor of New York, 1900.

Cummins, Burton A.—Geneology of Cummins family in America, compiled by A. O. Cummins of Montpelier, Vermont.

Cummings, Frank I., Yankton—Time table No. 8, Dakota Southern railway, 1873.

Elrod, Governor Samuel H.—Autograph letters from Governor A. C. Mellette.

French, Kathryn M., Elk Point—Three photographs, illustrative of the old and new court houses in Union county.

Gurney, D. B., Elk Point—Photographs showing corn grown in Union county.

Hauge, Rev. Lars J.—Miscellaneous collection of geological and anthropological speciments contained in two trunks.

Hayes, John, Fort Pierre—Trapper's hatchet found on site of old Fort Pierre.

Herreid, Charles N.—Collection of photographs illustrative of launching battle ship South Dakota.

Shotgun long Governor Herreid's hunting companion.

Typewritten sketch of organization of McPherson county.

Framed photograph illustrating killing of last wild buffalo by Governor Herreid, Scotty Philip, Thomas Phillips, Ernest J. Warner and others.

Hewitt, Seth, Arlington—Coat and vest worn by Corporal David W. Edwards of Eighth Wisconsin infantry in civil war.

Likeness of "Old Abe," famous war eagle.

Howard, N. E., Pierre—Vertebra of pre-glacial mammoth.

Hump's band of Minneconjou Sioux—Illuminated skin tepee.

Six Indian saddles.

Many domestic utensils of Sioux manufacture.

Latta, Captain John—Sash worn by him in civil war.

Briarwood pipe dug up at Pittsburg Landing.

Lange, Morris A.—Fragment from walls of fort at St. Augustine, Florida.

Mellette, Mrs. Arthur C.—Symbolic banners representing North Dakota and South Dakota at Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1903.

Silk ties worn by Governor Mellette at his first inaugural.

Nash, Mrs. George W.—Colored parasol used in Mitchell capital campaign, 1904.

Patton, F. A., Artesian—Case of mounted prairie grouse, exhibited at Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904.

Peterson, E. Frank, Vermillion—Atlas of South Dakota, Atlas of Beadle county, Atlas of Charles Mix county, Atlas of Edmunds county.

Plowman, A. J., Deadwood—Revolver found on body of famous chief Spotted Tail at time of his death in 1881.

Many affidavits and other documents used in trial of Crow Dog for murder of Spotted Tail.

Robinson, Dr. DeLorme W.—Many Ree Indian relics.

Remington's painting "The Fight at the Waterholes."

Robinson, Harry A., Pierre—Skin of rattlesnake brought from Florida.

Sherwood, Carter P., and Professor Shepard—Pure food exhibit at Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Smelzer, J. H., Aberdeen—Stone axe.

Thompson, Mrs. May Abbott—Two decorated hide provision bags, made by Brules.

Pew from old post chapel at Fort Randall.

Torper, E. L., Clark—Tanning implement made from gun barrel, found at Deep Creek, near Leslie.

Warner, Ernest J., Cheyenne River Agency—Bone tanning implement.

Warner, Mrs. Ernest J.—War club.

PHILIPPINE RELICS

We have also received the following relics of the campaign of the First South Dakota Volunteer Infantry in the Philippines, donated or loaned by members of the regiment:

Beckwith, Captain Edward—Filipino soldier's provision box. Gun flints.

Bisher, C. E., Aberdeen—Filipino razor found in deserted barbarsho at Malalos. Model of shoes worn by Filipino middle class.

Daley, Charles M.—The Hodson gallery of pictures of officers and evolutions of Frist regiment (loaned).

Hendrickson, Emanual, Pierre—Tobacco pipe from Manila and inlaid box from Japan.

Howard, Colonel Charles A., Aberdeen—Gavel made from wood from Block House No. 4, near Manila.

Huntington, Fred G., Aberdeen—Native spear used in Filipino insurrection of 1890.

Kelley, Ed. M., Aberdeen—Bullets fired in attack upon Manila.

Kettell, Burt—Bullets found on Marilao battlefield. Bugler's emblem found on battlefield of Calumpit. Dish made from shells.

Frost, Colonel Alfred S.—Gold watch carried in Philippines.

Johnson, Siver, Watertown—Poisoned cartridge; shell from Cavite; pair of dice found in Aguinaldo's residence; spike from Fort Cavite; button from uniform of ex-king of Hawaii; three coins; ivory tips for canes.

Mowry, Harry J., Watertown—Gun captured at LaLoma church; gun captured at Block House No. 4; the first gun taken from the enemy by South Dakotans.

Murry, Henry, Sturgis—Roster of Spanish seamen captured by Admiral Dewey in Manila harbor. Other Spanish documents.

Phares, Ed., Pierre—Collection of fifty pieces; piece of wood from old Fort Pierre; tip of Big Foot's medicine pole (loaned).

Pratt, Hiram A., Aberdeen—Roster of Company F.

Rahskopf, George W., Aberdeen—Dagger made from jaw of swordfish, found on Filipino soldier at Bagbag River.

Rahskopf, Noah P., Aberdeen—Bolo and sheath captured from officer at Block House No. 4.

Reaman, W. W., Aberdeen—Bolo found at Marilao.

Richmond, Leon, Aberdeen—Shrapnel found in arsenal at Cavite.

Sheldon, Palmer D., Aberdeen—Waterproof cape and apron made of fiber.

Smith, H. S.—A day's record of cable messages at Manila.

Willey, S.—Set of Filipino carpenter's tools.

Waterman, A. E., Orient—Kahki coat worn by him; Spanish cartridge box.

Wales, Captain Boyd, Howard—Collection of 113 Filipino and Japanese coins.

FOURTH ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOUTH DAKOTA FOR 1904

The State Historical Society takes pride in presenting herewith its Fourth Annual Review of the Progress of the State, and congratulates South Dakota upon continued excellent conditions and another year of prosperity and happiness.

Two circumstances, each unique in itself, have made the year notable in this state. The first of these was the opening of a portion of the Rosebud Indian Reservation to settlement, and the remarkable rush of homeseekers who desired to secure locations upon these fertile lands. The section opened by act of congress comprised about 416,000 acres in Gregory county, off of the east end of the reservation, and it was from the outset apparent that many more applicants would desire to make entry than could be accommodated upon the small tract opened. The officials of the general land office, therefore, under the direction of the president, determined to distribute the lands by lot, and to that end established registration offices at Bonesteel, Chamberlain, Fairfax and Yankton, where each applicant could register, and from the names so registered lots should decide who should be entitled to enter lands, until all available homesteads were taken. These registration offices were opened at the places named on July 5th and continued open until the evening of July 23d. The registration was large beyond all expectation, 106,296 applications being entered, while only 2,400 homesteads of 160 acres were available. The drawing by lot began at Chamberlain upon July 28th and was conducted under the direct supervision of Commissioner Richards of the general land office, and was so eminently fair that no criticism of it was made by the many thousands of disappointed applicants.

The Battle of Bonesteel—During the registration the village authorities of Bonesteel, near the edge of the ceded lands, sold concessions to gamblers and fakirs, and a vast multitude of adventurers and dangerous characters assembled there. These desperadoes became so insolent and high-handed in their operations that property and life were soon placed in jeopardy. By the 20th of July the situation had become so desperate that an organized effort was undertaken to drive the gamblers and thugs away. In this movement some of the more decent of the gamblers

were leaders. The armed forces of the two parties faced each other, the toughs slowly retring before the determined advance of the authorities and their allies. The place was cleared, but not without bloodshed. Several volleys were fired and one gambler was killed and two others severely wounded.

Capital Removal Campaign—The second circumstance of great note in South Dakota during the year was the campaign for the removal of the state capital from its present location at Pierre to the city of Mitchell. This movement was undertaken upon the submission of a constitutional amendment for ratification or rejection by the people, and in the last weeks of the campaign the movement was picturesque and of intense interest to everyone. The Northwestern railway company enlisted its powerful influence in behalf of Pierre, and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul company took up the fight in behalf of Mitchell. Each road began to run free excursions to the respective cities concerned, and before the close of the campaign approximately 100,000 visitors were thus carried to each town. Pierre was successful in retaining the capital. At this writing the vote has not been officially canvassed by the state board, but the following table is semi-official and is approximately correct:

COUNTIES	Pierre	Mitchell
Aurora	174	915
Beadle	2,146	351
Bon Homme	954	1,458
Brookings	2,247	630
Brown	2,861	1,200
Brule	317	1,012
Buffalo	135	62
Butte	891	189
Campbell	* 414	.....
Charles Mix	1,103	1,532
Clark	1,292	596
Clay	1,150	1,038
Codington	1,965	401
Custer	678	102
Davison	89	2,204
Day	1,590	1,278
Deuel	1,217	431
Douglas	232	1,013
Edmunds	702	460
Fall River	929	114
Faulk	832	118
Grant	1,167	705
Gregory	636	333
Hamlin	1,074	472
Hand	1,064	151
Hanson	165	1,169
Hughes	1,324	13
Hutchinson	277	1,943
Hyde	578	18
Jerauld	389	476
Kingsbury	1,794	556
Lake	1,080	1,156

COUNTIES	Pierre	Mitchell
Lawrence	4,109	1,625
Lincoln	1,256	1,814
Lyman	1,021	295
Marshall	992	465
McCook	640	1,434
McPherson	520	380
Meade	839	210
Miner	741	698
Minnehaha	3,195	2,761
Moody	1,146	800
Pennington	1,257	309
Potter	* 724	.....
Roberts	1,848	1,176
Sanborn	355	1,006
Spink	1,877	958
Stanley	861	61
Sully	438	10
Turner	1,386	1,639
Union	1,137	1,494
Walworth	* 381	.....
Yankton	1,561	1,216
Totals	57,800	40,600
Pierre's majority	17,200	.....

* Pierre's majority only is given.

Population—After several years of experimentation in approximating the population from the vote, directories, school attendance and other usual bases, with results which time has demonstrated were too liberal, everything has been abandoned as a basis of calculation except the school census, which in the main is honestly taken and appears to be the one invariable standard. The federal census of 1900, showing a total population of 401,570, was taken contemporaneously with the school census of that year, which showed a total school population of 120,907. The school census of 1904 was taken in June and indicates a school population of 135,590. Applying the rules of simple proportion: as the school census of 1904 is to the school census of 1900, so the total population of 1904 must be to the total population of 1900. By this process, and allowing for a slight deviation due to fractional percentages in the counties, the present population is 459,944, as of June, 1904. With the state census due in June next it is becoming to be very careful in population estimates, and the annexed tables of population are given as an approximation which may be compared with the state census when taken. The rate of increase is about 3 per cent annually:

Table Showing Federal Census for 1900, the School Census for 1900 and 1904 and Approximate Population June, 1904, by Counties

COUNTIES	Population Federal Census 1900	School Census June, 1900	School Census June, 1904	Per Cent of Gain Four Years	Approximate Present Population
Aurora	4,011	1,332	1,554	17	4,693
Beadle	8,081	2,524	2,964	17	9,454
Bon Homme	10,379	3,513	3,785	7	11,105
Brookings	12,561	4,205	4,682	11	13,943
Brown	15,286	4,756	5,629	19	18,290
Brule	5,401	1,695	1,802	6	5,725
Buffalo	1,790	206	214	0.4	1,998
Butte	2,907	639	825	27	3,692
Campbell	4,527	1,640	1,819	11	5,025
Charles Mix	8,498	1,609	3,199	99	16,898
Clark	6,942	2,084	2,740	31	9,094
Clay	9,316	2,925	2,759	* 5	8,860
Codington	8,770	2,890	3,256	12	9,822
Custer	2,728	909	951	4	2,837
Davison	7,483	2,021	2,305	14	8,531
Day	12,254	3,880	4,472	15	14,092
Deuel	6,656	2,143	2,355	10	7,321
Douglas	5,012	1,683	1,949	16	5,814
Edmunds	4,916	1,122	1,798	60	7,865
Fall River	3,541	915	1,226	33	4,599
Faulk	3,547	1,107	1,290	16	4,114
Grant	9,103	3,038	3,381	11	10,104
Gregory	2,211	690	1,099	70	3,759
Hamlin	5,945	1,920	2,449	27	7,555
Hand	4,525	1,540	1,645	7	4,842
Hanson	4,947	1,627	1,783	9	5,392
Hughes	3,684	965	912	* 5	3,500
Hutchinson	11,897	4,611	4,740	3	12,254
Hyde	1,492	516	616	20	1,790
Jerauld	2,798	900	1,064	18	3,302
Kingsbury	9,866	3,384	3,654	9	10,754
Lake	9,137	3,142	3,260	4	9,502
Lawrence	17,897	5,217	6,147	17	20,939
Lincoln	12,161	3,976	4,193	5	12,769
Lyman	2,632	507	1,009	100	5,264
Marshall	5,942	2,882	3,391	17	7,451
McCook	8,689	2,437	3,060	25 ?	10,861
McPherson	6,327	1,803	2,100	16	7,339
Meade	4,907	1,482	1,418	* 4	4,711
Miner	5,864	2,182	2,093	* 4	5,630
Minnehaha	23,926	7,602	8,375	10	26,318
Moody	8,326	2,615	2,732	4	8,659
Pennington	5,610	1,639	1,646	0	5,610
Potter	2,988	977	956	* 2	2,929
Roberts	12,216	3,330	4,052	21	14,781
Sanborn	4,464	1,474	1,630	11	4,955
Spink	9,487	2,789	3,145	12	10,262
Stanley	1,341	530	629	19	1,594
Sully	1,715	280	459	64 ?	2,813
Turner	13,175	4,596	4,720	2	13,438
Union	11,153	3,491	3,531	1	11,264
Walworth	3,839	1,140	1,460	28	5,014
Yankton	12,648	3,827	3,904	2	12,901
Armstrong	8	.....	.....	.....	8
Total	385,527	120,907	135,590	12	441,736
RESERVATIONS					
Cheyenne River	2,357	.....	.....	.....	2,880
Pine Ridge	6,827	.....	.....	.....	7,646
Rosebud	5,201	.....	.....	.....	5,825
Standing Rock (part)	1,658	.....	.....	.....	1,857
Total	401,570	.....	.....	.....	459,944

* Loss.

There has been much more speculation about the growth of the towns and cities than of the state at large. Therefore the following table has been prepared, applying the school census ratio to the population of the towns. It will be noted that a few are questioned (?). This is for the reason that the reported school census seems unduly large. In some instances this may be accounted for upon the theory that the children attending institutions located at the town have probably been counted in the school census, but in one or two cases there has been no apparent growth of the place to justify so large an apparent increase.

Table Showing Population in 1900 of Cities Having More Than 400 People at that Date, with School Census for 1900 and 1904 and Approximate Population as of June, 1904

CITIES	Population Federal Census 1900	School Census June, 1900	School Census June, 1904	Per Cent of Gain Four Years	Present Approximate Population
Aberdeen	4,087	1,181	1,727	46	5,967
Alexandria	680	222	286	28	870
Arlington	314	171	234	36	427
Armour	912	233	354	51 ?	1,377
Beresford	858	283	317	12	961
Brookings	2,346	716	1,003	40	3,284
Bridgewater	691	261	234	* 10	622
Britton	519	160	208	30	674
Bryant	405	131	237	81 ?	733
Canton	1,943	706	794	12	2,176
Castlewood	430	137	198	45	623
Centerville	871	342	372	8	941
Chamberlain	874	258	381	47 ?	1,285
Clark	684	218	290	33	910
Custer	714	232	266	14	814
Clear Lake	491	141	219	55	741
Deadwood	3,498	1,173	1,565	33	4,652
Dell Rapids	1,255	412	460	10	1,380
DeSmet	749	245	271	10	822
Elk Point	1,081	404	385	* 4	1,038
Eureka	961	318	272	* 13	836
Flandreau	1,244	416	485	14	1,418
Faulkton	539	158	190	20	647
Fort Pierre	395	143	211	47	581
Groton	700	271	389	43	1,001
Huron	2,793	887	1,067	20	3,351
Hot Springs	1,319	332	518	56 ?	2,057
Howard	588	223	270	22	717
Lake Preston	706	188	281	49	1,052
Lead	6,210	1,609	1,919	19	7,390
Madison	2,550	736	840	14	2,907
Mitchell	4,055	910	994	9	4,420
Miller	544	174	230	32	718
Marion	420	242	372	53	640
Milbank	1,426	443	550	24	1,768
Parker	893	365	437	19	1,062
Pierre	2,306	546	591	8	2,490
Rapid City	1,342	514	639	24	1,564
Redfield	1,015	264	398	50	1,552
Sioux Falls	10,266	3,020	3,575	18	12,114
Sisseton	928	265	326	23	1,141
Salem	741	196	252	28	948
Sturgis	1,100	542	411	* 5	1,045
Scotland	964	362	400	10	1,060
Spearfish	1,166	603	703	16	1,352
Tyndall	1,167	363	414	15	1,342
Watertown	3,355	1,014	1,148	13	3,790
Woonsocket	648	218	261	19	771
Webster	1,506	472	515	9	1,641
Vermillion	2,183	630	655	4	2,270
Yankton	4,125	1,280	1,259	* 0.5	4,105

* Loss.

Building—This has been another year of large building operations, both of a public and private nature. Of public buildings Yankton has been the most favored place, securing a large federal postoffice building, a new court house, a $25,000 Congregational church and a large library building in conection with the Yankton college, a new depot and extensive improvements to the cement works. The Catholics also have a very important church under way there. Mitchell has completed her fine city hall and the palatial Widmann Hotel; Pierre, a Carnegie library, and her $100,000 federal building is under way, which latter is also true of Deadwood, while the Aberdeen building was completed and occupied in October; and generally there has been a building or overhauling of water plants, sewer systems and telephone lines. A Carnegie library is under construction at Watertown, and the many structures provided for by the last legislature have been completed. Among these special mention is due the hospital building erected at the Yankton insane asylum. The building is of cement construction, upon lines devised by Dr. L. C. Mead, the superintendent, and is apparently a splendid success. If it fulfills the expectations now reasonably entertained for it, a new demand for one of the state's important productions has been created. St. Luke's Hospital at Aberdeen has been doubled in size and capacity, and the Lutheran Normal at Sioux Falls has secured a new main building. Brookings has secured an elegant opera house and a new and expensive depot.

Business blocks and residences have been erected numerously in every locality, and these of a most substantial and tasteful character. In this respect a real advance over the earlier days is apparent. Shoddy buildings are everywhere discredited and are rarely undertaken.

Railroad Building—There has been little railroad extension during the year. An independent line from Sioux Falls to Colton, constructed by the South Dakota Central Railway Company, a local organization, comprises the extension of the year.

Wholesaling—There has been no increase in the number of institutions, but those occupying the field have gradually extended and strengthened their business, and no industry of the state is in a more hopeful situation.

Manufacturing—Little progress has been made in developing manufacturing in South Dakota. The mills and other manufactories are running to their full capacity. The W. H. Stokes Milling Company at Watertown, having the largest plant in the state, is doubling its capacity, as also has the Aberdeen mills, and extensive mills have been erected at Arlington.

Congressional Action—In addition to South Dakota's participation in the general legislation of congress, the federal legislature favored the state with the following specific enactments:

Charter for a bridge across the river at Yankton for the Winnipeg, Yankton & Gulf Railway, also extending the charter limit of the Yankton, Norfolk & Southern.

For the opening of 416,000 acres of land in the Rosebud reservation.

Permitting the state of South Dakota to make first selection for school and indemnity land upon the Rosebud.

Appropriating $20,000 for the survey of the western boundary line of the state.

Appropriating $2,500 for the care of Wind Cave.

Appropriating $55,000 for a new two-company barrack at Fort Meade.

Appropriating $125,000 extra for the National Sanitarium at Hot Springs.

Appropriating $25,000 for the maintenance of Canton Indian asylum.

Appropriating $44,000 for maintenance and new building at Chamberlain Indian school.

Appropriating $44,000 for maintenance and new building at Pierre Indian school.

Appropriating $71,000 for maintenance and improvement of Riggs Institute at Flandreau.

Appropriating $62,850 for the maintenance and improvement of Rapid City Indian school.

Cruiser South Dakota—The first class cruiser South Dakota was launched, with appropriate ceremonies, at the Union Iron Works, San Francisco, at the end of July. Miss Grace Herreid, daughter of Governor Charles N. Herreid, christened the vessel.

Coal Prospect—During the last winter, Mr. Gilborne of Aberdeen, while drilling an artesian well about four miles northwest of Mansfield in southern Brown county, at the depth of about eighty feet penetrated a vein of lignite of good quality. Seven other prospects were sunk, indicating a bed of lignite seven miles in length and varying from three to twenty-three feet in thickness. A company for the development of the find was at once organized in Aberdeen, and during the past season much work has been done in the endeavor to sink mining shafts to the coal vein, but up to this date the prospectors have been unable to overcome the overlying quicksand and flood of water. Expensive machinery has been purchased and it is still confidently believed by those engaged in the work that a successful mine will be opened.

Artesian Wells—The boring of new wells has continued throughout the year, without perceptible diminution of the flow. There are now nearly three thousand wells in the state.

Irrigation—Under the law of 1902 the federal government has completed surveys for an extensive irrigation project in the Belle Fourche valley. The completed project will reclaim more than 90,000 acres of semi-arid land. Two million dollars have been apportioned to South Dakota as a revolving fund, to be constantly employed in promoting irrigation in the western section.

All able-bodied Indians are now compelled to work, and the government affords them employment in building reservoirs upon the reservations. Hundreds have already been constructed under the efficient superintendence of engineers, and many more are contemplated. These

reservoirs will retain vast quantities of flood waters upon the soil, and can scarcely fail to produce a salutary change in general conditions in the semi-arid regions.

Assessed Valuation—The assessed valuation of the state this year is not materially different from that of a year ago. The result is only suggestive of the real value of the state's property. Assessors persistently violate the law of assessment, each seeking to secure an advantage for his community by adopting a lower standard than his neighbor. The assessment by counties is appended:

Aurora	$ 2,545,488
Beadle	5,504,091
Bon Homme	6,067,322
Brookings	7,311,464
Brown	9,100,587
Brule	2,460,946
Buffalo	460,861
Butte	2,738,741
Campbell	1,722,465
Charles Mix	3,512,701
Clark	4,074,602
Clay	4,992,101
Codington	5,136,361
Custer	1,509,873
Davison	3,654,851
Day	5,139,443
Deuel	4,314,598
Douglas	2,731,524
Edmunds	2,497,990
Fall River	1,675,769
Faulk	2,517,582
Grant	4,799,385
Gregory	1,021,722
Hamlin	3,864,160
Hand	4,087,649
Hanson	2,981,341
Hughes	2,635,249
Hutchinson	7,826,241
Hyde	1,819,071
Jerauld	1,938,340
Kingsbury	5,270,263
Lake	5,080,937
Lawrence	10,468,884
Lincoln	6,881,684
Lyman	1,780,775
McCook	4,564,678
McPherson	2,087,692
Marshall	2,675,901
Meade	2,197,284
Miner	2,910,848
Minnehaha	11,302,148
Moody	4,712,695
Pennington	2,948,188
Potter	1,683,738
Roberts	4,422,652
Sanborn	3,127,098
Spink	6,977,605
Stanley	2,125,106
Sully	1,720,501
Turner	6,893,790
Union	5,127,205
Walworth	1,743,694
Yankton	6,209,078
Total 1904	$213,554,962
Total 1903	210,352,153
Increase	$ 3,202,809
Increase per cent	1.52

State Finances—The bonded debt of the state is practically extinguished. Two hundred eighty-nine thousand dollars in bonds are still outstanding, but the cash in the sinking fund and the present levy will more than provide the means of full payment. The bonds are not yet due, but it is probable that the treasurer can arrange for their premature redemption.

The wretched assessment, however, has produced a deficiency in revenue for the current expenses of the state. The auditor estimates that this deficiency by the close of the present fiscal year will approximate $380,000, which will have to be met by a special deficiency levy.

General Finances—The people continue to be generally prosperous, and are, as a rule, living in great comfort. Wages continue high and laborers and artisans are in demand beyond the supply. Merchants are doing a profitable business.

All of the banks doing business in South Dakota officially reported upon their business on Setember 8th last. Upon that date the deposits were as follows:

All banks other than national	$18,878,042.62
All national banks	11,826,850.00
Total deposits	$30,704,892.62

Per capita for 460,000 inhabitants, $66.74.

At the request of this society, Public Examiner Hemingway secured from the banks other than national an analysis of their deposits as of October 8th, with the following interesting results:

Deposits of banks and bankers	$ 1,282,072.94
Deposits of merchants	2,802,153.99
Deposits of business and professional men	3,593,435.76
Deposits of farmers and stockmen	8,161,391.46
Deposits of laborers, employes and such as may be denominated savings accounts	3,846,379.68
Total	$19,685,433.83

We were unable to obtain an analysis of the deposits in the national banks, but from some private investigation along that line the writer is convinced that the distribution there is relatively the same as in the state and private banks.

Notwithstanding the large deposits of the farming element, many farmers in the wheat growing sections are temporarily in straightened circumstances, owing to the great injury to the wheat crop, and are compelled to ask extensions upon debts incurred for machinery and building material purchased in the earlier portion of the season.

The Weather—The weather has been somewhat erratic during the year, both as to precipitation and temperature. The winter was about the average, with a fair amount of snow making good sleighing for sev-

eral months, a condition not usual in South Dakota. In the Belle Fourche country there was a considerable loss of live-stock during the winter, but the ranges generally did not suffer.

The early season seemed to be ideal wheat weather, but not so well adapted to corn and gardens, though in the end the latter proved to be much the better crops. The five months of growing season gave a most erratic rainfall, running in belts of great humidity, while the adjacent sections suffered from drought. To illustrate: for these five months the rainfall at Aberdeen was 21.78 inches, at Huron 17.02 inches, Mitchell 15.85, Yankton 13.60, Sioux Falls 13.79, Watertown 14.42, Pierre 6.04. While the average for the state has been about normal, the unequal distribution has given some sections too much and others too little.

While the temperature has been somewhat below the normal, there were no late frosts in the spring nor early ones in the autumn. The season was unusually free from hail and destructive storms, but one noteworthy one occurring, and that one was cyclonic in its nature. It fell on the evening of July 20th and wrought much damage at Willow Lake and Bryant. A flood caused by heavy rains did some damage in the Black Hills in June, delaying business for several days.

Crops and Produce—Almost until the harvest every prospect pointed to a wheat crop of exceptionally large yield, and farmers and business men were accordingly hopeful and made calculations for business in accordance with the hopeful prospect. Just as the long heads of wheat were filling, late in July, the crop was stricken with black rust and in a day the prospective yield was reduced two-thirds and the quality several grades. About 3,395,000 acres were sown to wheat last spring, of which amount only 3,320,000 were harvested. The southern portion of the state and the Missouri slope throughout generally escaped the rust, but all of the great wheat-growing sections suffered severely. The average of the state, good, bad and indifferent, I find is 7¼ bushels per acre, making the total yield 24,070,000 bushels, but even of this small amount a large portion of it is of a quality so poor as to have little market value. Where prices vary according to the quality of the grain, from forty cents to one dollar per bushel, it is difficult, without extensive inquiry, to determine what the average market is, but I think I am not far wrong in placing it at sixty-six cents, making the total cash value of the 1904 wheat crop $15,886,000.00, being the poorest crop and the smallest return received for ten years. This society takes some pride in the rather complete verification of its estimate upon the wheat crop of 1903. We estimated that crop at 45,266,000 bushels. The reports of all the railroads doing business in South Dakota show that 40,088,000 bushels of that crop were shipped out of South Dakota. Allowing one bushel per acre for seed and four and one-half bushels per capita of the population for flour, and the total crop of 1903 was 45,530,000 bushels.

The durum (macaroni) wheat did not suffer nearly so much from the rust as the standard variety and the yield was much better.

Corn—I think that 2,185,000 acres of corn were planted. The yield is generally fair and the quality good. A small quantity, growing upon low and flooded grounds, did not fully mature, but as a rule the crop is going to the crib in prime condition. I place the yield at 24½ bushels per acre, or a total of 53,532,500 bushels, worth to the farmer $14,721,437.50. The government estimate of the corn crop of South Dakota for this year is 28½ bushels per acre.

Coarse Grains—For the first time, this year I have asked the railroads to report to me the exact amount of the coarse grains which they have shipped from the state. In view of the large amounts of these cereals which are consumed at home, the figures of the shipments are somewhat astounding. All but two of the railroads have reported these shipments. The total yield of oats, barley and rye in previous years, in the light of these figures, has certainly been underestimated. For instance, last year I placed the entire barley crop at 11,132,000 bushels, but the railroads report having shipped 16,000,000 bushels out of South Dakota, and when seed and the large amount fed at home are taken into consideration, that crop must have been not less than 19,000,000 bushels. The revelation of these shipments led me to make a very careful inquiry into this crop, and I have arrived at the conclusion that 654,000 acres of barley were grown this year and that the yield is 29½ bushels per acre, producing 17,303,000 bushels, worth $4,671,210.

Of oats the railroads reporting shipped out 11,718,000 bushels. But relatively a small portion of the oats produced are shipped. It is safe to say that upon a crop giving a surplus of 12,000,000 for shipment that at least twice that amount was fed out and sown by the producers and by the local feeders. This year I estimate the acreage to oats at 1,116,000 acres, yielding 33,480,000 bushels, and worth $8,000,000.

The rye area has more than doubled this year, and a very satisfactory crop has resulted, while the price, in sympathy with wheat, has advanced to a high point. One hundred ten thousand acres have produced 2,310,000 bushels, worth $1,386,000.

The yield of flax is always erratic. It can scarcely be called a staple crop. The area devoted to it largely depends upon the quantity of new breaking, and varies remarkably from year to year. Only about 2,000,000 bushels were marketed last year and I am unable to find but that amount all told this year. I place its value at $2,100,000.

Potatoes, Gardens and Fruit—Everything in this line has produced bountifully this year and has brought a good price. We have had large quantities of potatoes and fruit for shipment. Basing my conclusion upon my observation of the yield and price and upon the agricultural department's estimate of our potato and fruit yield for previous years, I conclude that these items contributed $4,125,000 to the state's wealth this season.

Hay and Fodder—There is always a good deal of uncertainty about the production of these items. The average farmer in Dakota cannot

tell within a dozen tons the amount of hay he has made. With the census of 1900 as a basis, I conclude that this year's yield, which is exceptionally large, amounts to 3,500,000 tons, worth $14,000,000.

Dairy and Creamery—This great industry is not flourishing as it should, when the high price of the product and the certainty of returns, as compared with other lines of industry, are taken into consideration. The chief reason for the depression in dairying is due to the inability to secure competent help. Hired men will not, as a rule, milk cows. Indeed, that is generally stipulated in the contract of hiring. Consequently a farmer's ability to carry on dairying is limited to the capacity of his own immediate family to milk and care for the product. The assessment shows a loss of 1,767 cows during the year, but this loss is wholly upon the range, while there is a slight gain in the dairy counties. I estimate the number of cows in the dairy at 365,000, and the value of the product at $6,900,000.

The hen is still idefatigable. Prices have continued high and the egg and poultry product has yielded fully $5,000,000.

Live-Stock—The machinations of the beef trust and the strike among the packers has almost destroyed the flourishing live-stock industry in South Dakota and neighboring states. The assessors' returns show a loss of more than 21,000 head of cattle in the state, and we shipped 3,632 carloads less of cattle to market from South Dakota in 1904 than in 1903. A portion of this vast loss is, of course, represented by stock held back from shipment, due to the packers' strike, and will show up in the report for the next shipping year; but of the stock shipped the returns to the grower average nearly $300 per car less than one year ago. With the complete returns of all cattle shipped to market from South Dakota for the last shipping year before me, I estimate the net loss upon that item at $7,339,000. This is corrected to a slight extent by a gain of 800 carloads of hogs and 400 carloads of horses, but when the decrease in herds is considered the net loss upon the live-stock industry in South Dakota cannot be less than $6,500,000.

This conclusion appears to be well founded and I, therefore, approximate the total value of live-stock produced in the state this year at $29,350,000, as against $35,950,000 one year ago.

Minerals—The mine inspector reports the total gold production of the state for this year at $7,090,481, or $69,000 less than last year and $252,000 less than the high-water mark of 1902. The production of other minerals, building stone and cement brings the year's total up to $9,000,000. The decrease in gold production is due to the great flood in June, which compelled a shut-down of many mills for a month.

To summarize, then, the total production of South Dakota for the year 1904, we have:

Wheat, 24,150,000 bushels	$ 15,939,000.00
Corn, 53,532,000 bushels	14,721,000.00
Barley, 17,303,000 bushels	4,671,000.00
Oats, 33,480,000 bushels	8,000,000.00
Rye, 2,310,000 bushels	1,386,000.00
Flax, 2,000,000 bushels	2,100,000.00
Potatoes, gardens and fruit	4,125,000.00
Hay	14,000,000.00
Dairy and creamery	6,900,000.00
Eggs and poultry	5,000,000.00
Live-stock	29,350,000.00
Wool and hides	1,500,000.00
Gold, minerals and stone	9,000,000.00
Total for 1904	$116,792,000.00
Total for 1903	136,063,000.00
Decrease this year	$ 19,271,000.00

This estimate, as always, is subject to scaling to the extent of the value of grain and stover fed to live-stock. The usual custom adopted by other states and by the agricultural department is followed here of counting all production, whether sold on the market or consumed on the farm.

Placing the population of the state at 460,000, the per capita production of new wealth this year is $253.90, and still leaves South Dakota at the head of the list of all the states in the per capita of value of agricultural productions.

A year ago this review indicated the per capita value of the production at about the same as this year, but it is now apparent that too liberal an estimate upon the state's population was then made.

Politics—While this has been a political year, that fact has aroused but little public activity. The Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Populists and Prohibitionists placed state tickets in the field. One hundred one thousand votes were cast, the Republican ticket prevailing by 50,089 plurality.

Education—All the state educational institutions, from the common schools to the university, as well as the private schools and colleges, are in a flourishing condition. While education has ever been a topic of first interest in South Dakota, the year has seen renewed zeal and activity upon educational lines. The new uniform certification law has perceptibly raised the standard of the teaching force. The financial condition of the schools is excellent.

The Mennonites have completed and opened their college at Freeman, and the German Congregationalist college of Wilton, Iowa, has been merged with the Congregational Redfield college.

Church Progress—The several churches show an increase in membership and in benevolences. Several very elaborate church edifices have been erected during the year, and many more modest ones.

The Indians—The considerable Indian population in South Dakota is making as good progress as could be hoped, both in education and in material things. All able-bodied men are now earning wages, and exhibiting better thrift and judgment in the expenditure of money. The solution of the Indian problem is not a matter of a year, but of ages, yet the situation of the Sioux is hopeful.

Public Morals—While there has been nothing of a character to create great public concern, there has been an unusual amount of crime in South Dakota during the year, chiefly of a violent character. Eight murders have been reported.

Public Health—The health of the public has been excellent. No epidemic has appeared during the year. Several persons of prominence have died. The more notable of these are former United States Senator Gideon C. Moody, Julian Bennett, judge of the Third judicial circuit; Lambert H. Neff, of Groton, in January; P. C. Dillon, of Woonsocket, in February; Miss Edna Berg, daughter of the secretary of state, in February; Dr. J. G. Conley, of Elk Point, in May; Judge W. J. Hovey, of Fort Pierre, in June; Kirke W. Wheeler, of Huron, in July; Charles A. Fisher of Aberdeen, in July; Samuel Shankland, of Custer, in August; Axel S. Ellis, of Sioux Falls, in October; Captain S. P. Howell, of Frederick, in October; and Judge R. A. Murry, of Madison, in November, are other persons well known, who have died during the year.

In Conclusion—After seven seasons of extraordinary prosperity, South Dakota has suffered from the partial loss of her wheat crop and from the great national crime perpetrated by the beef trust; nevertheless the autumn finds her people surrounded by an abundance, their reserve treasure undepleted, and their homes filled with comfort and thanksgiving. They are proud of the state's history and exceedingly hopeful for her future.

While 1904 has not been the best year of the series of splendid ones, it is still satisfactory.

DOANE ROBINSON, Secretary.

FIFTH ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOUTH DAKOTA FOR 1905

Pursuant to a custom inaugurated with its birth, the State Historical Socitey herewith presents its annual review of the progress of the state of South Dakota for the year 1905, it being the ninth successive year in which the people have enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity of a high order.

Railroad Extensions—The distinctive feature of the year has been the action of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, and the Chicago & Northwestern railways in preparing to extend their respective lines across the state. For twenty-five years the western terminals of these lines have been at the Missouri river, at Chamberlain and Pierre, respectively, and no effort has been made to extend them, or otherwise bring the two ends of the state into convenient communication. The Black Hills region and eastern South Dakota have been as remote from each other and as inaccessible as foreign countries. In the early spring of this year the Milwaukee company announced its intention of bridging the Missouri at Chamberlain and extending its line westward as far as White Clay Buttes, in western Lyman county, and later in the season its determination to extend the line through to the Pacific coast, by the way of the Black Hills, was announced. Active work was pushed; by July the temporary bridge was constructed and the first division of seventy miles west of the river is finished and the further extension is in progress.

After the harvest the Northwestern railway announced its determination to extend its line from Pierre to Rapid City. Construction was begun upon both ends of the extension and upon a temporary bridge at Pierre, and it may be confidently predicted that the review of the state, a year hence, can record that the long separated ends of South Dakota, are united by two great railway lines.

Other Extensions—The Milwaukee railway has also extended the Armour branch, a distance of about thirty miles, directly north from Armour, and has under construction a line from Madison to Sioux Falls.

The South Dakota Central railway, has extended its line, which was built last year from Sioux Falls to Colton, northward to Wentworth.

Belle Fourche Project—Only second in importance to the railroad extensions is the great Belle Fourche irrigation project, under the direc-

tion of the general government. More than two million dollars is being expended under the provisions of the Reclamation law and more than one hundred thousand acres of fertile land will come under the Belle Fourche ditch. Splendid progress has been made during the season in the prosecution of the work and twenty thousand acres of the land will be ready for the homesteader in the spring of 1906.

State Government—The year was ushered in with the inauguration of Governor Samuel H. Elrod and the following state officers: Secretary of State, David D. Wipf; Auditor, J. F. Halladay; Treasurer, Charles B. Collins; Commissioner of School and Public Lands, C. J. Bach; Superintendent of Public Instruction, George W. Nash; Judges of the Supreme Court, Dighton Corson, Dick Haney and Howard G. Fuller. The legislature at once entered upon its biennial sixty days' session.

Legislation—The more important enactments vested the state board of equalization and assessment with power to ferret out and assess property which had previously escaped assessment, and to fix the standard of assessment throughout the state. A bill providing for the taxation of inheritances was passed. A general irrigation code prepared by the government authorities to govern the Belle Fourche project was enacted. Provision made for taking the census in 1905 and every ten years thereafter, and for regularly recording births and deaths in the offices of clerks of courts in each county and for the state in the office of the Historical Society was also made.

Census of 1905—The supervision of the second state census was intrusted to the State Historical Society by the legislature. It was taken as of May 1, by the assessors. Population and agricultural products were sought to be enumerated, and it is believed that a very accurate count was made. Herewith is given the population by counties, and of the incorporated cities and villages:

COUNTIES	1905	1900
Aurora	4,562	4,011
Beadle	10,064	8,081
Bon Homme	11,135	10,379
Brookings	14,019	12,561
Brown	17,794	15,286
Brule	5,237	5,401
Buffalo	639	1,790
Butte	3,975	2,907
Campbell	4,587	4,527
Charles Mix	11,212	8,498
Clark	8,701	6,942
Clay	8,981	9,316
Codington	11,295	8,770
Custer	2,899	2,728
Davison	10,057	7,483
Day	13,785	12,254
Deuel	7,477	6,656
Douglas	5,974	5,012
Edmunds	5,293	4,916
Fall River	4,222	3,541

COUNTIES	1905	1900
Faulk	3,962	3,547
Grant	9,600	9,103
Gregory	7,024	2,211
Hamlin	6,962	5,945
Hand	5,071	4,525
Hanson	5,669	4,947
Hughes	3,921	3,684
Hutchinson	12,231	11,897
Hyde	1,822	1,492
Jerauld	3,576	2,798
Kingsbury	11,199	9,866
Lake	9,888	9,137
Lawrence	21,060	17,897
Lincoln	12,742	12,161
Lyman	4,263	2,632
McCook	9,037	8,689
McPherson	5,727	6,327
Marshall	7,101	5,942
Meade	4,825	4,907
Miner	6,271	5,864
Minnehaha	27,282	23,926
Moody	8,893	8,326
Pennington	6,078	5,610
Potter	2,978	2,988
Roberts	13,905	12,216
Sanborn	5,387	4,464
Spink	11,223	9,487
Stanley	2,649	1,341
Sully	1,479	1,715
Turner	13,895	13,175
Union	11,212	11,153
Walworth	4,005	3,839
Yankton	13,134	12,649
Fort Meade	580	.....
Cheyenne River Reservation	2,624	2,357
Crow Creek Reservation	1,075	.....
Lower Brule Reservation	512	.....
Pine Ridge Reservation	7,476	6,827
Rosebud Reservation	5,141	5,201
Standing Rock (part)	1,705	1,658
Total	455,185	401,570

Table showing population of towns and cities in 1905 and 1900.

CITY OR TOWN	1905	1900
Aberdeen	5,841	4,087
Albee	89	.....
Alcester	366	381
Alexandria	938	680
Alpena	341	153
Andover	307	225
Ardmore	28	.....
Arlington	788	476
Armour	1,125	912
Artas	42	.....
Artesian	444	339
Ashton	331	274
Aurora	213	.....
Avon	360	.....
Bangor	19	.....
Belle Fourche	1,023	451
Beresford	1,192	1,046
Big Stone City	532	590

CITY OR TOWN	1905	1900
Blunt	214	246
Bonesteel	754	.....
Bowdle	481	622
Bradley	337	.....
Brandt	132	.....
Bridgewater	822	691
Bristol	488	282
Britton	804	519
Brookings	3,265	2,346
Bruce	191	.....
Bryant	750	405
Canistota	365	.....
Canova	233	169
Canton	2,279	1,943
Carthage	370	265
Castlewood	611	430
Cavour	145	98
Centerville	922	871
Central	684	.....
Chancellor	131	.....
Chamberlain	1,007	874
Claremont	144	120
Clark	985	684
Clear Lake	630	491
Colman	366	213
Columbia	142	143
Conde	282	195
Custer	596	599
Cyanide	146	.....
Davis	200	151
Deadwood	4,364	3,498
Dell Rapids	1,339	1,255
Delmont	400	.....
DeSmet	985	749
Doland	350	235
East Sioux Falls	229	232
Edgemont	490	479
Effington	33	36
Egan	540	503
Elk Point	1,282	1,081
Elkton	532	578
Emery	415	247
Englewood	91	.....
Erwin	178	131
Estelline	471	357
Ethan	260	.....
Eureka	693	961
Evarts	265	.....
Fairfax	386	.....
Fairview	97	.....
Faulkton	655	539
Flandreau	1,455	1,244
Fort Meade	162	.....
Fort Pierre	505	395
Frankfort	313	198
Frederick	304	251
Freeman	601	525
Galena	129	.....
Gann Valley	66	.....
Garretson	640	500
Gary	502	345
Gayville	291	.....
Geddes	616	.....
Goodwin	132	.....
Greenmount	262	.....
Groton	1,064	700
Harrisburg	145	.....
Hartford	586	423
Hazel	210	.....
Hecla	271	160
Henry	358	191

CITY OR TOWN	1905	1900
Herreid	224	.....
Herrick	206	.....
Hetland	241	162
Highmore	507	376
Hitchcock	196	133
Hosmer	163	.....
Hot Springs	2,066	1,319
Howard	705	588
Hudson	439	400
Hurley	474	444
Huron	3,783	2,793
Ipswich	396	397
Irene	364	229
Iroquois	411	276
Java	277	.....
Jefferson	412	364
Kimball	462	453
Lake Andes	401	.....
Lake Preston	930	706
Langford	349	239
Lead	8,052	6,210
Lennox	744	591
Lesterville	255	244
Letcher	329	130
Lily	157	.....
Madison	2,914	2,550
Marietta	19	.....
Marion	455	338
Mellette	402	354
Menno	581	556
Milbank	1,718	1,426
Miller	702	544
Mitchell	5,719	4,055
Monroe	208	.....
Montrose	471	375
Mound City	99	.....
Mt. Vernon	412	222
Nemo	261	.....
Northville	304	243
Oelrichs	253	.....
Oldham	393	222
Olivet	161	156
Parker	1,227	893
Parkston	862	596
Peever	137	.....
Pierpont	308	.....
Pierre	2,794	2,306
Plankinton	606	465
Platte	700	.....
Pluma	105	.....
Pollock	195	.....
Preston	50	.....
Pukwana	126	.....
Ramona	299	172
Rapid City	1,797	1,342
Redfield	1,591	1,015
Revillo	254	187
Roscoe	134	92
Roswell	94	50
Roubaix	457	.....
Rumford	5	.....
St. Lawrence	149	115
Salem	810	741
Scotland	1,120	964
Selby	349	.....
Sioux Falls	12,283	10,266
Sisseton	1,375	928
South Shore	270	.....
South Sioux Falls	103	114
Spearfish	1,158	1,166

CITY OR TOWN	1905	1900
Spencer	393	332
Springfield	717	525
Sturgis	1,329	1,100
Summit	373	237
Tabor	301	.....
Terraville	633	.....
Terry	483	.....
Tinton	108	.....
Toronto	411	447
Tripp	496	366
Twin Brooks	175	.....
Tyndall	1,171	1,167
Utica	73	.....
Valley Springs	362	388
Veblen	146	.....
Verdon	121	.....
Vermillion	2,147	2,183
Viborg	329	222
Vienna	371	171
Vilas	156	.....
Volga	552	396
Volin	245	.....
Wagner	513	.....
Wakonda	246	220
Ward	74	.....
Watertown	5,164	3,352
Waubay	540	430
Webster	1,918	1,506
Wentworth	296	181
Wessington Springs	722	320
White	479	454
White Lake	366	264
White Rock	337	170
Whitewood	352	311
Willow Lakes	298	210
Wilmot	391	352
Winfred	228	.....
Wolsey	182	122
Woonsocket	929	648
Worthing	220	213
Yankton	4,189	4,125

Table Comparing the Number of Farms, Farm Acreage, Farm Productions, Vegetables, Fruit and Live Stock, Returned by the State Census of 1905, with the Like Returns of the Federal Census of 1900

	1905	1900	Gain	Loss
Farm owners	30,322	40,640	.....	10,318
Managers	1,952	531	1,421	.....
Cash rent	1,580	1,775	.....	195
Share rent	8,635	9,676	.....	1,041
Not known	9,883	.....	9,883	.....
Total farms	52,376	* 51,270	1,106	.....
Acres plowed land	7,429,976	.....	.....	.....
Acres hay land	3,041,185	.....	.....	.....
Pasture	5,971,162	.....	.....	.....
Total acreage	16,442,323	* 18,562,740	.....	2,120,417
Corn, acres	1,739,080	1,196,381	542,699	.....
Corn, bushels	39,454,481	32,402,540	7,051,941	.....
Wheat, acres	2,874,184	3,984,659	.....	1,110,475
Wheat, bushels	24,183,132	41,889,380	.....	18,706,258
Oats, acres	1,210,156	691,167	518,889	.....

	1905	1900	Gain	Loss
Oats, bushels	39,583,230	19,412,490	20,170,740	
Barley, acres	800,139	299,510	500,629	
Barley, bushels	18,640,102	7,031,760	11,608,342	
Rye, acres	34,010	39,252		5,242
Rye, bushels	422,673	454,860		32,187
Buckwheat, acres	942	232	710	
Buckwheat, bushels	19,261	2,790	16,571	
Speltz	3,685,310		3,685,310	
Macaroni wheat, bushels	662,714		662,714	
Flaxseed, acres	128,197	302,010		173,823
Flaxseed, bushels	1,468,792	2,452,528		983,736
Clover seed, bushels	6,683		6,683	
Timothy, bushels	63,121		63,121	
Other grass seed	94,149		94,149	
Irish potatoes, acres	34,514	33,567	947	
Irish potatoes, bushels	3,132,638	2,909,914	222,724	
Sweet potatoes, bushels	34,616	105	34,511	
Sweet corn, bushels	29,638	25,455	4,183	
Vegetables, bushels	881,968	65,591	806,377	
Clover hay, tons	15,347	4,614	10,733	
Timothy hay, tons	105,813	28,517	77,296	
Millet, tons	346,354	195,243	151,111	
Alfalfa, tons	70,521	28,265	42,256	
Wild hay, tons	2,157,565	2,043,405	114,160	
Other forage, tons	92,345	83,730	8,615	
Total hay, tons	2,787,945	2,378,392	409,553	
Apples, bushels	217,880	17,121	200,759	
Plums, bushels	60,625	8,114	52,511	
Cherries, bushels	20,624	900	19,724	
Other fruit, bushels	4,584	96	4,488	
Berries, bushels	89,882	5,158	84,724	
Grapes, bushels	340		340	
Honey, pounds	161,583	49,320	112,263	
Milk, pounds	† 339,087,587	‡ 793,959,800		
Butter, pounds	20,545,549	17,400,970	3,144,579	
Cream, pounds	1,533,948	498,260	1,045,688	
Cheese, pounds	227,047	136,863	190,184	
§ Live stock, number—				
Horses, colts	42,127	47,968		5,841
One and under two years	57,129	53,414		3,715
Two years and over	294,236	404,331		110,095
Mules	6,309	7,313		1,004
Total horses	399,801	513,026		113,225
Cattle, calves	332,040	345,767		13,727
Steers	289,326	473,774		184,448
Bulls	25,769	23,317	2,452	
Heifers	182,864	168,331	14,533	
Cows, milch	293,612	280,024	13,588	
Cows, not milch	165,077	270,962		104,885
Total cattle	1,288,698	1,562,175		273,477
Sheep, lambs	171,082	268,145		97,063
Sheep	343,588	422,211		78,623
Total sheep	514,670	775,664		175,686
Swine	947,949	832,253	114,696	
Goats	4,036	2,969	1,065	
Asses	179	238		59
Other animals	493		493	
Chickens	3,741,504	3,028,700	712,804	
Other fowls	322,256	148,511	173,745	
Eggs, dozen	16,890,190	17,349,750		459,560
Wool, pounds	1,872,860	3,246,945		374,085

* Including 1,352 farms on Indian reservations.

† Milk sold.

‡ Milk produced.

§ Live stock kept on Indian reservations, not included in state census, 1905, but included in federal census, 1900.

New Capitol Building—The legislature authorized the construction of a wing of a capitol building to cost not more than $150.000. the plan to be a portion of a structure which when completed should cost not more than $500,000; the funds for the structure to be derived from the sale of state capitol lands. At this date the proceeds of sales aggregate $45,000. The foundation of the east wing of the capitol building has been completed and the capitol commission, consisting of Governor Elrod, Secretary Wipf, Auditor Halladay, Treasurer Collins and Land Commissioner Bach, have confidence that the necessary funds will be forthcoming as rapidly as needed for the completion of the structure.

Other State Buildings—The legislature also mode provision for a mechanical laboratory at the Northern Normal and Industrial School at Aberdeen, which has been completed. Several exhibition buildings for the State Fair, which has been permanently located at Huron, and for an exhibition building for the State Live-stock Show, at Mitchell.

The splendid hospital building at the asylum for the insane has been completed during the year and the infirmary for men is nearing completion. These buildings are constructed entirely of Yankton cement, reinforced with steel wires upon lines devised by Dr. L. C. Mead, superintendent of the institution, and are models of strength and beauty.

Provision was also made for the erection of a large factory building at the penitentiary, and the installation of a shirt making plant to employ 120 men. A constitutional amendment was also submitted to the people providing for the installation of a twine factory at the penitentiary.

Federal Buildings—Yankton has occupied the fine federal postoffice building which has been under construction for the past two years. The federal postoffice and court house at Pierre is enclosed and the Deadwood building is completed to the first story. More or less important additions have been made to each of the Indian schools.

Important Public Buildings—Yankton county has completed and occupied her splendid new court house. Faulk county has a court house under construction. Several high school buildings have been erected during the year and some fine churches and opera houses; of the first the Congregational church at Yankton, and the Methodist church at Brookings, are most notable. The new opera house at Milbank is noteworthy.

Private Building Operations—There has been a vast deal of private building in the way of business blocks and residences. In the latter the farmers have vied with the residents of the towns.

State Finances—The bonded debt of the state now amounts to $237,000, and there is in the sinking fund available for the payment of these bonds the sum of $255,000, sufficient to pay them in full and a balance to the good. The holders of the bonds do not desire to sink them. Most of them mature in the spring of 1907, and it will probably be necessary to pay the interest to maturity to get possession of them.

The current revenues for ordinary expenses of the state continue in the wretched condition which has characterized our affairs for several years. At this date there are outstanding four hundred thousand of emergency warrants and five hundred fifty thousand registered warrants. The funds available from tax collections during the ensuing quarter will reduce this floating indebtedness to about four hundred thousand dollars, which it will be necessary to carry until the legislature makes some practical legislation relating to state revenues. The vast resources of the state under any rational system of taxation should provide ample revenue for every requirement.

Private Finances—Despite the practical loss of the wheat crop of 1904, and the serious injury to the live-stock industry of last year, through the beef trust and the butchers' strike, the reserve funds of the people are constantly augmenting.

The deposits in the State banks have increased during the year $2,401,428.21, and those in the National banks almost an equal amount. The combined deposits of the State and National banks at this time aggregate the vast sum of $35,000,000.

Despite nine years of great prosperity the people of South Dakota have been thoroughly trained in the school of conservatism in financial matters. The spirit of speculation finds little place among them and most investments are made with great care, looking more to safety than large profits.

Flood at Fort Pierre—The only noteworthy disaster which has fallen upon the state during the year was the great flood upon the Teton, or Bad river, which resulted in the destruction of a portion of the city of Fort Pierre on July 3rd. The flood was the result of several days of incessant rainfall, which washed away the dams in the interior, constructed by the Northwestern Railway company to provide water along the drovers' trail. The water arose with surprising rapidity, to a height before undreamed of. Eight persons lost their lives by drowning, eighteen residences were washed away into the Missouri river and many others wrecked, flooded and ruined.

Great Prairie Fire—A great prairie fire swept through the western portion of Brown county on November 15, destroying a vast amount of property, estimated to be worth a half million dollars.

The Weather—The year started in with exceptionally severe weather, which continued until the middle of February, when it became very mild for the rest of the season. The snow was not deep at any time and stock on the winter ranges came through in excellent shape. A belated snow storm in April, however, was hard upon sheep and a good many were lost.

On October 15, a heavy fall of snow came, notable only as coming upon the anniversary of the great blizzards of 1805, 1863, 1880 and 1896. No damage resulted from it to live-stock. The remainder of the autumn months have been very warm and agreeable.

The weather throughout the crop season was nearly ideal, conducive

to the development of all sorts of crops. In every aspect it may be called a well balanced season. The amount of rainfall has been sufficient everywhere, though varying as to locality. The reports of the observers of the government weather service indicate the following records for rainfall for the points indicated, for the months of April to August, inclusive:

	Inches.
Sioux Valley—	
Sisseton Agency	17.91
Watertown	17.43
Brookings	18.76
Flandreau	22.69
Canton	19.86
James Valley—	
Aberdeen	25.11
Huron	23.90
Mitchell	18.60
Missouri Valley—	
Pierre	16.02
Chamberlain	13.17
Greenwood	15.71
Yankton	14.63
Elk Point	17.72
Black Hills—	
Rapid City	23.17

Crops and Other Productions—For the first time since the organization of this society we have a recent census of the agricultural productions of the state and the acreage of crops as a basis for the estimates upon the year's productions. The census of 1900 did not afford much assistance in this regard as its figures were not available for almost three years after it was taken, and in the meantime conditions had changed to such an extent in the state that little assistance was rendered by them. With accurate figures at hand upon the entire productions of 1904, and the census of the live-stock as of May 1, last, previous figures will of necessity have to be revised. It is satisfactory to know that the estimates made by this society in former years have in most things been substantiated, while in some particulars our figures have been too large, and in others not large enough.

Wheat—Our estimate of the wheat crop of 1904 published in the review of the progress of the state last year was 24,150,000 bushels. The actual figures for that crop as shown by the census taken last May was 24,183,132 bushels. This was a remarkably close approximation, much better than that upon any other product, chiefly for the reason that the data for approximating the wheat crop is always more accessible than that of any other. Farmers keep closer information regarding their wheat than of any other crop. It is better checked in the market and for many reasons it is easier to estimate. The census shows that there were 2,874,184 acres harvested last year. The total acreage this year is about the same. From what I have seen and learned I conclude that the average

yield this season is 15 bushels per acre, or a total of 43,110,000 bushels This has averaged the producer 65 cents in the local market, making the value of the entire crop $28,021,500.

Seed Wheat—Under the initiative of Mr. A. C. Johnson, general agent of the Northwestern railway, assisted by the faculty of the State Agricultural College, a vigorous campaign was made during the last winter to educate farmers to the necessity of planting strong, and pure seed wheat. This movement resulted in shipping into the state more than thirty thousand bushels of pure, clean, strong, seed, and the exchange of many times that amount within the state. When the grain from the good seed came to the harvest the heads were found to contain from one-tenth to one-third more kernels than were found in the heads from the weakened native seed.

Railroad Reports—As usual, all of the railroads operating in the state, have reported to this society the total amount of the different kinds of grain and live-stock shipped from the state for the last fiscal year. These reports are used in connection with the census in making the annual estimates. As illustrative of the value of these reports for this purpose, it is noted that the railroads show that 21,142,002 bushels of wheat were hauled out of the state last year. Add to this sum a fair amount for the seed and bread consumed at home and you have almost precisely the amount of wheat returned by the census enumerators.

Corn—The census shows 1,739,080 acres of corn last year, and a yield of 39,454,481. The acreage appears to be increased about 6 per cent this year, or a total of 1,843,424 acres. The crop is very good and well matured, though it is not quite up to the average in the southeastern counties, those best adapted to this crop. The government places the average at 28 bushels per acre, which seems to be about right for the state at large, and will give us a total yield of 51,615,872 bushels, which at 30 cents is worth $15,484,761 at home.

Oats—Oats is a big crop everywhere. We estimated last year's crop at 33,480,000 bushels, and the census showed it to actually be 39,583,230. We guess off this year's crop at 42,000,000 bushels, worth at the farm $9,450,000.

Barley—Last year's barley crop was 18,640,102 bushels. I think it is a little more this year, and place it at 20,000,000 bushels, worth an average of 27 cents, or $5,400,000. Barley is growing to be a "big boy" in South Dakota's harvests.

Speltz—There were nearly four million bushels of speltz grown last year, and that cereal has increased to about five million in the present season, worth $1,250,000.

Macaroni, or Durum Wheat—This is a crop which has been generally overestimated as to acreage. The census shows that 662,714 bushels were produced last year; the area and yield is somewhat increased this year, but I do not think it will reach one million bushels. I approximate its value at $560,000.

Potatoes, Gardens and Fruit—The census shows a production last year of 3,132,638 bushels of Irish potatoes, 34,000 bushels sweet potatoes, more than one million bushels of vegetables and melons; 217,880 bushels of apples; 60,625 bushels of plums; 20,624 bushels of cherries. These figures are confessedly incomplete. In every respect except in the yield of apples, this year's crop is superior to last year. I approximate the value of everything in this line at $4,250,000.

Rye and Flax—No other crops are so difficult to approximate as rye and flax, for the reason that the acreage one year is no criterion of the amount which will be sown in a succeeding year. Last year the flax crop amounted to only 1,468,792 bushels, and the rye to 422,673 bushels. Both crops this year are of superior quality and yield. I think there is 600,000 bushels of rye and 1,750,000 of flax, the approximate value of which is $1,800,000.

Hay and Fodder—The census shows that a total of 2,787,945 tons of hay of all kinds were made last year, as follows: Clover, 15,347; timothy, 105,813; millet, 346,354; alfalfa, 70,521; wild hay, 2,157,565. Other forage crops, 92,345. At the average of five dollars per ton this crop was worth $13,939,725. It is worthy of note that this department in its review published last December, approximated the value of that crop at fourteen million dollars. The hay crop this season is of exceptional excellence and all of has been saved. The market price is higher than one year ago, and it is safe to place its value at $14,500,000.

Live-Stock—In 1903 South Dakota shipped to market 33,596 carloads of stock. In 1904 this was reduced to 27,270 car loads. In 1905 it is again increased almost to the figure of 1903, the total for this year being 33,144 cars. These figures are for the last fiscal years of the railroads, ending with most of the roads on July 1, and with others September 1. Therefore the shipments of the present autumn are not included, nor do the returns feel the good prices now prevailing. These shipments and prices will appear in the next year's report.

The census shows a positive loss in range herds in the organized counties, while we have been unable to secure any figures for the reservation herds. It is fair to assume that they are sufficient to hold the total of the state at about the figure of last year. That is, there has been neither increase nor loss. I therefore approximate the total live-stock production of the year at the value of stock shipped to market or about $25,000,000. This, as above indicated, does not do full justice to this year's returns, but next year will get the full benefit in the reports of the railroad shipments for the next fiscal year.

Wool and Hides—The census warns us that these items have been much overestimated in the past. The total wool production last year was 1,872,860 pounds, worth $281,000. Using this as a basis of calculation I judge the wool and hide crop this year to be worth about $350,000.

Honey—The census shows that more than eighty tons of honey were produced last year, having a value of $20,000.

Minerals—The report of the mine inspector is not yet available, but there has been a slight increase in the production of both mines and quarries. I place the total at $10,000,000.

Dairy and Creamery—The number of milch cows has slightly increased during the year and the price of dairy products has been firm at a high figure. The value of the butter and milk is approximately seven million dollars.

Eggs and Poultry—The estimate made last year of five million dollars as the value of the eggs and poultry of the year, must, in the light of the census be revised. The returns show a total of 3,741,404 chickens, and 322,256 other fowls, and a production of 16,890,190 dozen eggs. Taking these figures as a basis for the estimate, I place the egg and poultry product at $3,600,000.

Final Summary—From the foregoing conclusions I summarize the following as the total value of the agricultural and mineral productions of South Dakota for the year 1905:

Wheat, 43,110,000 bushels	$ 28,021,500.00
Corn, 51,615,872 bushels	15,484,761.00
Oats, 42,000,000 bushels	9,450,000.00
Barely, 20,000,000 bushels	5,400,000.00
Speltz, 5,000,000 bushels	1,250,000.00
Macaroni, 1,000,000 bushels	560,000.00
Flax and rye	1,800,000.00
Potatoes, gardens and fruit	4,250,000.00
Dairy products	7,000,000.00
Eggs and poultry	3,600,000.00
Hay	14,000,000.00
Live-stock	25,000,000.00
Wool and hides	350,000.00
Honey, 80 tons	20,000.00
Minerals	10,000,000.00
Total new wealth 1905	$126,686,261.00
Total new wealth 1904	116,792,000.00
Increase	$ 9,994,261.00

The real increase is much greater than the figures indicate, owing to the necessity to scale previous estimates, in the light of the revelations of the recent census.

The above estimate of new wealth production is, as always, subject to scaling to the extent of the grain and forage fed to live-stock. So much as is so fed is, of course, counted twice.

Apportioning the production of new wealth to the number of inhabitants revealed by the present census, that is, 455,185, and we have $278 for each individual, leaving the state for the seventh year in an enviable position which no other commonwealth can reach, and though we are this

year upon a high level, the condition is the common one of recents years, and cannot be fairly said to be much above the average.

Politics—This has been an off year in politics, no elections being held for any regular officer in the state.

Education—All of the educational interests of the state are in prosperous condition. President Garrett Droppers having resigned, to take effect January 1, 1906, Dr. James Chalmers of the State Agricultural College, was elected president of the State University, and Dr. Robert L. Slagle of the School of Mines was chosen to succeed Dr. Chalmers at Brookings. Dr. W. H. H. Beadle, after long and signally important service as president of the Madison State Normal, resigned the office to devote himself to more congenial work as professor of history in that institution, and Dr. J. W. Heston, formerly president of the Agricultural College, was chosen as his successor. Dr. Charles F. Koehler, president of the Northern Normal and Industrial School, having resigned, Professor George W. Nash, who had made a remarkably successful record as superintendent of public instruction, in which office he was serving his second term, was chosen to succeed Dr. Koehler; he therefore resigned from the state superintendency on September 1, and Professor M. M. Ramer, superintendent of the Mitchell city schools, was appointed to succeed Professor Nash in the state superintendency.

Public Morals—The public morals have been of average purity. Itinerant yeggmen from abroad have broken several bank safes and made some large thefts. Nine murders have been reported.

Public Health—There have been no epidemics during the year. No alarming feature has been manifested, except the prevalence of tuberculosis among the Indian population.

The most notable death of the year is that of Hon. Otto C. Berg, former secretary of state, which occurred on July 1.

Pauperism—This Society has compiled the figures relating to pauperism in South Dakota for the year. This has not before been done. There are 153 persons maintained in poorhouses, 75 wholly maintained outside of poorhouses and 483 who reecive partial support from the public. The total amount expended in the state for the last fiscal year for the support and assistance of paupers, including the salaries of county physicians and superintendents of poor farms, is $73,659.10. The showing is extremely favorable and is a testimony to the general prosperity of the people.

Conclusion—The close of the fiscal year finds the people generally optimistic. South Dakotans have in recent years developed a pride in the state which is truly gratifying. The "South Dakota" idea has taken strong hold upon the people and state loyalty is all-abounding. This spirit is prophetic of a future for the state which shall more than justify the high hopes of the founders of the commonwealth.

Pierre, December 1, 1905.

DOANE ROBINSON, Secretary.

THE OUTLOOK FOR SOUTH DAKOTA

* By John P. Williamson, D. D.

Fellow Members of the State Historical Society of South Dakota:

I am delighted to be with you today, and especially pleased to have the honor of making the address at this, the second biennial meeting. I have had an interest in the society from the beginning, because it is a strong lever for the elevation of our beloved commonwealth to its proper place among the states of this great union.

Civilization is a stairway leading upward. Its summit has never yet been attained. One generation can take but a few steps on this ladder. If every generation had to start at the bottom, an eternity of generations would make but little progress. But the true mission of successive generations is that each generation should start where the preceding left off; and that the watchword for all shall be "Excelsior." But each step of this stairway rests upon a knowledge of the preceding steps. These advances are along the line of arts, sciences, industries and public morals. In the main we may say, without this knowledge of the means by which former advances were made, no further progress is possible. Knowledge of the past is a "sina quo non" to progress in civilization. How are we to secure it? Were we gods we might look back with spiritual vision and see all the demonstrations by which the great problems of past ages were solved, and the principles which led to the great discoveries which bless our age. But we have not that spiritual vision. Were we to live as long as Methuselah, our old men could transmit the knowledge of the past to the young, and they carry it for centuries and transmit it to another generation. But we are

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* John P. Williamson was born at Lac qui Parle, Minnesota, in 1835, and was the first white child born in that state. He is the son of Thomas S. Williamson, the noted missionary to the Sioux Indians, and his entire life has been devoted to the elevation of the Indian race. Having but recently completed his education, he had just established a missionary station at Redwood, Minnesota, when the war of the outbreak came on. He came to Dakota in 1863 as missionary to the captive Santees, who that year were transferred to the Crow Creek agency, and has since resided there. For many years he has been superintendent of the Presbyterian Indian mission in South and North Dakota. His home is at Greenwood, the Yankton agency postoffice.

mortals, and our days limited to three score and ten years; and experience has shown that verbal transmission of knowledge is perfectly incompetent for an advancing civilization, as may be seen by the condition of the aborigines of America. History, that is a written record of the progress of events in past ages, is the only sure means of realizing the full benefit of past experience, and enabling us to step up higher. Studying the inventions of others enables the inventive mind to make more inventions, which, being preserved, enables future generations to go still farther. Thus it is that "no one liveth to himself or dieth to himself," but each generation is a blessing to another. Man who transmits nothing to posterity is little more than a beast—the creature of today. But man, though not eternal, by means of history, becomes a creature of the past, present and future. And now as I look upon our historical society it is the golden chain that is to bind all the successive generations of man in this state of South Dakota, from the mythical age of the past, through the fleeting present, on to the unnumbered, ever ascending ages of the future, into one compact and glorious commonwealth, to stand in the center line of our world-renowned union.

So far South Dakota has had but little history. It is only known that it has been inhabited for centuries by barbarous people, who have, with no thought of making a record for future generations, left relics of their dwellings, fortifications, burial mounds and sundry implements used in war and for household purposes. This is all we know, and it constitutes no true history. We have only the knowledge of a long succession of generations fleeting by, with little if any more improvement than the successive generations of wild animals. In such a succession there is nothing worthy of record. South Dakota has men still living who witnessed the introduction of civilization to its prairies. That was the commencement of the real history of our state. So we are still on the first step of the historical ladder. It is a good thing to lay foundations well. We want to keep a thorough record of all conditions affecting our progress, bad as well as good. The Missouri river pilot as much needs to know the sand bars as he does the deep waters. So with us. Our mishaps will be the danger signals that will save future gene-

rations; and our trails of victory will be the highways of coming multitudes.

As, then, our history is principally in the future, let us today take a glance at the present outlook for South Dakota attaining an honorable place in the history of the United States.

First, the situation is opportune. It is in the center of the great American continent. There is a great advantage in being in the center, as the late capital vote has shown. If we are awake to gain our deserts the two greatest thoroughfares in the United States should cross each other within our borders, viz., the leading railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and a railway from Hudson's bay to the Gulf of Mexico. Again, the latitude is opportune. It is a little north of the center of the north temperate zone—the latitude which has developed the most of the leading powers in all ages. It is the latitude for wheat and corn, the two greatest staple products of the world. Again, the climate is opportune. There are no swamps to produce malaria, and the air is fresh and invigorating. So it is one of the healthiest localities in the United States. Then its medium location, between the Rocky mountains and the Mississippi river, gives it a moderately high altitude of table land, gently rolling and gradually descending towards the east. It makes it an ideal state for highways of all kinds, especially railroads.

In the second place, the educational outlook is propitious. Education is of the first importance, because it is necessary to the development of every other resource. Few if any of the states in our union have started out with as many advantages in this line as South Dakota. She came on the floor at the right time to receive the full benefit of the apportionment of school land by the general government. Again, South Dakota has been fortunate in having for its first officials men of broad mind and good judgment, who have been careful not to squander the school funds, but to use them in such a way that coming generations would receive the greatest benefit. The result is that the state now has a princely educational endowment, the income of which is already munificent, and will continue to increase.

But funds are not the only desiderata in an educational line, nor do we believe the greatest. We must have a population that appreciates education. It must not be such a population as

our Dakota Indians were thirty years ago, when the first government boarding schools were started for their benefit. Instead of the children flocking to the schools, the agents were compelled to send policemen out to gather them up, and the officers often had to run them down like rabbits. Instead of that we need a population of the same mind as the first settlers of the New England coast, who, in greater poverty than Indians, immediately established their schools, and in the first generation laid the foundations of Yale, Harvard and Princeton universities. We are happy to know that South Dakota is starting out with much of the same spirit. A large proportion of her first settlers were Americans, of the class that appreciates education. And the first foreigners who came and settled in the state were of the more enlightened class of emigrants; mostly from the north of Europe, who had some education in their own languages, and were desirous that their children should be educated in the English language and become Americanized. Even the Dakota Indians, under a changed situation, are beginning to appreciate education, so that I know a number of Indian young men who of their own accord have gone to college, where they are paying their own expenses. Thus the public sentiment among all classes is being awakened to the importance of education, and every patriotic citizen, every official of the state, and the churches of the state, should give hearty co-operation in the work of keeping up a proper interest in this vital cause. And let our educational leaders see that our educational institutions are producing the kind of men and women the nation needs, and, if not, apply the remedy: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Thirdly, we notice the agricultural outlook. This is the question of prime interest. South Dakota is to be an agricultural state. There will be other industries, but the great industry without doubt will be farming. So the history of the development of the state will largely be along agricultural lines. The history of agriculture in the United States during the last one hundred years has been a history of wonderful progress. In this state one hundred years ago a few Ree Indian women might have been found in some nook of the Missouri river valley, clearing off the tall weeds from some loamy piece of land. Each woman would then mark off a patch of ground containing an acre,

more or less, which was to be her farm for the summer. With a hoe made from the fork of a tree she would dig up each day a part of her lot and plant it in corn. This was continued every day until it was done. Some time in June, when the corn was a few inches high, the woman would give her corn a complete hoeing, killing every weed and pulling the dirt around every hill till the tops of the corn were just sticking out of little peaks of dirt. This was the only hoeing the corn got. The corn was an early variety, which commenced to ear in the first days of July. As soon as the corn was in the milk flocks of blackbirds would appear to feed upon it. So each woman would erect a scaffold in the center of her lot, about as high as her head, and at day-light each morning she would mount the scaffold and when a blackbird appeared commence screeching at the top of her voice, and if that was not sufficient to scare away the birds, she would accompany her voice with a drum, horse fiddle or some other instrument. This was continued until the sun went down. As soon as the corn was out of the milk the woman would snap the ears off, and with a few of the husks that were left on each ear, weave them into strings, ten or twelve feet long, which were hung up to dry. When dry the corn was shelled and put in sacks made of the whole skin of buffalo calves, the legs answering for handles. This corn was not used to fatten pigs or steers, of which they had none; but was the yearly supply of cereal food for the family. And the poor woman probably expended as much time and labor on it as, with our modern implements, would have produced five hundred bushels of corn. Our own ancestors were quite primitive in agriculture at that time. One hundred years ago my grandfather was one of the most enterprising farmers in Kentucky. When he wanted to plant corn he sent his darkey to hitch the mules to the new fangled plow; so called because it had an iron share that would cut the small roots. The rest of the plow was all wood. Then he took the lines and drove the mules around among the stumps, while the darkey kept bobbing here and there, trying to hold down the plow handles. When the field was scratched over they marked it off, with the same plow, in furrows about four feet apart, in which one dropped the corn, and another followed with a hoe, having a handle stuck in like a mattock, and covered it. When

he wanted to cultivate it he used the same implements, and ten acres were considered a large field. That was the beginning of the history of Kentucky and the wonderful story of the blue grass region; and for aught I know South Dakota may show greater advances one hundred years from now. Why not?

Just think of the advantages which South Dakota has now over the eastern states which were being settled one hundred years ago. Modern machinery, which enables one man to do the work of half a dozen, is one of the most important. In those heavily wooded states our modern machinery for plowing, planting, cultivating and harvesting would have been almost useless for many years. But on the broad prairies of Dakota the machinery can all be brought into use at once. The rapidity with which South Dakota land can be made productive is marvelous. Then the percentage of South Dakota land that is too rough for cultivation is very small. Again, the soil is almost everywhere fertile, and is of a fertile, loamy cast that is delightful to work. The early opening of the highways of trade, first by steamers on the Missouri river, and afterwards by the network of railroads, is another wonderful advantage over the last century. These are only a part of the advantages.

But I pass to notice the disadvantages. The hardships of frontier life have not been entirely wanting in Dakota. Some times our ship of state has struck the sandbars, and struck them hard. It is just as important to the coming generations to note them down as it is the deep waters. The Indian warrior, on the eve of battle, was accustomed to pray to his god that he might be wounded, or even killed by the enemy, because that would show more bravery, and give him more honor, than if he wounded or killed an enemy without suffering any injury himself. South Dakota has joined battle with adverse elements more than once. Over forty years ago, when the first scattered settlements were made along the Big Sioux and Missouri rivers, the Indians became hostile and killed a number of the whites, and for a time every settlement was abandoned except along the Missouri river from Yankton to Sioux City. In the latter sixties the settlers had returned and were followed by some new accessions. Considerable farms had been opened and the hearts of the pioneer farmers were made joyous at the sight of the heavy-laden

heads of grain waving in the gentle breezes, when, suddenly, one of the plagues of Egypt shot down on them. Armies of grasshoppers, in number innumerable, appeared in the heavens. As if led by some acute general, they passed over miles of wild prairie and concentrated their forces on the comparatively small fields of grains. The farmers, marshalling every man, woman and child in the community, met the invaders, and with every weapon they could think of undertook to repel the invasion, but in vain. The chickens were their best allies at first, but when their crops were full they lay down in disgust. It was only gleanings the grasshoppers left, and they visited the most of the settlements in the state. The next year they were even worse, drifting down from the north like clouds that darkened the sun; and the destruction was even more complete than the previous year. This year some farms suffered from the young grasshoppers, which hatched early in the season from the eggs deposited the previous year. The invading grasshoppers were not so numerous the third year; but the young were worse, and continued to trouble the state for several years. They were more easily controlled and ultimately were overcome.

But before the grasshopper was gone another foe to prosperity appeared. It was the drought. In large portions of the state rainfall was deficient. When the sun reached its northern limit, the heat on the dry sands to the south was so great that the winds therefrom came like hot blasts from a furnace upon our fields. The moisture was not sufficient to withstand the drain, and the green crops withered.

Following these trying visitations, thousands of settlers gave up the battle and sought their fortunes elsewhere. But other thousands, though sorely wounded, continued the fight. Today their wounds are healed. They have got back all they lost, and many a goodly portion beside. I have no doubt their average wealth will exceed the average wealth of those who fled. It is said Japanese are refortifying Port Arthur. By sad experience they have learned its strong points. To the confusion of their enemies, they also discovered and made use of the weak points. These weak points they will now strengthen to resist if possible all future assaults. We who remained in South Dakota are now

in the same condition as the Japanese at Port Arthur. Let us strengthen our weak points.

Danger from insects and bacteria is ever imminent. Grasshoppers may not again fill the air, but other kinds of destructive insects, almost innumerable are liable to appear at any time. It would truly be disheartening were it not that a merciful providence seems to have so arranged that for every such pest an antidote has been prepared. But it needs much scientific research and careful experiment to determine what these antidotes are and just how they may be best applied. And this work should properly devolve upon the state.

Danger from drought is a point that the history of South Dakota, short as it is, has shown needs careful attention. And it becomes our state to be alert to find out and use every means which others have found useful, and if possible improve upon them, until the evil is entirely overcome. And these efforts may be carried on in two different lines. First, by learning how to produce crops with the least moisture; second, how to increase the moisture. How to make the most of the moisture we have is the more important point at present. What plants do best with little moisture; how to prepare the ground to resist drought; how to put in the seed; how to cultivate the growing crop; how to treat the ground at every stage; the effect of deep plowing or shallow plowing; different treatment of different soils; effect of fertilizers, of mulching and other applications. These are among the points on which more information would be useful. If the plains of South Dakota, under the providence of the Almighty, were able to develop a species of grass capable of producing in the driest seasons sufficient quantity of food for hundreds of thousands of buffalo, and of such richness that it came to be a proverb that "a dry season made fat meat," may we not believe that man, who has been given this earth by the great Creator to till and improve, can without an increase of rainfall, by rational selection, cultivation and development, make the same land produce crops of several times the value of those herds of wild buffalo.

But we are not shut down to the use of only the fifteen or twenty inches of water that are now annually precipitated upon us. There are ways of securing more water for our dry lands.

Perhaps some of the best ways are not yet discovered by man. There seems to be no doubt that in a prairie country advancing civilization increases the rainfall. Increasing the amount of the forest area is doubtless also a principal means of increase. Preventing prairie fires, increasing the amount of vegetable growth, or anything that will prevent the moisture from being dissipated has the same effect. Then the network of electric lines may have their effect, and the hope is that discoveries will be made by which the generating of electric currents may produce still greater benefits. But the most immediate, and so far in the world's history the greatest, means used to secure more water for growing crops is irrigation. For individual enterprise, a mountainous country, with rills and brooks flowing swiftly through valleys and plains, is the best for this purpose. With the exception of portions of the Black Hills, South Dakota is not such a country. But Dakota has two of the most remarkable supplies of water on the earth, and the utilization of these waters is one of the great problems before the coming generation of South Dakota.

The first great supply is the artesian basin, which underlies about half the state. Many thousands of our citizens are now using these waters for various purposes, but as yet they have been little used for irrigation. Irrigation is a science, and people of South Dakota do not yet know how to irrigate. The extent of the supply of artesian water is also a matter that needs to be better known before irrigation therewith is entered into very extensily. Private enterprise is gradually solving these problems, and the state institutions may well bestow some attention thereon.

The other great supply of water is the Missouri river. This is one of the most magnificent bodies of running water in the world. South Dakota is part owner thereof. There are others. But South Dakota has the right to see what her portion is, and what she can do with it. Who that has stood on the banks of this mighty stream during one of our dry seasons, and watched those waters rushing madly and uselessly to their ocean home, has not had, as I have had, visions of some great master cowboy who could throw his lasso over the neck of that untamed monster serpent, and drag him from out of his deep, winding

nooks, and, cleaving him in twain, stretch the two parts along the high divide that runs down each side of the state, and there let them be dissipated into thousands of little channels to moisten the parched earth. What a transformation we should have! Instead of an endless expanse of dry, wrinkled grasses, rich to be sure, but scanty enough to frighten a tenderfoot, we should see great stretches of green meadows, and waving fields of grain, which would support many times the population it is otherwise capable of doing.

There are other industries which will play an important part in the history of South Dakota. The mining interests in the southwest corner of the state have already so far developed as to show that the Black Hills, for their area, are one of the richest mineral deposits on the face of the earth. Then the developing of the agricultural and mineral deposits will make a call for factories of different classes. Already our state is manufacturing large quantities of flour. In a small degree, other articles are manufactured. Then the different trades and professions are well represented in the state. She is fairly started in almost every industry. But time will not allow me to expand.

South Dakota is in the morning of her history. As she goes forth her golden locks are waving unkempt in the breeze. Her lips quaff eargerly the bracing air. Her raised brow is unfurrowed with care, and her clear, bright eye pierces the future with hope and delight. Will her hopes be fulfilled? The opportunity is before her. Under God, her destiny is in her own hands.

JOHN L. PYLE

* By Walter H. Hubbard

In sketching the life of a man like John L. Pyle, it is remarkable of how little importance are the actual chronological events of his life, except in so far as they help us to elucidate the real character of the man and the principles which gave him guidance. This is all the more true of Pyle because, while his circumstances and environment had much to do with forming his character, yet on the other hand he was a man of such strength that he largely created his own environment. Under almost any conditions his life story, while it might have read differently as to names, dates and achievements, would have contained the same splendid lesson of noble manhood.

John L. Pyle was born in Coal Run, Ohio, in 1860. The civil war was all but begun, and the long struggle for the abolition of human slavery, in which his father had taken so active a part, was flashing to its tragic climax.

His father, Levis Pyle, a man of exceedingly virile character, came of the most American of ancestry. The founder of the family was among Penn's early colonists in the seventeenth century, and through all its varying fortunes had been one of the few families of pioneers always on the frontier of advancing civilization and always in the forefront of every struggle for human rights. Amongst the earliest settlers in Ohio the Pyles were soon famous there for their absolute fearlessness and sturdy independence. Men of gigantic physique and splendid powers, they were always ready for a struggle. Many are the family tales told of the prowess of these early pioneers.

Levis Pyle had his full measure of the family characteristics, and in the dark days of the abolition struggle he showed them well, again and again defying the mobs that gathered to break up the meetings he addressed, and at times carrying his life in his hand.

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* Walter H. Hubbard, a nephew of John L. Pyle, served in the First regiment in the Philippines. Upon his return was made secretary of Huron college, and is now engaged in banking at Yale, South Dakota.

HON. JOHN L. PYLE

In marked contrast to the combative, aggressive energy of his father was the tender, loving and patient disposition of his mother, Mary Dean Pyle. Born near London, England, and reared amid retired surroundings, she was a woman of remarkable gentleness. The influence of her gentle self-control was very strong upon her son. It remained with him through life and made him in his private walks one of the most lovable of men.

With such an ancestry of the strong and gentle, of the aggressive and the tender, of the stern fighter and the devoted Christian, John Pyle was admirably fitted for the active life he was to lead and to absorb well the teachings of his strenuous early life.

War was in the air when he was born. In less than a year the guns of Sumpter were to announce the great struggle, and the whole country was holding its breath in dread expectancy. The first events which stamped themselves upon the memory of the infant boy were those of war. It used to give him great amusement in after life to tell of his childish fears and sorrows in that great struggle..

When John was but a toddler, the terrible Morgan the Raider plunged into Ohio. Panic and terror spread before him. As he approached the Pyle home the very children caught the fear of their elders and hastened to secrete their loved toys and childish treasures out of the way of the terrible soldier. The little toddling boy had as his choicest treasure three bright marbles, and he hastened to bury these in the sand along the banks of the Muskingum. Although the daring raider did not molest his treasures, all trace of their place of burial was accidentally obliterated. "It was thus," he once smilingly remarked to an audience to which he was relating the story, "that I lost my entire fortune during the civil war."

Shortly after the war his father removed his family to Illinois, where John received his early schooling. At the early age of thirteen he went to work for himself to earn money to supplement his other schooling by a course at Westfield academy. As he grew older he was seized with a desire to complete his education by a college course, and accordingly began to lay his plans to secure the money to attain his ambition.

The natural instinct of the pioneer in him made him decide to go west for this purpose, and accordingly, in 1879, he made the long journey, much of it overland, to Montana. Here he worked for three years, and by dint of careful economy saved enough to help him carry out his plans. He had quit his work and was starting again for the east when he was laid low by lead poisoning. For many weeks he lay between life and death, and when at last his natural vitality had won the victory and he slowly began to recover, his money had been exhausted and the cherished object of his toil defeated.

Such defeat might have discouraged many a man, but not John Pyle. He saw that he could not soon again earn money for his education, so he determined to study by himself. Weak from his sickness and unable longer to follow mining, he came to Dakota territory and took up land near what is now the town of Miller. While on his homestead he studied law with all his energy and in 1886 was admitted to practice at the territorial bar. Six months later he was elected state's attorney for Hand county. About this time he was married to Mamie I. Shields of Miller, who ever proved his devoted helpmeet and who, with their four children, survives him.

About the time that the territory of Dakota was divided and admitted to the union as two states, he decided to settle in Huron.

The great contest for the location of the capital of the state was on at this time, with Huron as one of the chief contestants. Pyle put all his energy into this contest and until it was over was constantly active in Huron's interest. His activity at this time greatly enhanced his influence and made him widely known, so that he became a very decided factor in all that pertained to the interest of his home city.

When the capital fight had come and gone it left in Huron a great aftermath of debt, scandal, and disputed indebtedness. A number of self-seeking politicians sought to raise up to themselves, at this time, a popular following, by advocating a policy of repudiation for all debts possible which the city had incurred, and the compromise of others, after having first disputed them. Against this shameful policy John Pyle took a most decided stand. He advocated the payment of every honest debt

the town had incurred, no matter what had become of the money after it had been obtained. Popular sentiment was furiously wrought up and he was denounced as the enemy of the town's interest. For a time he was the target of almost unmeasured abuse and the course of conduct he advocated was overwhelmingly defeated. Under the senseless guidance of its demagogues, Huron plunged into litigation which lasted many years, cost her many thousands of dollars and finally resulted in her utter discomfiture.

This result Pyle had freely foretold, and had never ceased to urge an abandonment of this wasteful course. When at last the popular excitement had cooled and the wisdom of his counsels was revealed, there came a great revulsion in public sentiment and his advice on public matters was eargerly sought.

His many friends began to urge him for attorney general of the state, and when at last he was nominated and elected he attracted attention by the unusual degree to which he received the support of his home district.

His service as attorney general was marked by two cases, especially famous. The first was the "Milwaukee rate case," which was strenuously fought and reached the supreme court of the United States. The facts and arguments adduced at this trial, when the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Co. denied the right of the state to interfere with its rates, have had no small bearing upon the more recent and greater struggle for national rate regulation.

The second case was the perhaps more famous one against the Northern Securities Co., popularly known as the "Great Northern merger case." The fever which brought about his death was contracted at Helena, Montana, whither he had gone to attend a conference of governors and attorneys general of the northwestern states relative to the conduct of this great case.

It was always a great disappointment to Pyle that he had been unable to gratify his ambition for a college education. Largely for this reason he had a lively sympathy with young people who were similarly ambitious. All his life he was the generous friend and helper of young people and of the educational institutions themselves. When the college of the Presbyterians for South Dakota was dying at Pierre for lack of support, it was

he who first extended a hand to the needy institution, interested other friends and secured it a home at Huron, helping the reorganized college on its way to the great success it has since attained. He was president of its board of trustees at the time of his death.

One of his most prominent as well as most admirable characteristics was his love of justice and his abiding faith in the final good judgment and fair dealing of the American people. He always felt that laws were intended to be fundamentally right and that sooner or later equity would prevail. When asked by the writer the method he employed in beginning his preparation of his cases, he returned the startingly simple answer: "I first examine the case to see where lies the line of absolute right between man and man. Having reached a conclusion on this point, I look up the law to substantiate my position."

With a man so simply honest it were impossible not to expect to find him always actively allied with the forces for civic betterment. With Pyle this was notably the case. Especially was he active in all matters of temperance reform. He hated the liquor traffic with a perfect hatred and fought it with a singleness of purpose that never faltered.

At the time he received the nomination for attorney general from the Republicans he was the head of the Anti-Saloon League of the state. The organized liquor dealers waited upon him to demand certain concessions for their support. His reply was a characteristic challenge to a finish fight. The state was close, and his uncompromising attitude threw his political associates into a panic. They freely predicted his defeat and he himself came to think that it meant defeat. Nothing, however, could move him. He would rather have his political ambitions forever blasted than move one jot from the line of his convictions. The fight grew in intensity until the better element of the state rallied to his support solidly and, although the liquor interests turned many hundreds of votes from him, he secured one of the largest majorities on the ticket at that time.

Mr. Pyle was a man who often attracted attention on account of his magnificent physique, and his untimely death was a shock to all. He was buried with the honors of state. In his special proclamation touching the death of the attorney general the

governor said: "Mr. Pyle was an efficient public officer, an able, conscientious lawyer and an honorable Christian gentleman, who was respected by all classes and loved and admired by all who had the privilege of his personal acquaintance. In his untimely death his family, the legal profession, the public service and all the people of the state have suffered an unmeasurable loss."

The bar of Beadle county, where he practiced so many years, adopted resolutions of which the following is an extract: "As a public officer he served the people of his state with fidelity; as a private citizen he was zealous in the discharge of every civic duty; as a husband he was faithful and kind; as a father he was gentle and indulgent; as a lawyer he was able and conscientious, steadfast in his relations with his clients, and earnest and careful in the protection of their interests; as a man he was mild and sincere, true in his friendships, dignified in his bearing, and in all his conduct was governed by a lofty sense of duty."

Few men have honored the public service of this state whose line of conduct always cut so close to the line of absolute right and duty. Few men have been in the public eye who loved right and justice with such a passionate love. His love of right was contagious, and all with whom he came in contact felt its beneficent influence. The regard of his friends, the love of his family, and his own ideals were well summed up in the words of one of the state's honored citizens who knew John Pyle and loved him. Said this gentleman to the writer: "Physically, mentally and morally John Pyle was one of the best men I ever knew."

NEWMAN CURTIS NASH

NEWMAN CURTIS NASH

*** By Nina M. Nash**

Newman Curtis Nash, the subject of this sketch, was born on a farm in Orleans county, in western New York, February 15, 1843. He was the second son of Francis and Catherine Van Bergen Nash. Eight years later his father gathered together his family and household goods, and followed the star of empire westerward to Wisconsin, settling on a farm near Janesville, where his one daughter and six of his eight sons grew up. In such a home the early training was naturally in all kinds of farm work yet every winter was spent in school, where Mr. Nash was one of the best, being one of the show spellers in the spelling schools then so popular, and a leader in sight singing, which stood in him good stead in later years.

Though he had just entered an academy at Allen's Grove when the first call for troops came in 1861, he desired to respond but was under age. When the Thirteenth Wisconsin Infantry was organized he won a relucant consent from his father, and enlisted in Company A, serving for four years and three months. He was mustered out December 28, 1865, with an honorable discharge, when the company disbanded. While home on a furlough he was married at Janesville, Wisconsin, to Miss Jennie E. Williston, who survives him. They settled on a farm near Janesville, where they lived until 1871, when they moved to Dakota. Like most of the early settlers, he took up a "claim," coming first to South Dakota on horseback, in 1871, with his brother-in-law, George F. Williston, to look about and file. Aft-

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*** Miss Nina Nash, daughter of the subject of the above sketch, is a native of Janesville, Wisconsin. She is a graduate of the State Normal school at Madison and of the Teachers' college, Columbia university, New York city. She has been principal of the Model school at the Northern Normal and Industrial school, Aberdeen, since 1903.**

er a visit to his brother, John E. Nash, then near Lodi in Clay county, he went to Lincoln county to visit an old army comrade, I. N. Menor. In company with Mr. Menor and others he rode over the grassy, snowless waves of the prairie and selected a quarter section upon which he filed February 25, 1871. He returned to Wisconsin, put in his crop there, and made a second trip to this section that spring to do some breaking, this time driving overland. He did not bring his family until October, 1871.

At that time he and his wife bade farewell to friends and left for the frontier. The household effects which they took with them were packed into two covered wagons, which halted at Le Mars, Iowa, until the family arrived by train. There they too were stowed away under the canvas, and the fifty-six miles covered which took them to their new home.

Being too late to build, the first winter was spent in the village of Canton. In the spring lumber was hauled from Sioux City, seventy miles, and from Le Mars, Iowa, Fifty-six miles away, and a six-room house begun. He was aided in this work by Mr. Wales, who long afterwards removed to California, and by Mr. William Dunlap, who has resided in Oregon for many years. Having heard of the tremendous winds of this section, Mr. Nash built the house with a long slope to the northwest, that it might withstand the onslaughts of the tornadoes. As soon as the roof afforded a shelter, he moved onto the homestead. This was his home for five years, during which time no sound of church bells called to service, nor screech of locomotive disturbed the slumbers. Not for several years did those evidences of progress appear in the valley of the Sioux.

During these years Mr. Nash was active in many ways in the community. His singing was a great help in a new country, and he and his tuning fork were in demand. One time he reached church a little late and wondered at the quiet. Upon entering he found the audience was waiting for him to pitch the tune. He was a staunch supporter of the church and Sunday school, and one stormy winter, when a minister could not be secured, was asked to conduct the religious services at the funeral of a dead neighbor. Though feeling his own unworthiness, he did what seemed his duty. He was sought after as a

teacher of signing schools during the winter. He helped to organize "Prairie Grange." This organization, long since forgotten in the county by all but its old members, was a strong social factor in the early days, when pleasures were few. These early years showed the strength and help of the grange to the scattered settlers. The years 1874, 1875, and 1876 are memorable as the "grasshopper" years, when great clouds of locusts settled upon fields and gardens, eating everything, even to onions. With crops destroyed, the farmers struggled as best they could to procure seed for the second year, but when that crop too was taken they were compelled to appeal to friends in more favored sections for help. The granges sent aid—clothing, food and some money—and Mr. Nash was appointed by the grange to which he belonged as one to receive and help distribute the contributions. At this time many left the country, never to return. Mr. Nash did not leave, as he still had faith that Dakota had a future, but he changed his occupation. He began work for Colonel Arthur Linn on the Sioux Valley News in December, 1876. That winter he purchased a half interest and in April, 1877, became sole owner and proprietor, remaining its editor for twenty-eight years, or until his death.

During this period he watched the little village straggling along the stage-road, change into a trim, compact, populous town with two railroads, and aided its growth with tongue and pen. He was strongly identified with the civil and political interests of Lincoln county and the territory, now the state of South Dakota. In every movement for the betterment of existing conditions, he did what he felt to be right, even though he moved alone. He was ever a supporter of the Republican party, though not always agreeing with its leaders. Because of his fearless utterances, his paper became prominent, influential, and widely circulated. It stands as a monument to his personal zeal and indomitable energy.

He was honored in many ways by his fellow citizens. He was postmaster from 1890 to 1894. He served for a time upon the school board. He was an interested member of the agricultural society and of the Anti-Saloon League. He was one of the original trustees of the state school for the deaf. He belonged to various civic societies, among them the I. O. O. F., A. F. and A.

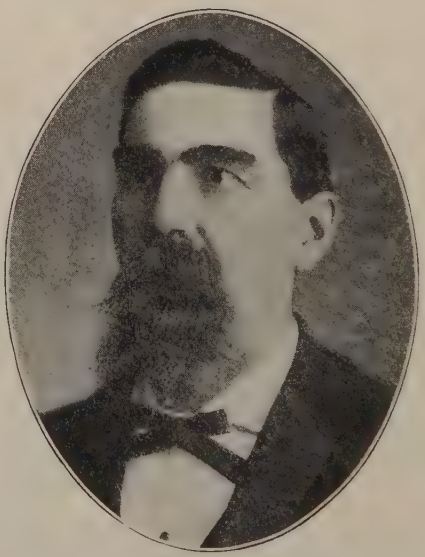
M., G. A. R., and M. W. A. He was grand master of the Odd Fellows of the state for one term and twice represented the state in the national gathering of the order. He was president of the state press association—in 1890-92. He served a term as department commander of the G. A. R. of South Dakota. He was secretary of the soldier's home board at the time of his death and had been for some years. Besides these duties, he maintained a strict attendance upon all the services of his church. On account of these many interests, his personal acquaintance throughout the state at the time of his death was probably not exceeded by any, and equaled by very few.

On election day, November 8, 1904, feeling unable to work, he conceded to his friends' wishes and went home, thinking a period of rest was all he needed. He made trips to Pierre and Hot Springs for recuperation, but these did him no good. In December he consulted a specialist of Chicago, but received little encouragement. His friends hoped against hope, and did everything possible for him, yet he failed gradually and on February 8, 1905, died of internal cancer. His last days were cheered by visits and messages from friends and relatives. These acts of kindness on the part of his friends pleased him, yet he often remarked that he did not deserve them. On February 10th his body was interred in Forest Hill cemetery. The various civic societies with which he was connected took part in the burial services.

To quote from the mortuary report of the Lincoln County Old Settlers' Association, in 1905: "He always labored zealously for the upbuilding of Canton, the development of Lincoln county, the cause of education, temperance, and reform. He was a self-sacrificing citizen also, generous to a fault; rarely indeed was any charity or benevolence denied his generosity. * * * In his death Lincoln county lost a citizen whose place will be filled with difficulty." His influence upon the community and upon the state in its formative period cannot be estimated.

It was in his family that he was best known, and there he will be most missed and most mourned. He was ever the affectionate husband, the loving father. To have had such an example

of honesty, justice, and business intergrity, to have seen daily a life lived which would bear inspection at close range, this, indeed, is a priceless heritage to those bound to him by ties of blood.



SIDNEY RUSSELL GOLD

SIDNEY RUSSELL GOLD

* By Irwin D. Aldrich

Sidney R. Gold was born in Northampton county, Pennsylvania, in 1857. He removed with his parents to Illinois when he was quite young and before he was of age had crossed the Mississippi river and started business for himself in the state of Iowa. He was married May 18, 1876, to Miss Eva M. Sloan of Clinton, Iowa, and seven children (five daughters and two sons) resulted from this union, all of whom survive him. He died at his home in Big Stone on Monday, March 6, 1905, of cancer of the pancreas, after a lingering illness of several months.

Mr. Gold first came to Big Stone, S. D., in 1887, where he and two brothers established a fuel and grain business, gradually extending it to cover other lines.

At the failure of the Diggs bank in Milbank in 1892, Mr. Gold was appointed receiver. In the work involved in clearing up and settling this extensive business his attention was drawn to the making and selling of real estate mortgages, and the firm of Gold & Company then began to make a specialty of this business, which soon grew to large proportions. In 1894 they established a bank at Big Stone, since incorporated as a state bank.

It is not the purpose of this sketch to dwell particularly upon Mr. Gold's business career, however, but rather to show the man and his impress upon the public affairs of the state and of the community in which he lived.

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* Irwin D. Aldrich was born June 3, 1864, near Rochester, Minnesota. Graduate of State Agricultural college at Brookings and Cornell college. Has been county superintendent of Grant county and state regent of education; at present is secretary of the regents of education and publisher of the Big Stone Headlight. He is a life member of this society.

In 1892 he was nominated by the Republicans of Grant county as one of their two candidates for the state legislature, Hon. C. H. Lien of Summit being the other. The preliminary canvass of the vote showed that the Populists had elected one candidate and the Republicans the other, Mr. Lien being apparently the successful candidate, but the official canvass elected Mr. Gold by a majority of two votes.

Mr. Gold was a man of great activity in all his affairs, and when he entered the legislative arena he at once impressed his personality upon all important matters with which he came in contact. Though a "new member he was a prominent factor in the organization of the legislature, and was a member of the appropriations, school and public lands, and other important committees.

The state at that time was under constitutional prohibition, and a strong effort was made to secure the resubmission of the prohibitory clause in the constitution to a vote of the people. Mr. Gold was opposed, on principle, to the liquor traffic, and he was among those most active against the proposed resubmission, which after a long battle was defeated in the house by one vote. Mr. Gold's oldest son, Ralph, was born during his absence from home attending to his public duties at this time.

He was re-elected in 1894, without much opposition, and at once assumed a commanding position, in the stormy times that followed the absconding of ex-State Treasurer Walter W. Taylor. Mr. Gold was chairman of the appropriations committee during this session, and was a prominent member of the joint committee from the house and senate which conducted an exhaustive investigation into the tangled affairs of the state treasury.

In all public affairs of the locality in which he lived, Mr. Gold was the acknowledged leader. He was quick to see the as yet but half appreciated advantages of the beautiful surroundings of Big Stone and the farming country adjacent, and to his optimism and good judgment was due the building up of a substantial fortune.

In 1898 he was the leading spirit in the establishment of a Chautauqua assembly at Big Stone, which has since grown to be one of the leading assemblies of the northwest. Although

the first two sessions of this assembly left a deficit of over $3,000, he carried the shortage without complaint, and with a firm faith in the future of the enterprise, which he lived to see fairly on its own feet.

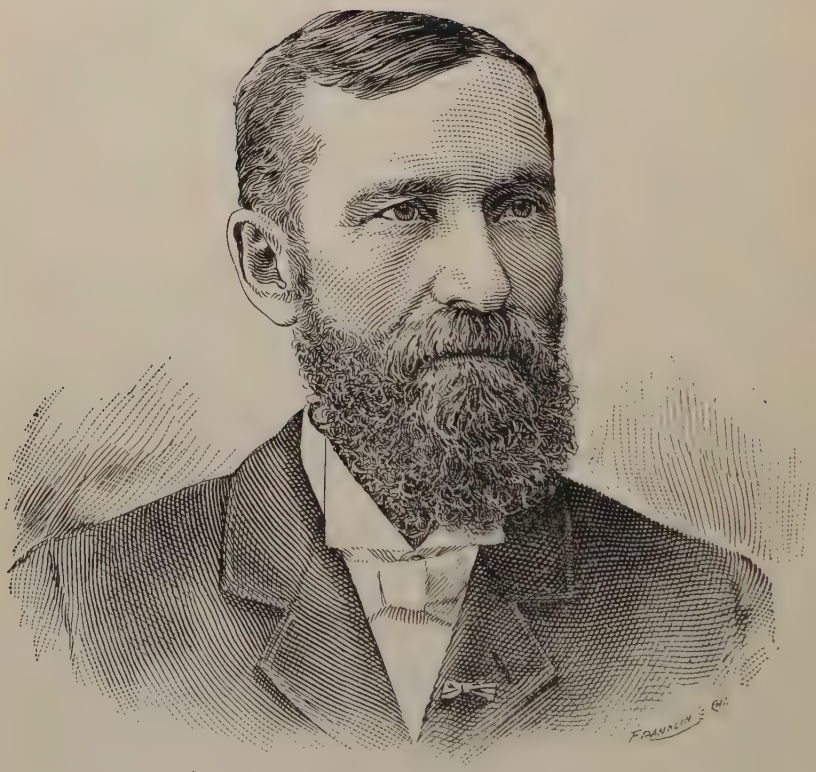
To him is due the establishment of the Big Stone Brick Company, the largest brickmaking concern in the state; the establishment of the Big Stone Canning Company, which operates the only canning establishment in the state; and the erection of the commodious and beautiful brick and granite school building at Big Stone was made possible only by his assistance in carrying the financial burden.

In conclusion we quote the words of a friend, at the time of his decease:

"Mr. Gold was more than a successful business man. The mere report of his business success is but a small chapter of his biography. He was foremost in all good works, and it is not within the power of human hand to record his many acts of kindness and beneficence to those with whom he was brought in contact. Few there are in Big Stone City who have not at some time been indebted to him for a friendly hand in a time of need.

"During his last hours his mind was clear and his words of final counsel sank deep into the hearts of the members of his family who were gathered about his bedside.

"As life's sun was setting the evening shadows brought to him no fears. The darkening blue of heaven's canopy revealed in brighter splendor the evening star of hope. He wrapped the drapery of his couch about him and lay down as one to pleasant dreams."



OTTO CHRISTOPHER BERG

OTTO C. BERG

*** By Thomas Sterling, Dean of the College of Law**

There are two standards whereby we estimate the worth of a man. One by the position he holds or by the achievements which for a time may keep him in the public eye; the other by his life, that life which represents the sum total of daily aims and conduct, be they public or private. The latter is coming to be the approved test. It no longer suffices that a man have, in the popular sense, a career, or that his heroism be of a stamp of which history takes note. It may be true indeed that duty, honor, and work well done are fundamental in the real progress of society, but they are virtues which now find a popular recognition not once accorded them. Events which have brought about this juster appreciation of true worth have been moving rapidly. The glamour of wealth or of mere position is not the alluring thing it was even a year ago. Some of the old idols have been shattered. Thoroughnesss in all honest work and fidelity to every trust imposed or assumed is coming to be the watchword of the hour. Social and civic life will gain thereby. There will be less of ambition for the center of the stage, more to master well the part assigned; less of shadow, more of substance. Mere semblances will not easily satisfy, and those qualities of manhood which ring sincere and true with every responsibility and in every relation will be the ones to attract and control.

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* Thomas Sterling was born February 21, 1851, in Fairfield county, Ohio. He was educated in the common schools and at the Illinois Wesleyan university at Bloomington. He began life as a high school principal, but studied law at Springfield, Illinois, and entered practice in 1878. Located at Northville, Spink county, Dakota territory, in 1882. Was member of the constitutional conventions of 1883 and 1889; district attorney for Spink county, and state senator from Spink in first legislature. Was chosen dean of the law school upon its organization in 1901, and has since filled that position, making his residence at Vermillion.

It is no assumption that from a view point like this we give some brief account of the life and character of Otto C. Berg. For this character most fittingly exemplifies that standard by which just men everywhere judge the lives of those yet living or of those who have passed away—the life standard. His career is an inspiration in itself; it shows, moreover, how in this great country of ours the door of opportunity opens to the intelligent and true from other lands, though differing widely in language and in customs from our own.

Otto Christopher Berg was born in Brottum, Rinsgager, Norway, September 10, 1849. His father, born in 1818, was long in the government service of the fatherland; first in the military service from 1839 to 1855; then, and during the remainder of his life, he was employed as civil engineer. The death of the father was a tragic one. At the head of a party of thirty he was engaged in the survey of a government road leading through the mountains of Norway. At midnight on February 11, 1868, a terrible snowslide swept down the mountain, overwhelming the buildings in which the party was lodged, and all perished. He left no fortune. The government, in acknowledgment of her husband's services, granted the widow a small pension which she continued to receive until her removal to America in 1880. She died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Andrew Simonson, in Yankton county, this state, in 1886.

A short time prior to his father's death Otto C. had made the resolve to try his fortune in America, and he first learned of the awful tragedy while journeying on foot up into the mountains to bid his father farewell before taking ship. A change of plans was necessary; the trip to the new world must be delayed, and it was not until five years later that he saw America and began his residence at Norwalk, in Monroe county, Wisconsin.

He had but a common school education, and yet he had been employed in mercantile establishments in the cities of Lillehammer and Drammen, Norway, from the time he was sixteen years of age, each place being a promotion over the last. Although he arrived in this country an entire stranger to the language and to the people among whom he settled, yet he was an American from the first and in full sympathy with American in-

stitutions. His quick perceptions, his power of ready adaptation, and his genial personalty soon won him friends and a way. His capacity for mastering the details of official work and business was remarkable. He had been but a short time in Norwalk when he was made postmaster. A little later he was elected county clerk of Monroe county, and removed to Sparta, the county seat. This office he held until a short time before his removal in December, 1883, to Spink county, South Dakota. He was thus one of the pioneers of the northern part of our new commonwealth. He engaged for a time in the mercantile business at Northville, and for the three years prior to 1894 he was manager of the grain and elevator business of Geo. W. Van Dusen & Co. at that place. From 1883 to 1893 was a trying decade for that portion of the state. The three or four fair crops were more than devoured by the lean ones. Financial conditions in the country at large contributed to make the situation worse. Mr. Berg shared in the privations of those years. In alluding to them afterwards he said: "We passed through all sorts of times," which well illustrates the alternating hope and despondency of the period.

Though not particularly demonstrative, he was a man of quick and tender sympathies. More than one about the little town could attest some substantial help or favor from him in time of need; all agree to the kind and accommodating spirit of "Christ" Berg, and any hint of an act of business injustice on his part has yet to be heard.

Here, as elsewhere, it was natural for him to win confidence and make friends, who, recognizing his worth and ability, were enthusiastic for his advancement. He was always a staunch Republican, and in 1894 was elected clerk of courts of Spink county. He was re-elected in 1896. His own county, as well as many others, warmly supported him for the office of commissioner of school and public lands in 1898, but failing to receive this nomination in state convention, he was a third time nominated and elected clerk of courts. In 1900 he was elected secretary of state. To this important and responsible position be brought the care and fidelity which were his great characteristics. Within the scope of the office he considered himself the guardian of the interests and property of the state. He was

secretary in fact as well as in name, and set a precedent by removing with his family to Pierre that he might give personal supervision to the affairs of the office. Governor Herreid, during whose administration he served, said of him: "Secretary of State Berg was one of the most conscientious and faithful men who ever filled a public position in our state. To know him intimately in official life, as I did, was to respect, trust and honor him."

Such, in brief, is the history of his business and official life. The files and public records in the offices which he held disclose the rest, and themselves, in their completeness and exactness, constitute a monument in which his family and his friends may take just pride

His second term as secretary found him in poor health. His daughter, Miss Edna, a young woman of fine attainments and bright promise, became seriously ill. His anxiety for her and the intense grief occasioned by her death in January, 1904, aggravated the malady from which he himself suffered.

Still, and against his protest, but with the thought too on the part of his friends that the interests of the campaign might serve to relieve his mind and give "surcease of sorrow," he was induced to become a candidate for the nomination for governor in 1904. His contest, however, ended with the opening of the convention and his name was withdrawn before the first ballot was taken. He accepted the result philosophically and without any manifestation of bitterness against the men or the conditions responsible for it. His loyalty to his party never swerved. And it will be the verdict of the people of the state and of those who come after him, that failure to secure the prize was not due to any want of confidence in his ability or his integrity. For himself personally it was better that he did not. Rapidly failing health would have made it as ashes in his hands. At the end of his second term as secretary he retired to the old home at Redfield. There he lived with his family, consisting of his wife and son, Paul, until August 1, 1905, when he passed peacefully away, mourned by hosts of friends who had known and admired him, and by the people of the state who had found in him one of their most faithful and efficient servants.

What, may we ask, is the secret of Mr. Berg's rapid advancement and his success in every place he filled? He was not a learned man, nor could it be said that he was a wide reader. His early opportunities were not such as to favor literary tastes or ideals. But he was observant, and all useful knowledge, however obtained, he remembered and was quick to apply. Though his limited school education was in the Scandinavian language, he learned the English so well that it was not always easy, either from his pronunciation or accent, to trace his Scandinavian origin, while his writing and correspondence were in good English, through and through. He was not in the ordinary sense a politician. His political successes had for their beginning the spontaneous wishes and efforts of his friends to advance a deserving and capable man, but the fight once on he did his full share. Aside from any particular talent as a public speaker, something he did not claim to possess, he was one of the best campaigners in the state, and was especially strong among his fellow countrymen, whose confidence in him was unbounded.

He had a fine presence, a pleasing address, a good knowledge of all political issues, a quiet, tactful way of presenting his cause to a political opponent, and in these respects Mr. Berg was a politician with few superiors.

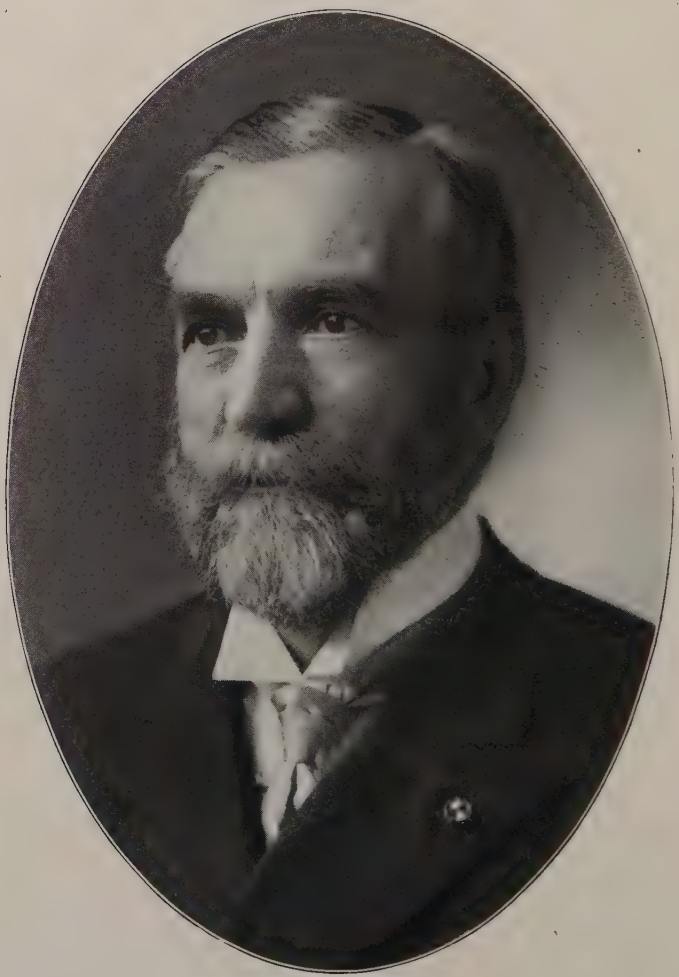
The business of his office he managed "without fear or favor," and there was no frienship strong enough to induce him to slight or forego some requirement of the law relating to his official functions. He knew his rights, and "knowing dared maintain." Aside from this there were no proper favors he would not grant, and in granting them he seemed absolutely impartial.

But, as we interpret his life work, the secret of his success lay most of all in his fine sense of duty and his pride in work well done. These were the dominant notes in his character. They were reflected in the apparently commonplace and everyday affairs. Neatness and accuracy in such as these are but parts of the larger whole. He was not fastidious, but had an evident pride in personal appearance and in neatness of dress, which did not forsake him even in the long days of suffering. The trait was manifest in the order and arrangement of his offices and their equipment. It was conspicuous in his thorough mastery of all work incident to high office in the great fraternity of which

he was an honored member. He abhorred poor penmanship and practiced until he wrote a hand both legible and beautiful. These right habits of his were proverbial among his friends. The work or duty being his, there was a certainty that it would be well performed.

He had a fine sense of humor and there was a good cheer about him which was hard to resist. But he was always a gentleman, and his mind was singularly pure. While no one with like range of information or culture could be more genial in conversation, after acquaintance, he always disliked and avoided the vulgar. His respect for women was sincere and profound and he loathed the story or the allusion which, though without such intent, involved or reflected upon the honor or virtue of the sex, and in the matter of social purity he insisted upon the same standard of morals for both sexes. Fidelity to the obligations of private and domestic life, and of that home life in which he was especially blessed, was a part of his being and a fit complement of the loyalty with which in his official capacity he served the public.

The example his life affords, as well as the popular esteem in which his memory is held, is well expressed in one simple yet eloquent tribute found among the many testimonials to his splendid qualities as public official, citizen and friend: "Everyone says Mr. Berg was a good man."



W. H. H. BEADLE

MEMOIRS OF

General William Henry Harrison Beadle

A. M., LL. D.

WITH EDITORIAL NOTES BY DOANE ROBINSON

PERSONAL MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM H. H. BEADLE, LL. D.

Editorial Notes by Doane Robinson

INTRODUCTION

General Beadle's[1] long and faithful service, his extended opportunities for observation, his scholarly training and philosophical turn of mind combine to make his recollections of the many years he has spent upon Dakota soil of peculiar value to the student of our history, and it is with genuine satisfaction to the state historical society that he has consented to reduce his observations to writing and permit their publication herewith.

The reader will not fail to be impressed with the charitable impulses which constantly influence the views of the veteran educator, the broad optimism of his faith in South Dakota and her people, nor deem his work less valuable because he has minimized the faults of the pioneers and exalted their virtues. This is the almost inevitable tendency of all broad, catholic and generous men, when they arrive at the reminiscent stage in their lives and look back upon the long pathway over which they have traveled. Whittier says: "Those good old times; all times when old are good," and it is a providential provision that the good should survive in memory and the evil be forgotten; and while the unfeeling cataloguer of historical facts may discover many things which will lead him to disagree with General Beadle's exalted opinion of the lives and motives of some individuals, no thoughtful student can fail to agree with his conclusion that in the mass the pioneers were a worthy, virile, earnest people, actuated by high hopes and righteous motives for the upbuilding and welfare of the Dakota commonwealth.

If any should differ relating to some of the details of the narrative, they should at all times remember that the point of view makes large difference in the appearance of an object or impressions of an event. It is rarely possible to establish with unerring accuracy the details of any period. Every trial of an

[1] For sketch of General Beadle see First South Dakota Collections, page 137.

issue of fact in courts of justice determines that truth. Men of equal opportunity for observation and of equal integrity will constantly be found diametrically opposed as to a certain state of facts. It is only the great events that are indisputable, and in the chronicling of the chief occurrences which have been as beacon lights along the highway of South Dakota's development into the grand commonwealth she has come to be, General Beadle is an indisputable witness.—[D. R.

THE HOOSIER

The following biographical sketch of General Beadle was contributed to the Anemone, a publication of the students of the State Normal at Madison, in 1905, by Mrs. May Beadle Frink, the daughter of the subject.

William Henry Harrison Beadle, the oldest son and fourth child of James Ward and Elizabeth (Bright) Beadle, was born January 1, 1838, in Parke county, Indiana. His ancestry is mingled Scotch, English and Dutch. The house of hewn logs, in which he was born, had been built wholly by his father's hands the year before; for in those days not a third of the land was cleared, and there were dense forests between farm and farm. He early learned to swing the axe and follow the plow, and his elementary education was obtained at a subscription school in a log schoolhouse.

After the most persistent effort he gained his father's consent to go away to college, choosing to use $1,000 for this purpose instead of accepting a farm offered by his father. In the autumn of 1857 he entered the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and although handicapped by insufficient preparation in Greek, he soon took high rank in the class; was one of the speakers at the junior exhibition and one of the twenty-four members of the class who spoke at the commencement. His college mates early recognized his executive ability and talent for leadership, by selecting him for prominent positions in all college organizations.

Soon after graduation, in 1861, he enlisted in the union army, was made first lieutenant and then captain of Company A, Thirty-First Indiana Volunteer Infantry, participating in the campaign in west Tennessee, until the surrender of Corinth, Mississippi. He then aided in organizing and drilling the Twenty-Sixth Michigan Infantry, at Jackson, and was tendered the post of adjutant of this regiment. In the autumn of 1862 he was commissioned to recruit for the First Michigan Sharpshooters, and

was commissioned lieutenant colonel of that regiment January 1, 1863. In July, 1863, he participated in the pursuit of the confederate general, John H. Morgan, and in August proceeded to Chicago to guard rebel prisoners, on which duty he continued until March 17, 1864, when the regiment joined the Ninth Army Corps at Annapolis, Maryland.

After a very severe illness he was discharged from that regiment, June 13, 1864, and was appointed major in the United States Veteran Reserve Corps. He was brevetted lieutenant colonel of United States Volunteers, March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious services during the war." He served in northern Virginia, in defenses south of the Potomac, where he commanded a brigade for a time, and in Washington, where on Lincoln's second inauguration, in 1865, General Beadle had command of the military guard in and about the capitol. He was mustered out and honorably discharged March 26, 1866, with rank of brevet brigadier general.

He entered the law department of Michigan university in the same year of his discharge and was graduated LL. B. in March, 1867. He had been given the degree A. M. in 1864, and in 1902 his alma mater conferred upon him LL. D.

He married Ellen S. Chapman in May, 1863, at Albion Michigan, and Dr. Henry P. Tappan, president of the University of Michigan, journeyed from Ann Arbor to perform the ceremony.

General Beadle engaged in the practice of law at Evansville, Indiana, in 1867, and at Boscobel, Wisconsin, in 1868-69. In the latter year he was appointed surveyor general of the territory of Dakota, and from that time, leaving behind him the associations of his boyhood days and of his university and army life, he may be fittingly known as the Dakota pioneer.

THE MEMOIRS

This sketch was written at the request of Doane Robinson, secretary of the state historical society, who desired that it deal with reminiscences and have the form of a memoir. It is prepared largely from memory, aided by such of my reports and circulars as remain in my possession. All original records that were preserved in the office of the territorial superintendent of public instruction were left in that office in Bismarck when the territory was divided and the two states admitted into the union.

This document was prepared under other very serious difficulties. It was requested, and some work was done upon it, in the fall of 1905. Early in the winter I slipped upon an icy sidewalk and fell upon my right hand, which was badly bruised and broken, so that I could write but little for several months. When I had resumed work this spring I was seriously ill for several weeks and compelled to abandon all work for some time. The result is that nearly all the paper has been prepared in the month of July. I could not rearrange or rewrite the paper, and am unable to employ a stenographer. I can only trust that it will not be an entire disappointment. An effort was made to add to reliable history.

In March, 1869, General J. D. Cox, secretary of the interior, and President Grant appointed the writer United States surveyor general for Dakota territory. He had some practical knowledge of engineering and land surveys. Conferences were held with the commissioner of the general land office and the chief of the division of surveys, and a perfect understanding was agreed upon —that the duty was to secure the careful and correct survey of the public lands, that it was to be performed in a faithful and

fearless way and free from political dictation. Late in April came a drive of nearly two days' duration from Sioux City, Iowa, to Yankton, in a private conveyance, and many times we had to stop and cut the gumbo, mud and grass from the wheels. My companion had been an officer in the Dakota troop in the Indian war of the "outbreak," as it was called, and had seen much of the territory.* We talked much about the lands and soils and the prospects of the future state to be then founded. A territorial government from the first hour is and feels itself to be temporary. Statehood is always in view. Some things are done as carefully as if all were permanent. It is well when the settlers feel that their homes, their business, their schools, their churches, their neighbors and their own characters are as permanent as if real statehood were accomplished. On that journey the school lands were mentioned and I then opened to my companion the theory that these were the great trust of the future commonwealth and should be absolutely secured from waste and cheap sales.

The writer was not without strong incentives in this direction from boyhood, in Indiana, where an early migration from southeast of the Ohio river had left a large per cent of illiteracy. He had seen a school system there created that by its excellence and vigor had redeemed the state, placing it fairly equal to the best. There he had heard the farmers and laboring men talk of the new constitution, of free schools, and of the improvidence in managing the school lands. In Michigan, from 1857 to 1861, when in college, he had heard similar but more advanced discussions and had heard the founder of this common school system appeal to the people to make good by taxation the waste of the school lands, and show how cheaply they had been sold as compared with the seventy-two sections for the university. Later, in Wisconsin, he had heard the shameful story of waste there, and had secured a copy of the Illinois school laws of 1830-33, which authorized the local officers to sell school lands at $1.25 and $2.50 per acre. These and many similar ideas were recalled as we looked over this virgin land, and resolute purposes were already formed to aid Dakota, if possible, to make a nobler record.

* General William Tripp.

Thus the schools and this endowment were live issues in my mind on the day I first saw Dakota.

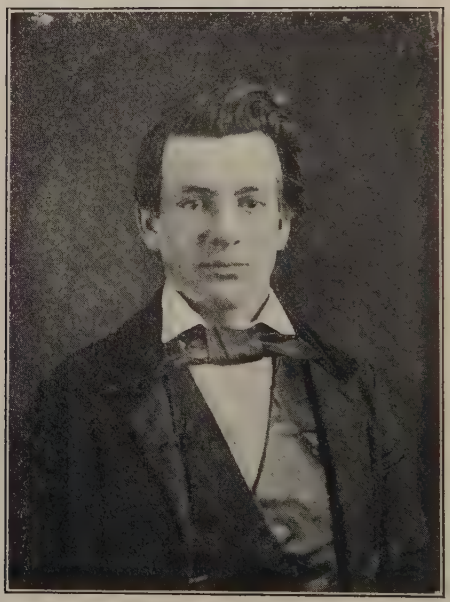
This slow journey over the broad Missouri bottom had other points of interest. At Sioux City I was told that Dakota was all right, but that some little corners in it were "tough" and had a somewhat lawless population, and that the southeast corner of Union county was one of them. My comrade held a similar idea, and though we started late we did not stop for lunch till we were fifteen or eighteen miles from Sioux City. The public has heard of crimes in that little corner, from time to time ever since, yet this does not affect the good name of Union county, much less of South Dakota, while whole chapters of history are written about two crimes that occurred in Dakota territory, as if its fame were to be forever tarnished by them. Occasional space writers, thirty odd years later, rehash the stuff until an impression is given to some that such was the character of life in those early days. They may be referred to in their time, but are mentioned now to say that the writer does not believe in that kind of history as a true report of their times or of any period in South Dakota.

Stopping at Elk Point an hour or more, we met Eli B. Wixson,[2] W. H. H. Fate,[3] H. H. Blair[4] and other prominent citizens, and began to form a high opinion of Dakota people. Certainly the twenty or more that were met there would leave such an impression upon anyone. In the many years since we have known the people of Union county, have seen them suffer, endure, and wonderfully prosper as they deserved. Having been privileged to were the badge of its old settlers' association, its motto can be quoted as true: "Our Hardships were Mutual; Our Friendship is Perpetual." That night we literally "bunked" in the log cabin of Mr. Fisher at Green Point, now Burbank. Messrs. Fisher and

[2] Eli B. Wixson was born in Wayne, Steuben county, New York, May 6, 1833, and reared as a farmer. He located at Elk Point on July 22, 1859, and has since resided there or in the immediate vicinity. He served in the First Dakota cavalry in the war of the outbreak from 1861 to 1865.

[3] Henry H. Blair was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1839. Removed to Wisconsin and served in the civil war in the Eighth regiment volunteer infantry. Located at Elk Point in 1869, and still resides there. Has been county judge and treasurer, and served six years on the state board of regents of education, 1897-1903.

[4] W. H. H. Fate, born at Brownsville, Ohio, July 5, 1840. Located in Union county, Dakota, 1862, and that autumn enlisted in Company B, Dakota cavalry, and served throughout the war of the outbreak. Served as superintendent of schools for ten years from 1876, and largely organized the school system of that county.



W. H. H. Beadle, 1857

Rudd later built a mill and founded Lodi, Clay county. Dragging on through the mud, we visited Vermillion for an hour, meeting Hon. Horace J. Austin,[5] James McHenry[6] and many others. Taking dinner at the home of Franklin Taylor[7] (the present site of Meckling), we reached the Dakota river, were ferried over and arrived in Yankton about 10:30 p. m. At Washington I had met a number of Dakotans, including Judge Kidder,[8] and from him had accepted some letters of introduction to others. Knowing him well all his life afterwards, we were good friends and I was glad to support him for delegate to congress in 1875 and 1877.

On May 3rd I took possession of the office of surveyor general, succeeding Gen. William Tripp. Having made careful inquiry in Washington and learned that Col. I. N. Higbee of the office was a most trustworthy and capable man, I had sent word to him and he then became and remained the most efficient chief clerk of the office. He was strongly commended by Hon. Wiliam B. Allison, then a member of congress from Iowa. Phil. K. Faulk,[10] a one-armed soldier, was a clerk. A little later E. H. Van Antwerp,[11] a graduate of Union college, was made draughtsman, and Ed. F. Higbee was an assistant. Both these are still

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[5] Horace J. Austin, born in Washington county, New York, July 11, 1837. A land surveyor by profession, he settled at Yankton in 1859. Served in the First Dakota cavalry, and at the close of the war of the outbreak settled at Vermillion. He was several times a member of the legislature, and while serving in the house of representatives at Pierre, died on February 27, 1891.

[6] James McHenry kept the first store at Vermillion. In his house Dr. Caulkins taught the first school in South Dakota, held in the civil settlements. He afterwards owned the mill at Bloomington.

[7] This should be Charles N. Taylor. Franklin Taylor's home is near Vermillion. Mr. Taylor settled at Lincoln (Meckling) in 1864, and resided there until his death in 1899.

[8] Jefferson P. Kidder. For sketch see First South Dakota Collections, page 117.

[9] General William Tripp was a native of Maine and an elder half brother of Hon. Bartlett Tripp. He came to Dakota in 1859 and served as captain of Company B, First Dakota cavalry.

[10] Phil K. Faulk, younger half brother of Governor Andrew J. Faulk, was born in Kittanning, Pennsylvania, in 1840. Served in the Eleventh Pennsylvania from 1861 until he lost his arm in the battle of the Wilderness in 1864. Settled in Yankton in 1865, studied law, and served several times as county attorney and in the legislature. Died at Yankton in 1900.

[11] Edward H. VanAntwerp, native of New York, came to Yankton in 1870 and was long a draughtsman in the surveyor general's office, but later engaged in contracting for public surveys.

in the government service. Mr. Ephraim Miner [12] of Yankton, a most respected citizen, was for some time an efficient clerk, and Mr. Thyge Dahl was also employed. The boundaries of the Yankton Indian reservation had been marked in part and, under authority of the general land office, I sent M. K. Armstrong [13] to complete this and he established the remainder of the west and all of the north boundaries. If careful inquiry were made it would be found that probably the Indians secured a larger area than they were legally entitled to. Other contracts were let, one to Horace J. Austin, one of the most faithful deputies under the office. There were not many experienced surveyors and two were employed from Wisconsin, whom I knew. With one of these came Richard F. Pettigrew [14] as a member of the crew, and they worked in the northern part of Minnehaha county. Mr. Pettigrew settled at Sioux Falls and later received contracts from me and my successors, as Col. Grigsby [15] did. Even a small contract was a decided help to a young man in those early days. Among others, Hon. Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota had commended to me Mr. Geo. N. Propper of Yankton, and I gave him employment. Then attack began to be made upon the policy of the office, more especially on account of this particular contract. There had been politics in Dakota the year before, and many good men were strongly opposed in the conflict. Between three candidates, the less than 4,000 votes were nearly evenly divided, but Hon. S. L. Spink[16] was elected by a small plurality.

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[12] Ephraim Miner, a native of New York, still resides at Yankton, where he is engaged in flour milling. He has resided in Yankton since the early sixties.

[13] Moses K. Armstrong, a land surveyor, came to Dakota in 1859; served in several legislatures; was adjutant general and treasurer, and delegate in congress, 1870-74. After retiring from congress engaged in banking business at St. James, Minnesota, where he died in 1905.

[14] Richard F. Pettigrew. For sketch see First South Dakota Collections, page 161.

[15] Colonel Melvin Grigsby, born at Potosi, Grant county, Wisconsin, June 8, 1845. Educated at Lancaster Institute, and in 1861 enlisted in Second Wisconsin cavalry and served until 1865, having a remarkable experience as a prisoner of war in the infamous Andersonville prison. Settled at Sioux Falls in 1872. Held many local offices, and was attorney general 1897-1899. Organized the famous cowboy regiment of cavalry and served in Spanish war, 1898.

[16] S. L. Spink, born in Illinois, 1830, came to Dakota in 1865 as secretary of territory; served in congress, 1869-70; died in Yankton, 1881.

He and his supporters deemed themselves the true and regular Republicans. Of course I met many others, who were Republicans then and ever since, who took the other view. In any event these gentlemen desired and claimed much of the patronage, and sought appointments at Washington in which they were not successful. I had employed Mr. Propper in good faith, but was not well pleased with him and declined to repeat the employment though asked to do so by such excellent men as F. J. DeWitt[17] and others. Then, of course, Mr. Propper was unfriendly.

Such men as M. T. Woolley,[18] Horace J. Austin, R. F. Pettigrew and many others were deemed the straightest of Republicans, and in the north part of the territory such highly competent men as Geo. G. Beardsley[19] and Charles Scott[20] were given contracts. Several others might be named. The patronage was wanted, however, and my removal was sought. While Doane Robinson has recorded in his history that I was removed from office because I supported Hon. W. A. Burleigh for delegate,[21] let me say that this is an error. I was not removed, and Mr. Lott S. Bayless was really appointed receiver of the Yankton land office, not surveyor general. Early in the spring of 1873 Mr. Wm. P. Dewey[22] of Wisconsin became my friendly successor, and I preferably went to the field behind my compass. While a native of Indiana, I was appointed from Wisconsin. There are a number of similar but all trifling errors. These are made in the body of the history, but would be corrected by reading the official registers later in the work.

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[17] Franklin J. DeWitt, of Dutch stock, was born in Philadelphia, March 18, 1824. Settled in St. Paul in 1854, and came to Sioux Falls in 1857 as leader of the Dakota Land company. Engaged in Indian trade along the Missouri and settled in Yankton in 1867, where he died in 1898.

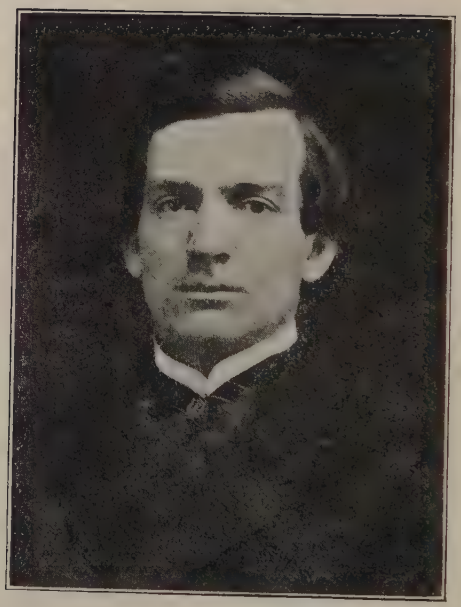
[18] Miles T. Woolley, born in DeRoyster county, New York, January 10, 1840; served in the civil war in the Seventy-fifth Illinois; settled at Yankton in 1869. Was a lawyer and civil engineer, devoting himself to the latter professon. Died at Hot Springs, South Dakota, August 11, 1892.

[19] George G. Beardsley settled in North Dakota in 1872. Died there.

[20] Charles Scott, born at Minneapolis, Minnesota; settled at Fargo in 1872.

[21] This inexcusable error is based upon a statement in the Yankton Press, afterwards corrected by that newspaper. For sketch of Dr. Burleigh, see First South Dakota Collections, page 130.

[22] William Pitt Dewey was a brother of Nelson Dewey, the famous war governor of Wisconsin. He continued his residence in Yankton until his death, about 1900.



W. H. H. Beadle, 1860

When one arrives in so new a land as Dakota then was, one looks around actively and searches for information, and I read every available book or report at an early day. The history of the territory could be taken fresh from the lips of Major Hanson, M. K. Armstrong, former governors Newton Edmunds [23] and Andrew J. Faulk,[24] Judge Kidder and those who had roamed over parts of the area as soldiers or surveyors. One became acquainted rapidly and readily in those days, and within two years it seemed that I knew nearly every family in the territory, whether they lived in town or country. There was something unusually cordial in the greetings, and one soon felt at home in the new land. It was not long before long drives into the country showed me the remarkable fertility of the soil The air was purer even than now, and I had soon penetrated to Sioux Falls and the intermediate region and to Bon Homme, and as far as the present Scotland. In 1870 I had the honor to deliver the address at Canton on the 4th of July. By actual count there were almost exactly 300 people there. This included nearly the entire population from northern Union county to beyond Sioux Falls, and it was a goodly people in a delightsome land. When we struck Eden (the present Hudson) on the evening of the 3rd we found great hospitality with Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Ball; and saw "Buck" Wheelock and a few others who had helped to make the place deserve its name. On the way up, at Fairview and near Canton we passed farms that seemed already well improved.

In the forenoon of the 4th the people assembled in every form of conveyance, and with teams made up of yoke cattle as much as horses. There were a few who had stylish horses, buggies and harness. On the road from the north that ran down by Holsey's store, an ox team was driven by a strong and good looking Norwegian girl, and the wagon was filled with young people. Some of these buggies tried to pass her team, but she had the track and they found some ruts on the side. The brave driver, knowing that in snow or mud or in a jam her oxen

[23] Newton Edmunds. For sketch see First South Dakota Collections, page 123.

[24] Andrew J. Faulk. See First South Dakota Collections, page 135.

and stout wagon were safest, whipped up to a lively trot. The buggies pressed on over the bumps to pass her, but springing up and standing erect on the seat, her hat dropping back upon her neck, she called with whip and voice upon the steers for their best effort, bringing the long gad alternately upon the near and off animal. Her team was not slow and swept on with increasing speed, and she won the forty-rod race and the cheers of the crowd. In Canton such well known gentlemen as Hon. O. S. Gifford,[25] Will Cuppett,[26] Mr. Harlan[27] and several men prominent in these days were already "old citizens," having been there from one to three years.

At Sioux Falls we slept on the "ground floor" in one of the stone barracks of Fort Dakota. The troops were gone, but the military reservation had not been legally vacated. About a dozen enterprising young men were "camping" until congress should act and title could be secured and they could again start what all were sure would be the chief city of the state. A little way south of the barracks Charley Howard[28] kept a little store. That was about all there was of Sioux Falls. Starting upon the return we were told that the best ford was just above the little island, in front of Howard's store, and entering the stream with the checks loose we stopped at the middle to let the horses drink. One of them soon began to paw the water and, refusing to start, lay down in the stream. With active pulling and whipping he got up and we went on with the laughing cheers of the little party who were seeing us off.

Let me testify here that this trip took us through Vermillion, Richland, Eden, Canton and Sioux Falls, and nowhere did we see an intoxicated man, not one, even in the crowd at Canton.

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[25] Oscar S. Gifford, born at Watertown, New York, in 1842; settled at Canton, October, 1871; served as delegate in congress from 1885 to 1889, and as a member of congress from 1889 to 1891. Is now (1906) superintendent of the Hiawatha asylum for insane Indians at Canton.

[26] William M. Cuppett, born in Bedford county, Pennsylvania, in 1843; served throughout the war in an Iowa regiment, and settled at Canton in 1868, and has held many places of public trust.

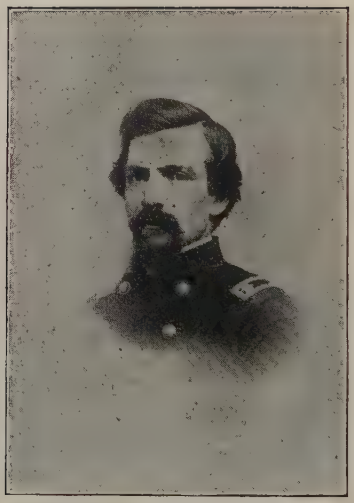
[27] G. W. Harlan, a native of Rock Island, Illinois, settled in Canton in 1870. Is proprietor of the well known Harlan House.

[28] Charles K. Howard, now of Smithville, South Dakota, and one of the leading stockmen of the state, was born in Delaware county, New York, in 1836. Located in Sioux Falls in 1869.

Nowhere did we see men offering spirits to one another. Nowhere was it suggested by anyone. Many other trips were taken and the people very generally were sober, industrious and good citizens.

The people of Yankton were, it seemed, devoted to legitimate business, to trade and industries, to schools and churches. There were in the river towns saloons and gambling, but they did not dominate or characterize the towns. Occasionally, when a term of the United States district court was held, there would be collected from along the river above as witnesses or criminal defendants a rough and coarse crowd. Discharged soldiers passing through would take the opportunity for a little "celebration." Roustabouts from the steamers would seek the resorts. Miners would come down from Montana in "mackinaw" boats, sell their gold dust, and some would have a spree. Boisterous or even fighting men were rarely arrested, but were taken out of the public view and cared for. All the rowdyism or drinking or gambling was in public view, but nine-tenths of the people of Yankton had nothing to do with it. Bismarck in 1872-3-4-5-6-7 was much more largely given to the vices.

There were few regular farms any where in the sense that we see them now everywhere, but there were many good beginnings, and a hopeful spirit prevailed among the people. A slender line of settlement extended from Elk Point to several miles beyond Sioux Falls in 1871; from Vermillion to the north line of Clay county, and from Yankton to near Scotland and nearly to Springfield. The hardy Norwegian people were prominent along the Sioux, the Brule and over the Missouri bottom lands from the Dakota to the Vermillion and in the northeast part of Yankton county. Few of these people came to the towns. They were of an intelligent and capable class, not the lower peasantry, but the better tenant class in their old home. They were later followed by their congeners, the Danes and the Swedes, but not in nearly equal numbers. We speak now with pride in the fact that so very large a per cent of our population is native born, but this misleads if it implies that their fathers and mothers were so largely native. The Scandinavians began and continued in lives marked by industry, integrity and religious devotion. This is not said in offensive comparison as to others. I am a defender



W. H. H. Beadle, 1864

from full knowledge of the qualities of practically all the elements that from the first made up our population, and mention these facts now for use later in this memoir. One of the earliest prominent rural landmarks in Yankton county was the white Lutheran church on the elevation where is now the town of Mission Hill.[29] It was erected in 1869. These people had largely come directly from their mother land. They and their children spoke only the native tongue, and slowly learned English because of their considerable settlements where there were so few Americans. So they opened many private schools where instruction was given in their own tongue and the catechism of their church was taught. Over the regions now most populated by these people, whether in Yankton, Clay, Turner, Lincoln, Minnehaha, Moody, Brookings, Deuel, Lake or Kingsbury counties, the rural churches rise in testimony alike that they are true to their faith and that they are faithful farmers.

An item in the Sioux City Times of June 3, 1869, says: "Eight hundred Norwegians are en route between Chicago and Sioux City, bound for Dakota." By the census of 1900 there were 33,473 Scandinavians in the state and, with those of Scandinavian parentage, were 38 per cent of the total population.

It would be less than just not to mention some other peoples that came in mass or considerable bodies. These were the Bohemians of Bon Homme and Yankton counties and the Russian-Germans who came to Hutchinson and adjacent counties. They were faithful to their churches and creeds, and for some time held strongly for schools in their own languages. Indeed, the Russian-Germans have maintained schools that are parochial or religious in their character to the present time. Some of the youth of the Scandinavian and other peoples are now sent to schools of their creed and language in other states, and Lutheran schools are successful at Sioux Falls and Canton, and a Russian-German school is maintained at Freeman. These elements are mentioned as others, like the Hollanders in Douglas county and the large Russian-German population in McPherson, Walworth and Campbell counties might be, though of later date, to

[29] Vangen church at Mission Hill was the first Lutheran church built in South Dakota, and is now, probably, the oldest church edifice in the state.

show that problems and difficulties were to be met in school extension and the creation of a common, general sentiment for statehood and other aims in later years. For some years there was an effort to have the territorial laws printed in the Norwegian language, and, if so, in the German also. Newspapers were later published in the German and Norwegian languages at Yankton and Sioux Falls respectively. Though the elements of the early population were thus varied and mixed, they were of sound quality and all came up later well qualified to share honorably and effectively in the making of the commonwealth. After so many years and as age approaches, no one can charge me with political motive when I stand firmly in defense of the people of the early days, and of those of the worthiest period in South Dakota history, the nine years just previous to the state's admission to the union. The principal motive in writing this paper is to make clear to the present day and to history the labors, the aims and the splendid worth of the people that brought about the division of the old territory, the saving of the school lands, and the creation of a state under the Sioux Falls constitution of 1885. Necessarily prominent in all this is the creation and development of our school system.

Something may be said of how the territory became known in its lands and resources. The soldiers of 1862-3-4 saw the parts of the territory over which they passed at an unfavorable time on account of the severe drought of 1863 and the hardly less serious one of 1864. Such impressions must leave their effects. Indeed, it was a little later than this that some very poor work was done in surveys by one or two persons in parts of Turner and Minnehaha counties and, perhaps, in limited degree elsewhere, on the theory that "the lands would never be settled and ought not to have been accepted from the Indians." The few explorers who had traversed parts of the territory, Nicollet[30] and Fremont,[31] and the military expeditions or reconnoissances

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[30] Jean Nicolas Nicollet. For sketch see First South Dakota Collections, page 106.

[31] John Charles Fremont, 1813-1890, famous American explorer, poltician and general in the civil war; was a native of South Carolina, but spent most of his life in the west. He visited South Dakota in the years 1838 and 1839.

of Gen. Harney [32] and Lieut. Warren [33] gave the government a very fair general map of the country. Fremont, though he secured the name of Pathfinder, was not a great explorer and would have little fame were it not he was the son-in-law of the great Senator Benton,[34] became a candidate for the presidency and has some romance woven about his name. Nicollet and Warren were real and faithful explorers. As these men traveled and camped they noted distances and frequently fixed camping places or natural features by careful astronomical observations. Upon these data and general descriptions as well as the travel of traders and steamboats, the government constructed outline maps. It was the business of the land surveyors to fill in the details.

The general courses of streams, the location of hill groups and ranges, of the lakes and the Black Hills, of the coteaus and similar water sheds and landmarks, were fairly definite; but the details between the determined points were inaccurate until progressive surveys defined every part, and now, in 1906, the last mile is run and measured. In later years the United States has surveyed the whole region anew, has geodetically triangulated the state, accurately determined the heights and levels, the surface and subterranean water supply, and, in co-operation, our state geologist has traced lines of glacial drift and developed well the geology of the state. In the main the rest is left for man to do; to prospect and mine for the gold and tin and to tap and delineate the artesian area, to discover and claim the cement and other useful clays, to test the soils, to quarry the rocks and to take to himself the vast unappropriated wealth of nature. The doing of all this and the men who did it have covered the state with enterpise,extended a network of railways and covered the available area with cities and towns, with farms and homes, and filled the state with schools and churches. Such is the progress of a worthy and capable people in a rich, new land. As the prospect is now so bright and the condition so happy, so, I beg

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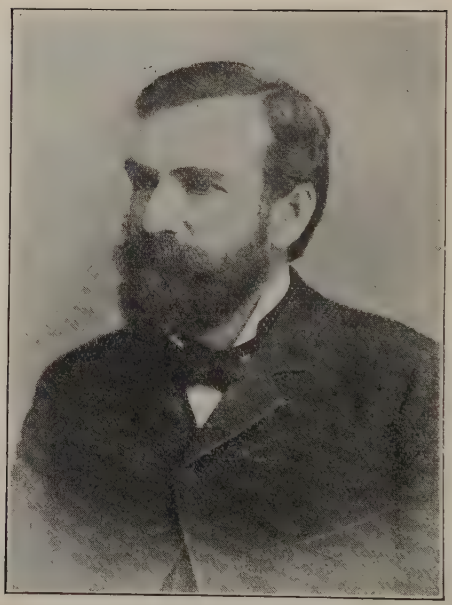
[32] General W. S. Harney. For sketch see First South Dakota Collections, page 107.

[33] General Gouvernor K. Warren of General Grant's staff; native of New York, born 1830, died 1882.

[34] Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri.



W. H. H. Beadle, 1881

my readers to believe, it was hopeful and faithful and worthy in the earliest days. The great things and high promises of today would not be ours, if any large element had been unfaithful in the beginning.

Interesting things occurred as the surveys extended. Going up the west side of the Dakota river in June, 1873, with, I believe, the first party to traverse its nearly entire length, we were surprised, some thirty miles above where Huron is, to find a considerable river flowing from the west and apparently a small one coming beyond it from the north, and we had to travel west some ten miles or more to the abrupt land where Redfield lies. That and similar features in many parts were lacking upon our previous maps. And it seemed double trouble the next morning, when midway between the mouths of Turtle and Snake creeks, that a band of Yanktonais Indians under Drifting Goose crossed the Dakota from their summer tepees on the east side, halted us, demanded that we leave with them all we had and return whence we came.[35] There were 130 or 140 of them, men and women, in blankets, no weapons visible. The women began to sing a weird cry, men caught our front horses by their bridles and another began to unhitch the tugs. We were all armed, seven of us. I had a double-barrelled shot gun and a pocket full of buckshot shells. Pointing my gun a moment at others to drive them back, I handed my gun to the driver, caught the Indian by the arm and shoulder, and with a tremendous effort whirled him around and away, quickly rehitching the tug I took my gun, pulled back both hammers and held it to my shoulder pointing it at the nearest; then laying one hand upon the hook of the tug I warned them back and held up my gun again. The men, other than the drivers, stood along before the wagons, and all had guns or revolvers in hand. My men perfectly understood that under no provocation were they to fire until after I did. The declaration of hostilities was in my hands. Fortu-

[35] Drifting Goose, a friendly Yanktonais, claimed a reservation of three townships along the James river, in northern Spink county. He had some color of title to the land through an executive order withholding the land from settlement, and in fact many of the old government maps indicate the tract as "Drifting Goose Reservation." Drifting Goose, who now lives at Crow Creek reservation, says he had no intention of committing any violence aganst General Beadle's party, but did intend to scare them away, if possible.

nately, the Indians gave way somewhat and did not disclose their weapons that were under their blankets, though they were probably not numerous. Speaking to the teams to start, we formed behind them and walked backwards some distance, holding our guns at "a ready." There had been a little conference at first and small presents of food and tobacco offered and dropped on the ground for the Indians. We could not afford to fight; one wounded man would disable us. We had no desire to harm the Indians, and had not been sent as missionaries to them.

A little while later in the summer M. T. Woolley of Yankton and his suveying party were fired on by these Indians; bullets hit his wagons, and he was driven away. In 1878, when Horace J. Austin and I were surveying in northern Spink county, in close association, for protection, with Thomas Marshall [36] and his men, one of the latter's party, Mr. Zach Sutley,[37] was caught three miles from camp, robbed, stripped and caused to run for his life while shots were fired after him. These are samples of some experiences surveyors met with.

In 1872 the Northern Pacific railroad pushed suddenly from Fargo, a town of three or four houses, toward Bismarck. Except the seventh guide meridian, from a point above Fargo to the international line near Pembina, there was no land survey done in the northern part. The railway land grant was wide; the company wanted definite townsites, and desired their grant generally surveyed. The general land office instructed me to proceed to where the capital of North Dakota now stands and there establish a new base line and a new prime meridian, in order that surveys might be opened in that section. In reply it was urged that a better way would be to carry the ninth and tenth standard parallels from the Minnesota line to the Missouri and run the intermediate guide meridians, as checks upon their correctness. This was approved by telegraph, and, selecting George G. Beardsley and Charles Scott, then of Minnesota, but long after

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[36] Thomas F. Marshall, now member of congress from North Dakota, was born in Hannibal, Missouri, March 7, 1854. Settled at Yankton in 1873.

[37] Zach. Sutley of Pierre, born in Pennsylvania; settled at Yankton in 1872.

Drifting Goose explains that this outrage was committed by some of his young men in his absence.

honored residents and surveyors in North Dakota, the plan was very successfully accomplished. From there the surveys were opened all along the line and to the north and south. Thus the same system was extended throughout that state. It seems that such a plan would have been wiser than the one later adopted for a new Black Hills meridian. The base line for surveys in Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas was run west from the mouth of the St. Francis river in Arkansas, from which the fifth principal meridian was run north.

The counties of Campbell, Walworth and Potter are smaller than planned by the legislature that created them, because when the standards that bound them on the north and south were later run and measured, they were found to be from six to ten miles shorter then the old map indicated. From within North Dakota to the mouth of the Cheyenne river the Missouri is farther east then previous information had indicated. Another similar point is involved in the fact that M. K. Armstrong "moved the forty-ninth parallel of latitude a mile or two north of its original location." When he carefully ran the seventh guide meridian north in the Red River valley his measurements showed the understood international boundary to be really that much farther south than astronomy later located it. The British had again invaded the United States. The international commission later correctly located the parallel and marked the line to the summit of the Rockies with permanent monuments, as well as with tin cans and empty bottles! Without mentioning other features and the experience of many individuals, or when the last live buffalo was seen, or where Beardsley killed the bear, or Gus. High's camp was destroyed by a prairie fire, or less important facts, we leave this department, because another is to write the history of the land surveys. We must add that in course of many years the writer on long journeys passed over a large part of the old territory, saw all its features and the beginnings of many of its new settlements. The effect of all this and of an extended acquaintance among the people created a great confidence in the future of the country and an enduring enthusiasm for its progress. Some preacher or moralist might find in some of this texts and illustrations of what was to occur as the people of the south half became acquainted with their heritage and with one another and

corrected their bearings and tested their social and institutional maps, derived a philosophy that guided them into the righteous accomplishments of 1879-1889.

The Early History and Its Philosophy

Two histories of the early times are extant, that of Hon. M. K. Armstrong and that of Secretary Doane Robinson, the latter of which is much influenced in the times from 1859 to 1872 by that of Mr. Armstrong, though much additional matter precedes and accompanies it.[38] The work of Mr. Armstrong relates mainly to the very beginnings of white settlements, of which he himself was a member. He deals only with the earliest period, and not with the later rapid growth and expansion, and cannot, therefore, follow developments, trace results, and deal with the social, institutional and political progress. Since 1874 he rarely even visited South Dakota. His work has the grandiloquent and, one might almost think, the burlesque title of "The Early Empire Builders," and gives an extreme picture of frontier and border life and the early political contests when he saw little more to tell. He writes largely of persons and their conflicts, of striking scenes and the most extravagant incidents, such as the reporter for a sensational press might delight in, rather than the more serious work of which there was already some that gave promise. It is, however, difficult for any writer who did not then live here to justly weigh motives, aims and deeds in a community so small, so dispersed and so varied in elements as Dakota prior to 1877.

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[38] There are no contemporaneous newspapers for the period from 1859 to 1870. For that period we have the official reports of the land and Indian departments, the journals of the territorial legislatures, the governors' messages, the recollections of the pioneers, and Armstrong's History of Dakota, from which to determine the course of events. During the greater portion of the period the few settlers were distracted by the civil and Indian wars and the distresses of drought and grasshopper raids. No general policies were inaugurated. Laws not of a local nature were copied from the statutes of other states. It is the testimony of all who participated that the times were barren of events of commonwealth-shaping moment. Armstrong chronicled the things in which the public felt greatest interest in those days, and though somewhat sensational in his methods, his compeers give him credit for truthfulness.

It requires more than a population of a few thousands of people, largely speaking four languages and not yet in many cases acquainted with the United States or its history and republican government, through coming because of that and loving it loyally, to develop serious policies and permanently to pursue them. Not earlier than 1879, at least, was there something like an organized popular sentiment and a general thought toward the creation of a state. It was somewhat like the England before the seventeeth century, which set free the great middle class of that nation and started a real career of colonization and commerce. Before that its discoverers, explorers and would-be colonizers were mere soldiers of fortune, sailing by grant of their queen, and none rose higher than the great fighter and half pirate, Drake, though I would not ascribe the latter's character to any one of our early leaders. Later, the people of England began to colonize America; and Virginia, New England, Maryland and Pennsylvania laid the real foundations of the United States. The germs of our national life were planted there.

Yet, notwithstanding the intensity of political contests and individual ambitions, much had been done in beginnings, seeds of purpose had been planted. Ideas had begun to germinate and men had begun to create and to promote public sentiment and like Governor Edmunds, to organize policies which are realized in the present state. Good laws had in the main been enacted, and something like permanence was indicated in the creation and enactment of the excellent codes of 1877, and the organization of schools, churches and society generally. Public schools were beginning to fuse the nationalities into a common capability and pride of citizenship. At the time of the opening of the territory in 1859, and for very many years afterward, the conditions of life were far more primitive than the younger generation of the present can realize. Nearly all the actual settlers were honorable, worthy and energetic as any now are, but life and opportunity were limited, and the results of the hardest labor could not materialize in such comforts as all now enjoy. There were no such wealth, luxuries, culture, amusements and higher enjoyments as are now available to most if not all. The world has been revolutionized in material things, in customs, in travel, in decent pleasures, and, most of all, in habits of thought.

House in which General Beadle was Born
Howard, Indiana

The people of the nation were engaged in a mighty struggle for existence as a united and free republic. The civil war and its immediate effects lasted long, to create hesitation and doubt. The Indian wars of 1862-4 profundly affected the growth and delayed the development of the territory. But it tested the quality of the people and sifted the population of the useless, while it brought over half the adult males under arms to defend the settlements and their homes.

Then every problem was to be solved, the soil and climate were to be tested and practice and experiment were to be tried until these were harmonized in permanent success. At the same time the people were to study and learn one another, and trust was to be created among men. The best ability then to serve society and lay foundations for the future was often personal courage and hardihood. A wilderness was to be occupied and subdued. A scanty living was to be secured while homes were made, and a republican form of government was to be created and conducted with a small and scattered constituency composed of diverse elements, to very many of which immediate local interests were of more concern than the welfare of the whole. With bodies of Scandinavian, German, Bohemian, American, and other people, each speaking only its own language, there was yet no comprehensive commonwealth. Many of these struggling men and women of personal courage and stalwart vigor had also high elements of integrity and capacity, and from beneath the rudeness of their lives in those days have blossomed the nobilitiy of high citizenship and the sturdy quality of state builders. The rough border ways began early to change to civilized life.

First the French, then the English and the American, entered the region. The voyageur, the trapper and a little later the priest penetrated the wilds and threaded and re-threaded the lands from the great lakes to the Rocky Mountains. The American Fur Company and American missionaries followed quickly the explorations of Lewis and Clark, as did the Astor expedition under Lieut. Hunt. Later still came the military expedition of General Harney, the exploring tours of Nicollet and of Fremont, of Lieut. Warren, Captain Reynolds[39] and Dr. F. V. Hayden,[40]

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[39] William Floyd Reynolds of Indiana made reconnoisance from Fort

giving names to natural objects that remain. The traders, the Indian agents and the army posts increased, and dependent white men attached to these became located in the country. Then the state of Minnesota was created, leaving Dakota unorganized, and an actual civil settlement began at Sioux Falls and in a small degree elsewhere. Then in 1861 the territory of Dakota was created by congress, and early in 1862 was organized. There was then a mixed population, among which were many capable and excellent people, but it was fringed with Indian traders, army and Indian contractors, trappers, frontiersmen and half-breeds who shared the streams and the bordering woods with the still wild Indian. Most of these classes of pioneers thought little of the fair valleys and fertile plains that lie in our state, and framed no visions of the farms, the towns and institutions that were to come. Still, at the time of opening of the territory by the Indian treaty of 1859, the white man had come to stay.

Brief Political Sketch

It is not permitted by the nature or purpose of this paper to deal at length with general political and civil history. That has not yet been written with full correctness by anyone. Neither the work of Mr. Armstrong, which is special, personal and narrow, nor the large and orderly volume of Mr. Robinson, with so many researches of value, is true in all respects. Each lacks the essential element of historic perspective. The work of Mr. Robinson has by far the greater value, as an orderly collection of important facts, but it is subject to some of the criticisms that are so merited by the other. I have only the kindest feeling personally toward its author, yet must in a measure reflect upon features of the volume when it fails, as I think, to grasp the elements, understand the social development, see the institutional upbuilding and understand how this state came to be. Without a purpose to misrepresent he (and Mr. Armstrong much

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Pierre to the Yellowstone, for examination and topographical survey of the region, in 1859.

[40] Dr. F. V. Hayden. For sketch see First South Dakota Collections, page 134.

more so) has made errors, positive and negative, relating to persons and to public events, by exclusion and by inclusion, and by not seeing the great power of our people, outside of politics and official life, to make the commonwealth. Mr. Robinson has later shown that he might now write a history of South Dakota that would be very highly creditable and more reliable than most works of this kind in any state. These authors have sometimes followed a partisan record and have magnified and belittled individuals at the cost of the general movement of popular opinion, development and public service. Both give unequal importance and space to different affairs and do not see the life, civic and moral, of the people. They fail to trace the steady progress of ideas, the social, civil and institutional development, the progress of education, the blending of all our people into a commonwealth of ideas and purposes, until everywhere all could join in that salute to the national banner which ended with, "One country, one language, one flag!" This is the great thing for the future historian to do. He must have the keen analysis of causes and effects. In other words, he must have the true historical perspective. This paper does not profess to do this work, but only to supply a little more material to him who shall do it.[41]

The descriptions given by Hon M. K. Armstrong of his campaigns for delegate to congress and the earlier accounts of leg-

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[41] The compiler of these notes has little defense to make against the, in the main, just criticism of General Beadle upon his historical work. This only would he say: The historical work in South Dakota to date is purely elementary. A basis of fact must be established; and to ascertaining and setting down in orderly manner the chief events of the formative period is the task to which he has devoted himself. Mistaken information and the natural proneness to error, to which all flesh is heir, has made the results far from perfect, but it may be said that in a practically uncultivated field, some progress has been made. It has been his to collect and verify and record facts with little reference to their relative value. The facts once established, the philosophical writer who will make proper discriminations will come. It is pretty early yet to measure the value of the work of individuals. In estimating the value of men many things must be considered and many circumstances tend to determine our appreciation of them. At this time it is best to record what each accomplished, and posterity, free from the bias of friendship or prejudice, will assign to each his rightful place. General Beadle's big and kindly heart leads him to a most generous estimate of some of the pioneers who left a record not altogether complimentary to their memories. There is, however, no dispute about the excellent character of the pioneers in mass. This I took great pains to assert in my preface and criticism, and General Beadle simply emphasizes the sentiment by repeating it many times.

islative sessions are by a man twice elected to congress and respected in office and business, yet they can hardly be believed as full and true pictures of the times. They are special and extravagant scenes that he figured in, not the common ways of the people. In letters to a Sioux City newspaper he sought to besmirch Governor Jayne and other officers and, in 1862, to defeat him as a candidate for delegate to congress. Mr. Armstrong was a Democrat in politics, intensely devoted to his party, He came in 1859, before the national defeat of his party was probable, and there is ample reason to believe that had it been successful in 1860 he expected to be officially doing some of those things that he ridicules others in the performance of. Ambition and disappointment had something to do with his motives. While Mr. Robinson gives some space to detract from the fame of a few and to declare Burleigh a possible criminal, he follows Armstrong in the bizarre setting given to others, leaving Armstrong, by inference, the hero of the story. Mr. Armstrong was fond of such kind of writing and kept it up in some form till late in his life. Upon the men of the better day it made no particular impression, and it is not and never was full or fair history.

They were capable people who managed and directed the work of those early legislatures. The laws they passed were creditable. Even if a few from "up river" or elsewhere were given to excesses, the men who drew the statutes, located the capital and the courts, as well as the university, calculated skillfully upon the future and organized a decent government and provided for public education. In the doing of all this, and it was considerable, there were parliamentary conflicts and alignments of parties and factions that occur in every legislature of the present day. There was more struggle and excitement then because of less system, and the boss was unknown or would not be obeyed. There was free manhood in it all.

In 1870, after mild skirmishing, the county conventions met and elected delegates to the territorial Republican convention, which met at Vermillion. Hon. S. L. Spink, then delegate to congres, and Hon. Walter A. Burleigh, a former delegate, were candidates for the nomination. Both had formerly been accepted as Republicans. Burleigh came originally from Maine, immediately from Pennsylvania, and Spink came from Illinois. Both had

been for some years in the territory. Burleigh had been not simply a Republican, but an abolitionist; was a radical believer in the rights of man, and of marked individuality and forcefulness, sometimes given to bitterness of feeling and vulgar reproach toward opponents, though this was individual and not general. He had many personal friends that he kept long, among those who opposed his candidacy. The contest did not have much warmth and had no bitterness until after the convention.

When the convention assembled, September 6, 1870, it was called to order by the proper officer of the territorial Republican committee and nominations were made for temporary chairman, one by the supporters of Mr. Spink, and Hon. Aaron Carpenter [42] of Clay county by the supporters of Dr. Burleigh. Mr Carpenter was, upon full roll call, regularly elected. There were some contests and neither side in those voted. Mr. Carpenter took the chair and thereupon Mr. Spink and his supporters withdrew from the hall and held a convention elsewhere. I was a member of the convention, voted for Mr. Carpenter, remained under him, and voted for the nomination of Dr. Burleigh, which was made unanimous by that body, as the nomination of Mr. Spink was by the other convention. In the convention I moved, and the resolution was adopted, that thereafter what was then known as the "Crawford county system" should be used by the party in its nominations. This system was named after Crawford county, Pennsylvania, in which it had sometime been in use. It was the germ of the "primary election" or improved caucus system now prominent in political discussions. I may say that I was already tired of Dakota politics; at least desired that it should act upon a more strictly representative plan. The resolution was never obeyed.

Mr. Spink had insisted that I and the patronage of the office I held should be employed in the support of himself and his faction, which he claimed, of course, was the only Republican party in the territory worthy the name. In support of Dr. Burleigh, I made a number of speeches, and "regularity" was the burden of

[42] Aaron Carpenter, born at Concord, Vermont, July 7, 1826. Settled at Vermillion in 1861; served in territorial legislature, 1867-8-9. Engaged in nursery business.

our argument. Generally each was supported with the argument that he could accomplish more for the territory than the other; in fact, this was a common argument in all delegate contests. The alleged support of Andrew Johnson by Dr. Burleigh when delegate before had truth in it, but that support was of the most trifling consequence in the house of representatives, because the delegate had no vote therein, and it was really, as such matters usually are,a skillfully pursued plan of good fellowship to secure patronage, in which I always understood it was successful. Mr. Spink had little success in that respect as a Republican, with a strictly Republican administration. The ordinary appropriations were made, but needed increase failed. Only a small amount, some $15,000, was appropriated for surveys. None of this was used by me in support of Dr. Burleigh. Men were employed because they were capable surveyors, and their work stands the test of time. Not one dollar was collected from any person in the employ of the office for any political or other purpose, and it is my recollection that much more than half of them supported Mr. Spink and were employed later without respect to this fact. I have never believed in or practiced the use of political or any public office or patronage for the support of a candidate or a party, and I rigidly held to that rule in 1870 and again in 1872. If any employee contributed to the support of Mr. Spink, it is unknown to me, and was his private act. Hon. M. K. Armstrong was nominated by the Democratic party and was elected by a small plurarity over Dr. Burleigh and a little larger one over Mr. Spink.

As to the campaign, it was far less than clean and admirable all around. By his own book Mr. Armstrong confesses the methods he employed, and his statements must be taken as true and, barring his liking for that style of writing, as probably indicating more than he narrates. A majority of the officials and many who had been and desired to be, supported Mr. Spink; and every dollar of their patronage was given to his cause. Much has been written and quoted as history to show that Dr. Burleigh had become rich as an Indian agent, even through fraud and other crime; that he used this wealth freely to corrupt voters, opening markets in principal towns and paying farmers beyond market prices for stock and produce. In its broad state-

ment it is not true. He did not pay ordinary campaign expenses. Observing his campaign, I saw and could see no such free use of money. It was by hearsay from some other county. It all, doubtless, rests upon a very few facts. Of two I heard specifically at the time and, seeking proof, found it in one case only, and at a later date. Armstrong declares that the campaign of one month cost him about one thousand dollars a day. So he is understood to declare plainly. This appears most extravagant and practically impossible. Nor did it come to anybody's knowledge at that time that Burleigh was rich, that he had a fortune, even if he had been dishonest in Indian affairs. He had been four years delegate (1865-9) and it seems to have cost him about all the salary to live at Washington. His fortune did not appear in any bank accounts or in more visible forms of property. Nor was Armstrong so rich a man as such declared expenditures would indicate. But for his own declaration it would not be credible to one then living in Dakota that he expended over one fifth the sum claimed.

Armstrong served credibly as a delegate and gained some reasonable appropriations that helped the territory. He bore the reputation of business and personal integrity and deserved it. He had warm personal friends in the other factions and probably got some votes from them. W. A. Burleigh was a singular man. He had friends who had no confidence in him. He was an extreme self-styled Calvinist in belief and declared that he was created and predestinated to do all and singular the things that he did do. And it afterwards appeared that he had done many things that he ought not to have done. He was a coarse man at best, and in some society was vulgar. This campaign ended his higher political ambition and hopes.

Let me say that later it was my pleasure to work with most of the leaders in the cause of Mr. Spink, in many public ways, and I remained on terms of personal friendship with them and do now with those who happily survive. It is my special desire not

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[43] The reader is referred to the report of Alexander Johnstone, special agent of the Indian office, published in the report of the commissioner of Indian affairs for 1866, page 180, for a review of Mr. Burleigh's conduct as Indian agent. Mr. Burleigh was able to prevent action upon this report through his influence with President Johnson.

to reflect upon the honor or personal integrity of these gentlemen. We had higher work to do. There came better service of town and state to most of us, and we did not quarrel about times that were not satisfactory to any. When some of them desired my removal from the office of surveyor general, I reported the whole matter to Gen. J. D. Cox, secretary of the interior, and he approved my official course. In a letter he said: "Your report is received and I am greatly pleased with its tone and the principles of action it avows. In such a course I shall support you to the extent of my power, and you shall not suffer if I can prevent it." When late in the winter of 1873 I left the office, I had a letter from the commissioner of the general land office expressing his regret that I did not continue, and expressing his warm approval of my service as such officer.

In 1872 the political contest was of much longer duration and was more intense than that of 1870. The convention met at Canton, already a considerable town and giving promise of the beauty that now marks it. It was held on May 21st and had been preceded by a hard struggle that continued till the election in October. Though preferring the election of Hon. G. C. Moody, because he was the ablest, best fitted and most deserving, I did not attend the convention. The course of its action was not very unlike that at Vermillion, leaving, as I was led to believe, Judge Moody the rightful candidate for delegate to congress. The friends of Judge Brookings followed his standard after as before the meeting. Judge Brookings was not in my opinion in any sense the representative man that Judge Moody was. Mr Armstrong was again elected.

Both bodies sent delegates to the Philadelphia convention, and all four were admitted to cast the vote for the territory, and they were harmonious in their action. They did me the honor to name me as the member for Dakota of the National Republican committee for four years. While I served the committee and spoke in some of the states for the candidates, I made no use of

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[44] Gideon C. Moody, former United States senator. For sketch see First South Dakota Collections, page 131.

[45] Wilmot W. Brookings. For sketch see First South Dakota Collections, page 113.

the position whatever in the campaign in Dakota, though I supported and voted for Judge Moody. Later it was used to aid the harmonious action of the party in 1874, when Hon. J. P. Kidder was nominated and elected delegate by a united party. In this and his re-election in 1876 he had no more ardent supporter than myself. We were all aiming at better things. The territory was developing and increasing in population and wealth. In 1876-7 the Black Hills were opened and a rush occurred to that region. The Northern Pacific railroad had been completed to Bismarck in 1873. The Dakota Southern railroad was built from Sioux City to Yankton, the track reaching that city very early in 1873. The northwestern railroad was pushed over the eastern line of the territory in 1872 and completed to Watertown early in 1873. Activity was general. There was no lack of it in politics at any time. There were now three distinct sections, the southeast, the north, and the Black Hills. Combines and "logrolling" were the result in politics and in legislatures. Granville G. Bennett [47] had come to Vermillion as judge of the district court. In 1876 he had served with credit, while judge, as a member of the commission to codify the laws. A gentleman of taste and culture, he delivered occasional lectures. He was a man of high moral worth, kindly manner and very pleasing address. He made no enemies. He was especially acceptable to that large and growing body of citizens that now began to shape opinion toward statehood and education. Having been associated with him in work upon the codes, I had become attached to him and supported his candidacy with zeal. The convention was held at Yankton on August 22, 1878. Judge Bennett resided in Yankton, and as a member of the delegation from that county I

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[46] The Winona & St. Peter division of the Chicago & Northwestern railroad was completed to Gary in November, 1872. Some grading was done that season west of Gary and the road was completed to Lake Kampeska the following spring, the first train reaching Kampeska about the end of June, 1873.

[47] Judge Granville Gaylord Bennett was born at Middletown, Ohio, October 9, 1833. He served throughout the war in the Seventh Iowa infantry; was member of both houses of Iowa legislature, and came to Dakota in 1875 as associate justice of the supreme court and upon the organization of the Black Hills counties in 1877, was assigned to that region and held first regular court there. In 1878 was elected delegate to congress, serving two years. See First South Dakota Collections, page 162.

was more active than on any other political occasion in Dakota. There were several candidates, and their support ran from but one or two votes up to a fair number. The Black Hills were really favorable to Judge Bennett and would not combine with the north, as was often the case later. So Judge Bennett was nominated after a long struggle and many slow changes toward him.

In the last ballot several changes were quickly made and his nomination was declared. A committee awaited upon him and presented him to the convention late in the evening, and all was apparently satisfactory. After the adjournment of the body and the next morning the leaders from the north and a few others began to say that if this and that change had not been made something else might have happened, and the next morning on the train east from Yankton there were not less than four men who believed they might have been nominated. Each was figuring it out to his own satisfaction that he would have been the man, sure. When they all reached home and looked it over there were several politicians who came to the conclusion that Judge Bennett was not just their kind of a man; that he ought not to have been nominated; itwas not good politics from their points of view. Finally, some of the gentlemen began to say that he was not fairly nominated, or was not really nominated at all! Some of these certainly were led to regret that some North Dakota votes had been cast for him, and finally a part of them decided that it would be advisable to defeat him. The attempt was made.

Hon. Bartlett Tripp[48] of Yankton was induced to accept the Democratic nomination. He was and is one of the ablest men and finest lawyers and judges the territory and state have numbered in their citizenship. A man of dignity and power, he bore himself like a leader and won the respect of the people. Judge Bennett made a dignified and worthy canvass. He was supported very earnestly by many men, but by none more zealously than by

[48] Bartlett Tripp, born at Harmony, Maine, July 15, 1842. Educated at Waterbury college and Albany Law school. Settled in Yankton in 1869; was chief justice of Dakota territory during the first Cleveland administration and United States minister to Austria during Cleveland's second term; served upon the Samoan high joint commission under McKinley.

John R. Gamble [49] of Yankton. Bennett was elected by about 2,000 majority. This was a beginning of political differences between the north and south that finally led to separation, and other causes tremendously aided. When speaking for Judge Bennett in this campaign I used to see many former soldiers of the union in the audiences. Judge Bennett had been a gallant Iowa soldier and was in that charge on the left at Donelson when the confederate defenses were first entered and held. It was my delight to picture that scene when, late in the February afternoon, the right of Grant's army had checked the enemy's advance and driven it back and were lying down in the snow behind trees and logs, expecting an order to charge. We heard cheers two miles away after the partial cessation of musketry fire. Then cheers rose nearer, and repeatedly nearer, till finally an orderly galloped along behind our lines and shouted: "The flag of the Iowa troops is over the enemy's works!" Then we cheered. Often the old soldiers cheered in the audiences. They voted for Bennett, too. It is not out of place to say that thousands of brave soldiers helped make up the population of the territory and were one of the many reliable elements that co-operated to bring to a successful issue the questions of division, admission and the school lands.

Judge Bennett was a friend of the newer life in the territory, of the better things sought for by a rapidly increasing element.

Under the administration of Governor William A. Howard [50] and before, the insane of the territory were cared for in the hospital for such unfortunates at St. Peter, Minnesota. That state was able no longer to give them room. Governor Howard had a wooden hospital erected upon the school section northwest of Yankton, where the state institution is still located. It was at first not intended to remain there permanently. It was not right, as it was not lawful, to appropriate a section reserved for the benefit of schools to any other purpose, but it was compromised, and Judge Bennett secured the passage of a bill by congress giving that section to the territory and future state for the uses named, and authorized the selection of another section from the public

[49] John R. Gamble, elder brother of Senator Robert J. Gamble, was born in Alabama township, Geneseo county, New York, January 15, 1848. Educated at Lawrence university and Wisconsin Law school and settled at Yankton in 1873. Member of legislature, and elected to congress 1890. Died 1891.

[50] Governor William A. Howard. For sketch see 1st S. D., 159.

lands for school purposes in place of it. At the request of the governor I selected the best section that I could find, then available, laying on Turtle creek, Spink county, about five miles west of Tulare. Judge Bennett had resided at Vermillion as judge, and felt an interest in the university that had been located there by the first legislature; so he secured the passage of a measure that authorized the selection of the seventy-two sections of land as endowment of the university of the future state. Having become very familiar with the surveys and lands, I gladly set about the selection of these also. One complete list was made up and transmitted to the secretary of the interior. Hon. R. F. Pettigrew had become delegate to congress. As history shows, Mr. Pettigrew had ready tendency toward disagreement with governors when he was often a member of the legislature. Except with Governor Pierce, in 1885, it appears that he antagonized every governor; but the capital in 1885 was at Bismarck, not at Yankton, the scene of his former struggles, and he had other interests there. As delegate he had some difficulty with Secretary Kirkwood of the interior department, and the selections were not made. In the delay many of the sections were covered by the incoming flood of settlers. Another complete selection was made that suffered in the same way. I then went direct to Secretary Kirkwood and secured appointment as "special agent of the interior department, without compensation or pay of expenses," with authority to select the lands and report the selections to the United States land office for the district in which they might lie. Notice of the appointment was sent to the land officers and they were very prompt and accommodating. The earlier selections that were lost included seventeen sections of land laying just south of the present town of Miller, the county seat of Hand county, and others in Brown, Spink and Beadle counties. The final selection was not so good, but was much more valuable than could have been made after statehood.

The political deals were often very unsatisfactory to large elements of the party and of the people, but the nominee of the Republican party was regularly elected. The interests, purely political in their nature, that had opposed Judge Bennett's nomination and election secured his defeat for a renomination. Hon. R. F. Pettigrew was a candidate, but apparently the great major-

ity desired the nomination of Hon. Geo. H. Hand,[51] who had been United States attorney, secretary and acting governor, and was a man of the highest merit and worth, deserving in every respect of the honor and familiar with the territory and all its people and best interests. His life was one of the highest integrity, generosity and manly trustworthiness, and he died mourned by as large a proportion of our people as any public man we have lost. Another candidate was J. B. Raymond,[52] who had served some time as United States marshal, and gave his attentions mainly to the northern part of the territory, where he secured enough support to prevent a majority for Hand. Mr. Pettigrew threw his votes to Raymond, nominating him.[53] This was one of the trades that became too common when the great territory had three distinct sections, ready to form combines. These were more frequent between the north and the Black Hills, and they all tended powerfully to develop the demand in the southeast section for division. The defeat of Hand was not soon forgotten, though the feeling was more directed against the north than against Mr. Pettigrew. Thus short terms of service and incapable men like Mr. Raymond and other causes left the territory with but little steady and useful influence at Washington. In some respects we accomplished more under Armstrong than we did under Raymond. In one respect Armstrong served well. He labored without offense to the political majority in congress for the useful appropriations. The appropriations for surveys had been inadequate; the tide of immigration was crossing our whole eastern border, and school lands would be lost in the richest areas and along the Northern Pacific railroad unless surveys were

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[51] George H. Hand, a native of Akron, Ohio, was born August 9, 1837. Served one year in civil war in Chicago Board of Trade battery. Settled in Yankton in 1865 and the next year was appointed U. S. attorney for Dakota. Was afterwards register of Yankton land office and secretary of the territory for ten years after 1874. Died in March, 1891

[52] John B. Raymond, delegate to congress from Dakota 1882 to 1884, was born at Lockport, New York, December 5, 1844, and served through the civil war in the Thirty-First Illinois infantry and was mustered out a captain. Came to Dakota in 1877 as United States marshal. Died January 3, 1886.

[53] General Beadle is not quite clear in the order of events at this period. Mr. Pettigrew defeated the renomination of Judge Bennett in 1880 and was himself elected and served two years as delegate. In 1882 it was, at the close of Pettigrew's term, that the trade mentioned, occurred, resulting in the election of Raymond.

rapidly advanced. He aided effectively in securing $60,000 for their extension in 1872. That year the Northwestern road built to Kampeska and projected the Pierre line. The people were pushing up the Sioux valley and the Dakota valley, while in the north they were beginning in many counties. As early as possible many deputies were at work, but the money was inadequate. So the Northwestern railroad company deposited $10,000 additional in the treasury of the United States for surveys, and with this we were able to complete the survey of their old Winona and St. Peter land grant that extended to the Sioux river, and the Sioux valley was surveyed fully, saving many original school sections from lawful appropriation by settlers prior to survey. Generally it may be said that there were many able men in the territory, but only a few of these represented us in congress, and those not for any continuous period. This misfortune was due alike to the character of territorial politics, to the combines, and to the fact that many of the ablest men did not desire the office. Other opportunities were more inviting.

As it was in this higher office, so it was to some extent in the legislature. The earlier bodies were probably more representative of the ability of the people than many later ones for some time. Indeed, taking the legislatures down to that of 1879 and considering the newness and inexperience of the people and the lack of tests to discover the best men, every session showed a considerable number of really able men. And many very capable men were re-elected for many years. The number in each chamber was small for some years, but was slowly increased by congress as population grew and spread. Such men as John H. Shober,[54] M. K. Armstrong, W. W. Brookings, Enos Stutsman,[55] A. W. Puett,[56] George M. Phinney,[57] George P. Wal-

[54] John H. Shober came to Dakota in 1859 from Mantorville, Minnesota, and settled at Bon Homme. He was president of the territorial council of the first legislative session, 1862; was the promoter of the movement which built the first school house in the territory at Bon Homme in May, 1860. He left the territory about 1865 and has since resided in Montana, where he has attained prominence.

[55] Enos Stutsman, born St. Charles, Illinois, 1828, died at Pembina January 31, 1874. Located at Yankton 1859, coming from Iowa. Was a lawyer and member of first and several other legislatures. By a natural deformity Stutsman had but one leg, and that but a foot in length. He was an able, fearless man.

[56] Albert W. Puett, member of first territorial legislature from Clay coun-

dron [58] and others were certainly creditable members of the first legislature, and many of them continued in successive bodies for many sessions. Into the second legislature came also such able men as Lasse Bothun,[59] D. T. Bramble,[60] John W. Boyle,[61] A. J. Harlan [62] (speaker), Knud Larson [63] and N. J. Wallace,[64] all respectable citizens and capable and useful in different lines. Into the third session came skillful and trained men such as George

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ty, was born at Rockville, Indiana, October 27, 1833. Was one of the pioneers who settled at Vermillion on July 10, 1859, the day the reservation was opened to settlement. Mr. Puett was speaker of the house in the third legislative session. A lawyer by profession, but for many years followed mining in Colorado. In 1889 he resided at Arkaton, Kansas.

[57] George M. Pinney (not Phinney) was speaker of the house in the first session, and later was United States marshal. Removed to Montana and was United States marshal there, but got into trouble and removed to California, where he again got into trouble, due to dishonest practices, and absconded to Australia. He is an exception to the rule of respectability and does not belong in the class to which General Beadle assigns him.

[58] George P. Waldron, born in Farmington, New Hampshire, in September, 1821; a lawyer by profession. He came to Dakota in 1857 as treasurer of the Western Land and Townsite company, which made a location at Sioux Falls. He was a member of the first legislature and provost marshal, under appointment of President Lincoln during the civil war. He removed to Fort Pierre in 1877 and remained there until his death in 1896.

[59] Lasse Bothun, born in Norway, in 1836; came to America in 1854, and settled in Clay county, Dakota territory, in 1861, but removed to Minnehaha county in 1872. Was three times a member of territoral legislature and a state senator in 1891.

[60] Downer T. Bramble, born in Hartland, Vermont, February 28, 1833. Settled in Yankton 1859; first postmaster there and member first and several other territorial legislatures. Appointed by President Cleveland register of the Watertown land office, and died in office October 12, 1887. He was the father of Frank L. Bramble, present public examiner.

[61] John W. Boyle, born in Pennsylvania and settled in Vermillion 1860. Member first territorial legislature and associate justice supreme court from 1864 to 1869. Entered Presbyterian ministry and died in Oklahoma about 1900.

[62] Andrew J. Harlan was a native of Indiana who settled at Vermillion in 1860. He was elected speaker of the house in the second session of the territorial legislature, but being involved in the Todd-Jayne election scandal resigned on the sixteenth day and was succeeded by Moses K. Armstrong. The next year he left Dakota and made his home in Missouri. He was hail fellow with everybody and possessed of some ability as a lawyer.

[63] Knud Larson, member of third legislature.

[64] N. J. Wallace of Elk Point, born at Fraconia, New Hampshire, December 11, 1830; settled in Union county 1861. Served in Company B, First Dakota cavalry, in war of outbreak; was member of territorial legislature 1862 and receiver of the Vermillion land office 1869-1873, and afterward treasurer of Union county.

W. Kingsbury,[65] William Shriner,[66] Franklin Taylor,[67] Albert Gore[68] and others, with many who had served from the first. The fourth session added such worthy men as Major J. R. Hanson[69] and George Stickney,[70] who met in the chambers more than half of their associates who had served creditably in former bodies. Into the fifth assembly came such excellent men as John W. Turner,[71] A. L. Van Osdel,[72] T. C. Watson,[73] E. C. Collins,[74] Horace J. Austin, A. M. English,[75] S. C. Fargo[76] and G. B. Bigelow (speaker).[77]

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[65] George W. Kingsbury, a native of Lee, Onida county, New York; settled at Yankton in March, 1862, and has been engaged in newspaper and printing business there since. Was member of territorial legislature from 1863 to 1867 and state senator in 1895. For many years he published, in connection with Winfield S. Bowen, the Press and Dakotan, newspaper. He was born December 16, 1837.

[66] William Shriner was born in Pennsylvania in 1822. Came to Vermillion in 1861.

[67] Franklin Taylor, born in Surry county, North Carolina, August 3, 1827. Came to Vermillion the day the reservation opened, July 10, 1859. Was a member of five sessions of territorial legislature. Has been a persistent gatherer of historical data relating to Dakota.

[68] Albert Gore, the second missionary of the Baptist church in Dakota, settled upon a claim at Brule creek, Union county, before August, 1862. He served two months in the militia called out by Governor Jayne to protect settlements. He was a native of Michigan; born in 1834.

[69] J. R. Hansen was the first settler of Yankton, coming in 1858, before the reservation opened. He was born at the famous Glen house, White mountains, New Hampshire, April 29, 1837. Major Hanson was chief clerk of first legislature and member of several sessions and active in development of Dakota.

[70] George R. Stickney was a farmer residing near Elk Point.

[71] John W. Turner, familiarly known as Father Turner, settled at Burbank in 1864. He was a native of New York and was prominent in affairs there in the abolition days. Turner county was named for him.

[72] Abraham L. Van Osdel, born in Jefferson county, Indiana, May 28, 1845; served in the war of the outbreak in First Minnesota calvary and settled at Yankton in 1864. Member several sessions of territorial legislature and of state legislature of 1905. Was candidate of the Populist party for lieutenant governor in 1890 and for governor in 1892. He has written much upon northwestern history.

[73] Thomas C. Watson, a farmer residing on Brule creek, Union county. He was wounded by the party of Inkpaduta Indians which killed Eduard La Moure, in 1865, receiving an arrow shot in the back. He died several years ago at his Union county home.

[74] Edward C. Collins, born in New York, 1836, located in Union county April, 1864. Died March 6, 1870. Member territorial house 1865-6; elected to council, but died before session. Local preacher of Methodist church.

[75] A. M. English, born at Middlesbury, Vermont, December 22, 1836. Settled in Yankton 1860. Served as first sergeant in Dakota cavalry in war of outbreak and has written a history of the regiment. Served in legislature of

Thus the membership continued to preserve former experience and to gather new men of character and varied ability, and we find as presidents of the council John H. Shober, M. K. Armstrong, N. J. Wallace, Horace J. Austin, Emery Morris,[78] Alexander Hughes,[79] John L. Jolley, W. A. Burleigh and others. In the speaker's chair served such men as A. W. Puett, W. W. Brookings, Gen. J. B. S. Todd,[80] G. C. Moody and Geo. H. Hand, and some of these two or three times. Into the membership, from time to time, came new men, including Chas. H. McIntyre,[81] Hugh Fraley,[82] I. T. Gore,[83] M. M. Hoyt,[84] Eli B. Wixon, W. W. Benedict,[85] Aaron Carpenter, F. J. DeWitt, Torger Nelson,[86] Alfred Abbott,[87] G. P. Bennett,[88] J. Shaw Gregory,[89] R. T. Vin-

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1865 and has been mayor of Yankton three terms. Is a contractor and builder.

[76] S. C. Fargo, member of New York colony, settled at Gayville, 1864. Removed to Black Hills.

[77] George B. Bigelow, one of the earlier residents of Vermillion. Settled there in May, 1861. Died about 1904.

[78] Emory Morris, an old settler of Union county, who died in 1905. Was president of council in ninth legislature.

[79] Alexander Hughes, now of Bismarck, North Dakota, settled early at Elk Point; was member of council, receiver of Yankton land office and member of commission which located capital at Bismarck.

‡ John L. Jolley, born in Montreal in 1840; served in civil war in Twenty-Third Wisconsin; settled in Vermillion 1873; member of two territorial legislatures and twice state senator; member of congress 1891-93.

[80] John B. S. Todd came to Dakota 1855 with Gen. Harney's troops as captain in regular army. Was first delegate in congress; at same time served as brigadier general in civil war by appointment from Lincoln; member of legislature 1867; born in Kentucky April, 1814; died at Yankton, January, 1872. He was a cousin of the wife of Abraham Lincoln.

[81] Charles H. McIntyre, early settler of Yankton. Removed to Colorado.

[82] Hugh Fraley was one of the first settlers of the village of Bon Homme, where he ran a little hotel.

[83] I. T. Gore, member of sixth and seventh legislatures, from Union county.

[84] Malancthon U. Hoyt, brother of the venerable Episcopal missionary, "Father" Hoyt; member of sixth and seventh legislatures from Yankton county.

[85] W. W. Benedict, long a resident of Bon Homme county, settled at Vermillion in 1859.

[86] Torger Nelson, who resides on the James river near Mission Hill, was among the first Scandinavian settlers. He was born at Ringsaker, Norway, April 10, 1840. He was a member of the seventh legislature.

[87] Alfred Abbott, born in Manchester, England, December 22, 1844, was an early resident of Bon Homme county, where he has held many official positions and was a member of the legislature of 1868.

[88] G. P. Bennett, member of seventh session from Union county.

[89] J. Shaw Gregory, for whom Gregory county was named, was member of several sessions of the legislature from the Fort Randall district.

son,[90] W. M. Cuppett, O. B. Iverson,[91] Ephraim Miner, Amos F. Shaw,[92] Captain Nelson Miner,[93] O. F. Stevens,[94] Captain A. B. Wheelock,[95] E. A. Williams,[96] Martin Trygstad,[97] John Thompson,[98] G. W. Harlan, [99] Gen. M. W. Sheafe,[100] Clark S. West [101] and many more who lived to honor the territory or state and reflect credit upon our citizenship. This is a miscellaneous and perhaps unequal selection down to 1877, and upon it I declare that I knew nearly every one of them then, or later, and many fellow members, and I do not believe these men brought any discredit upon the territory. There were exceptions, men who were rough, intemperate or otherwise incapable, and there were scenes of levity and tricks of procedure, and selfish personal or local interests and differences that rose to quarrels, but these were not the characteristics, the dominant motive and acts. We do not believe in the theory of history that does not mention the really excellent and ofter superior work done, but selects the extraordinary occasions or persons and makes of them the principal feature. Even if some such affairs are given prominence in local

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[90] R. T. Vinson of Union county, a farmer residing near the present village of Burbank; member of eighth legislature.

[91] O. B. Iverson, member of ninth legislature from Clay county.

[92] Amos F. Shaw, member of the ninth session, was the teacher of the first school in the log school house in the ravine at Vermillion. He served in the First Dakota cavalry in the war of the outbreak.

[93] Nelson Miner. Settled at Vermillion in 1859.

[94] O. F. Stevens, member tenth legislature.

[95] A. B. Wheelock, known as "Buck" Wheelock; born at Royalton, Vermont. Served in the civil war in the Seventh Wisconsin battery; was promoted to captain. In 1868 settled at Hudson, Lincoln county, and was member of legislature in 1870-72. Has lived in Sioux Falls since 1888.

[96] E. A. Williams of Bismarck, North Dakota.

[97] Martin Trygstad, first settler of Brookings county. Born in Norway, May 27, 1843; because of his height and bearing was called to serve in the King's guard; came to Medary 1869; twice member of territorial legislature and state senator 1903.

[98] John Thompson, member of legislatures of 1873, 1877 and 1883, was born in Norway 1841; came to America in 1854 and served in the civil war in Company H, Thirtieth Wisconsin; located in Minnehaha county in 1866.

[99] See note 27.

[100] Mark W. Sheafe, born in Brooklyn, N. Y., 1844; settled in Elk Point 1872. Served in the civil war in a Boston regiment. Member of territorial legislature. Appointed register of Watertown land office in 1885, and since has resided there. State senator 1891 and appointed brigadier general of volunteers by President McKinley in Spanish war.

[101] Clark S. West, a native of Chautauqua county, New York; was born in 1841 and settled in Yankton county in 1867.

report at the time, it is like taking the history of a city from its police columns. It may interest or amuse for a day, it may be extraordinary here and there, but it is not the history of legislation. South Dakota has no reason, on the whole, to be ashamed of its early legislation. As stated above, there was a prominence of individualty, there was no strict and binding system by an organized majority party, there were no bosses, rings or combines of a serious nature. There was more tendency toward these later, when more public revenues, the location of institutions and the removal of the capital and experience gave opportunity

In truth, the state has seen as much politics as the early territory did. At the present writing there is a campaign on as remarkable in many features as any of those earlier ones. The denunciation on both sides is in more courteous form, but the war is fully as intense. We can see a contemporary campaign in Iowa where the struggle for the governorship is of a more striking character than that for nomination of candidates for delegate in Dakota in 1870 and 1872. We reflect upon like scenes in Minnesota and Wisconsin. It is a safe statement that the great mass of the people in our early days, though so differently situated, had an equal degree of self-respect. Personal following was more likely then, individuality was strong, and organization less powerful than now.

The Codes of 1877

The legislature of 1875 passed an act that authorized the governor to appoint a commission to revise and codify the laws. An effort in this direction had been made by the legislature of 1872-3, which authorized C. J. B. Harris[102] of Yankton to codify the laws, but the legislature of 1875 refused to adopt the report of Mr. Harris. His was not a complete codification or revision, but contained much good and useful work and he deserved pay for it that he never got. He was an honest, capable, faithful

[102] Calvin J. B. Harris, born at Danville, Vermont, in 1844; located at Yankton in 1870. Served in Sixth Vermont throughout the civil war. Democratic candidate for attorney general 1906.

man. The governor appointed Hon. Peter C. Shannon,[103] chief justice of the supreme court, Hon. Granville G. Bennett, associate justice, and Hon. Bartlett Tripp, one of the ablest attorneys Dakota ever had. These gentlemen were all able, were familiar with the legislation of the territory and its policy, and each had special fitness unlike that of the others. They organized promptly and appointed me secretary of the body and treated me throughout much as if I were an associate member, though they left the clerical work to me. In those days we did not have stenographers and typewriters to do all that. Indeed, in all my work in South Dakota, whether this or as superintendent of public instruction, or as president of the Madison state normal, I have never had a stenographer, typewriter or clerk, unless I hired one occasionally myself, and that was very rare. Practically the entire body of the codes passed finally under my pen, though some original drafts were made by Judge Bennett and less by Judge Shannon. The judges were appointed to the board, as was Mr. Tripp, because they were willing to do the work for small pay, having salaries and incomes from other sources. They received eight hundred dollars each for the service; my own pay amounted to about three hundred dollars! The judges were required to hold terms of court and attend to duties at chambers, causing many intervals when one or both could give no immediate attention to the codes, while early in the summer of 1876 Mr. Tripp had a severe illness and went to Maine for convalescence, returning late in the fall. He then took up the duties again and the commission had his valuable assistance in preparing the practice codes. So it comes about that the secretary worked first with one and then with another, and rarely with two members of the commission, the latter being upon special features reserved for such occasions. Thus it became necessary for the secretary to be fully posted upon the views, plans and even habits of thought of the different members, and to be able to make clear to one the special views of another when conflict might arise. Then the

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[103] Peter C. Shannon, a native of Virginia, but living many years in Pennsylvania, came to Dakota as chief justice in 1873 and continued in that office until 1881. After retiring from judgeship he resided in Canton. Came to his death by falling from a wagon, while visiting in California, in 1899.

members met one another at times in the course of other duties and exchanged views and suggestions.

From the first the commission laid down a general plan, after careful consideration, including the contents and order of the codes and the principles that should govern the whole scheme. It was first resolved to completely revise and codify the entire body of the laws and make it a harmonious whole. To this end there would be a political code, a civil code, a code of civil procedure, a probate code, a justices' code, criminal code and code of criminal procedure. It was resolved, as a matter of course, to change the general policy of the territory and county and local government as little as practicable and to be guided by the laws and precedents of the states from which our people and laws had been drawn, and to improve in system and completness the good beginnings already made. The codes were to be a pleasing advance to the bar and the people, and not a surprise and radical change in any respect. There was a careful study of the session laws, seriatim, from the first, though the commission was already familiar with these. The laws were good in general, but more or less incomplete and somewhat motley in order, symmetry and fullness. All must necessarily comply with the requirements and be subject to the limitations of the organic act, which was our only constitution.

Judge Bennett and the secretary began the actual work upon the political code and took the discipline of experience together. He was a ready writer, a practical man, and had good general and legal facility of expression. The first section of the codes that was written was that making Yankton the seat of government (as it had been). There was a clause therein that might have had consideration by the makers of our state constitution, that the legislature should meet there unless called by the governor "to meet elsewhere in times of pestilence or public danger." We have every cause to hope that such a provision will never be needed. In 1875 Hon. John L. Jolley had secured the passage of a good measure on county government, and this was the basis for that chapter. So throughout the best elements or suggestions of acts were used and in each case developed into completeness. The legislatures had shown a preference for the New York codes. California had them in more complete form, modified to suit their

tribunals and civil system. We had the report of the New York (Field) code commission upon the entire subject. There was much study and discussion toward a clear understanding of the whole subject, and upon some points, such as corporations, some differences, but all sessions and all final action were harmonious. While working with Judge Bennett, at Vermillion, upon the political code, the construction of the civil code was entered upon by the secretary, with Judges Shannon and Tripp at Yankton. Judge Bennett's method was to write out fully what he specially desired and to give clear notes and references to statutes of Dakota and the states to guide in other lines. Judge Shannon's method was to make notes and memoranda and to hand these to the secretary for his guidance, and occasionally he drew in full some sections or groups of sections on marriage and divorce, husband and wife, or upon railroads and minor matters. Thus, from the former incomplete code of Dakota, from the Field report in New York, California code and original work, grew the full civil code. Upon this the entire commission labored at times, and at others Judges Shannon and Bennett together, but on the whole Judge Bennett had more complete charge of the political, the probate, the justice's and the code of civil procedure, while Judge Shannon had nearer full charge of the civil code, and all worked more together upon the procedure codes. Thus Judge Bennett dictated notes to me upon the probate code and I then wrote it out in full. In like manner, substantially, other work was done. Thus it all went forward and nearly up to January 9, 1887, when the legislature met. Miss Haskell, a member of Judge Tripp's family, completed the secretarial duties most satisfactorily. The entire commission was together much upon the practice codes, at the last, and upon the careful general repealing chapter, which must preserve personal and vested rights, continue all proceedings and be very careful not to repeal any of the early legislative divorces! Interesting points arose in all the work, and some provisions that appear so smooth and matter-of-course were not got into such shape without more than one effort. It was my own suggestion or work that certain exemptions, including the homestead, heirlooms, family Bible, etc., were made "absolute." This clause is or long was peculiar to South Dakota. It does not occur in the California or other codes, and it is

worth noticing that in that state there are frequent contests over and loss of homesteads. We permit the owner to file a description of the homestead to specify it more particularly, but do not require it. In California the cases are numerous under their less definite statute. The statute prepared by Hon. G. C. Moody concerning the "head of the family" and cognate ideas was preserved exactly, because the people then understood it fully and were attached to its provisions. The people were sensative upon "exemptions" and other points, and these were treated with great care wherever they appeared. But within a year after the passage of the codes a California decision gave a new meaning to a section in their probate code that ours followed, and Hon. John R. Gamble secured an amendment to our law by the next legislature.

At the fall election I had been chosen a member of the house from Yankton county. It came about without self-seeking and cost me neither time nor money, as I was busy upon the codes at the time and understood the matter was looked after kindly by members of the commission and by members of the bar and other prominent citizens. When the legislature assembled, the question of the organization of the house was most prominent. Some friends had it in mind to elect me to the speakership, but at a consultation of many leading members it was by all agreed that it would be better to elect Hon. D. C. Hagle of Hutchinson county speaker, which was done, and he appointed me chairman of the judiciary committee. Mr. Theodore A. Kingsbury, a brother of Hon. Geo. W. Kingsbury, was elected and served as a most efficient chief clerk. It was thus made easy for the chairman of the judiciary committee to have a perfect understanding with the speaker and the chief clerk upon all matters of importance, and this was of much advantage toward the clean and complete work done by the legislature of 1877. Hon W. A. Burleigh was chosen president of the council and Major J. R. Hanson its secretary.

After the prompt organization of the two houses, the message of Governor Pennington [104] was received, and he sent the manuscripts of the codes to the house and they were all immediately

[104] John L. Pennington. For sketch see 1st S. D., 139.

referred to the judiciary committee. This committee was thus the center of interest for both bodies. Its members were honest, worthy and capable men. The great question for them and the house was: "Would the legislature take up and pass the entire codes, complete and systematic bodies of law, and refuse all special legislation and all amendments inimical to the harmony and efficiency of the codes as a whole." The excellent feeling from the first and the cordial agreement upon the organization were assurances to this happy end, and there was soon ample proof that the house was solid on this plan. It was composed almost wholly of sensible, capable and worthy men.

The judiciary committee insisted upon leaving affairs relating to the codes largely to its chairman, and after a few minutes' conversation would direct him to prepare the required reports and present them as "by the committee." Thus the responsibility centered and increased and no recommendation was ever challenged or its execution defeated. To get the house at work we at once introduced the probate code, and it was the first passed. The codes were not introduced as one entire bill, but one after another all were passed in good shape. By the general repealing act at the close all were made to take effect July 1 of that year, by which time they were printed in excellent form in one volume. Several of the bills for codes were printed so that all had copies. All must be read at length, though it ought in truth to be said that the chief clerk learned by private advice where he could skip without harm, and sometimes by unanimous consent the reading of parts was omitted, but nothing of special interest was ever omitted. Thus the house was kept busy throughout the session and often held long sittings, to secure progress, with practically every member present all the time. My seat was in the extreme right-rear of the chamber, and against the bar that separated the house from the public lobby in the rear. Then the whole house was before me in speaking and explaining features of the codes, and I was on my feet much of the time. But two or three minor amendments were made, and these were good ones. The house was not satisfied with the provisions concerning chattel mortgages, as the treatment of the subject was new and rather technical. After a few minutes debate the committee

was directed to amend this feature and their report was adopted, originating the long familiar chattel mortgage law.

The house paid little attention to the council, which, having little to do, had some petty troubles of its own, but it took up and passed the bills, I believe, without amendment. There were many able men in the council and several of them, to my knowledge, watched our procedings closely, carefully studied the codes, and were able to urge upon that body the wisdom of adopting them. There was more tendancy toward special legislation by that body, as at first the understanding was not so clear and specific on that matter as in the house. A sample will suffice, and it was the worst. Hon Judson La Moure of the Pembina district was a member of the council and had special and personal interests in view, as well as the faithful service of the public welfare. His most earnest desire was to secure the passage of a special and local act chartering a ferry across the Red River of the North at Pembina. He came to me about it and I told him that the codes by general law provided for all such cases. This would not do; his bill must be passed; it was very important; and he finally assured me that if I did not favor his measure I would suffer for it. He wished me to understand very distinctly that it was an important thing to him and his friends, and if it was not passed I would hear from him unpleasantly. I carefully explained to him that the codes covered all such subjects by general laws, and that the house had decided that it would not enter upon the business of special legislation. His anger was somewhat marked and his expression firm and somewhat vigorous as he departed, resolving upon retaliation the rest of his days. This was all in private and was not reported to the house, but that body promptly killed his local bill. Excepting trifling points like the foregoing, the session passed most pleasantly, though the work for some was constant and hard. Whether from the Black Hills or elsewhere special legislation was denied, or, when necessary to define and organize new counties, it was made to conform to the codes. It was an excellent body of men and did its work thoroughly well and in a manner as clean and honorable as the best legislatures anywhere perform their duties. Those who like something lively could find little of interest in the daily grind and have made trifles important, but most things of this

nature reported about that body the reader may set aside as having no foundation whatever. If the stories about other legislatures have no better foundation, then is my belief assured that they were generally honorable and useful representatives of the people. Certainly here was one body that I saw and knew well in its every act, and I know that it was a body that reflected credit on the territory, made an honorable page in our history, and that almost every member led a clean, decent and respectable life and performed his duty in a most commendable way. I do not believe that it was so much better than others of our early days, but I do know it was a credit to our history.

This work of the legislatures of 1875 and 1877, in making the "Revised Codes of 1877," performed a work of lasting usefulness. These laws added dignity to the territory, to the people and their tribunals. They were a great step forward, indicated the rise of a commonwealth of ideas and higher purpose, and led the way toward the golden age of Dakota accomplishment till, in 1885, the constitution of South Dakota was made at Sioux Falls. At the same time the Black Hills had been opened, public education was advanced and common public enterprise, civic pride and Dakota patriotism were promoted.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss public men and leaders generally, but only as they come into public events and under the light of movements of importance. Except Governor Jayne, I knew all the leaders in territorial affairs and most of them for a long time, and was on terms of personal friendship with most of them. Mr. Spink became a Democrat and later a Democratic candidate for delegate to congress, but this was his privilege and he appeared to be sincere. He was an eloquent public speaker and an able advocate before juries. He was greatly esteemed personally by a large circle of friends, independent of politics. One August, I was engaged in land surveys about thirty miles north of Jamestown; Mr. Spink's son was one of my chainmen. A man in a buggy drove up, asked for him and handed him a telegram. When Mr. Spink read it he uttered a shriek —"O-o-o-h!"—and immediately ran away from us, continuing for thirty or forty rods. We went after him, induced him to return, supplied him with money and he accompanied the messenger to Jamestown and went to Yankton by rail through St. Paul.

Never have I met with a case where a son was so profoundly affected by the death of his father, who was to him the greatest and best of men. It affected him all his life.

Judge W. W. Brookings was not an able lawyer or judge, but was a very enterprising and active man of affairs, pushing private and speculative enterprises until his death a few months ago. The great credit given him in newspaper notices after that event for securing the railroad from Sioux City to Yankton in 1872, did not seem just. An unauthorized special session of the legislature was held, which passed an act to empower Yankton county to issue $200,000 in bonds as a subsidy for that road. The majority vote of the county supported the bonds and, after an act of congress validated the issue but changed the terms of the contract, the courts declared them null and void. Then the contract was adjusted in some way and the bonds were issued, delivered and sold. I did not vote for the issue of the bonds. While the need of a railroad was great and its advantages were marked and the people generally are not blameworthy in the matter, it all seems hardly an affair that reflects great honor upon any one, unless it were the people of Yankton county and city for the great sacrifice they made to develop all that region. The road did not serve Yankton interests except as they were decidedly its own, and in the usual way of railroad juggling it soon passed into the hands of one of the great corporations, a most useful part of a great system.

Dr. W. A. Burleigh spent considerable time in the territory of Montana, where he served as a member of its constitutional convention. We have seen that he was elected from Yankton county to the legislative council of 1877 and was chosen its president. When that body, very near the close of its session, when a bare quorum was present, unseated Mack and seated McHench of the Fargo district, Burleigh resigned the presidency. He had no other public stations. I have known but few, if any, that believed that he had profited by great frauds upon the Indians when agent of the Yanktons, or that he gained weath by any means, or at all. He had many close friends to his death, and in some way deserved them.

George H. Hand died as he had lived, loved and respected by all and his funeral was attended from all parts of South Dakota.

He gave his long residence and hard labor to the public welfare and served the growing commonwealth most faithfully. Hon. John R. Gamble was a somewhat later leader, an able lawyer and a skilled politician, always a Republican. He supported Judge Bennett most vigorously in 1879, and long co-operated with Mr. Pettigrew and other leaders north and south. He was elected as a member of congress in 1891, but died before taking his seat. Mr. Gamble never took a part in the statehood movement, though he did not oppose it. In this respect he was in contrast with his younger brother, Senator Robert J. Gamble,[105] who was a friend of the movement and of the plans to save the school lands. Closely associated with Dr. Joseph Ward,[106] he was a supporter and officer of Yankton College and favored the best ideas in the whole movement of the people toward statehood. Senator G. C. Moody was a successful man. He had political opponents, but few personal enemies. He espoused the right cause if he could see it. From the first he was a friend of the statehood movement and became one of its leaders. Many have been the regrets that when chosen a United States senator in 1889 he did not draw the long term, when the lot was cast, as the state would have then probably enjoyed the benefit of a long service by him as senator. He was remarkable for keenness in the practice of law and never made a mistake in the record. A man of fine memory, he could dictate formal records, orders, findings, motions and all forms, processes, judgments and decrees with great readiness and accuracy. He and Hon. Bartlett Tripp were the leading lawyers of the territory, and when they met in a great case it was an occasion of interest. A steamboat had been chartered at St. Louis and ordered to Yankton for service of a big transportation company. It arrived, reported for duty and lay there long awaiting it, but was not used. It sued for $5,000 damage, with Mr. Tripp as its counsel and Judge Moody for the company. The trial was a battle of giants and every point was ably contested,

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[105] Robert Jackson Gamble, born in Geneseo county, New York, February 7, 1851. Settled in Yankton 1875. Elected to congress 1894 and 1898. Chosen senator 1900.

[106] Dr. Joseph Ward, founder of Yankton college; born at Perry Center, New York, May 5, 1838; served in civil war. Came to Yankton 1868. Was a member of the constitutional convention of 1885. Died November 2, 1889.

in practice, in evidence and in rules of law. Judge Tripp won. Soon after Judge Moody was appointed as United States judge for the Black Hills district and then their battles ceased. Judge Shannon presided. Between him and Judge Tripp there was not the best of feeling always, but perfect courtesy. A steamer was sunk near Bon Homme island and the mate and crew claimed the large salvage they made. On the vital point Judge Shannon ruled against Mr. Tripp, who asked a little delay, went to his office and took up a cart load of text books and decisions which were piled high on the tables in the court room. Mr. Tripp read from them, one after another, elementary writers and court decisions, in his firm, decided tone, for an hour or two till finally Judge Shannon begged him to desist. Mr. Tripp told in brief how much more there was exactly to his point and expressed his desire to read them all, if there were any doubt whatever. Judge Shannon said there was not, and reversed his ruling and decided for Mr. Tripp. It was a ponderous exhibition of stern and confident power, and the mate and crew did not win. Judge Tripp is a man of great dignity of bearing and force of character. Other men will be mentioned in writing of later events.

Two Celebrated Cases

In 1873 I was engaged in public land surveys, running township lines, between Jamestown and Bismarck. At the time here spoken of, September 13th, our camp was considerably north of the railroad track. Rising early I was hauled in a wagon a few miles and walked the rest of the way to a siding seventeen miles west of Jamestown, where I caught the train east. Buying a copy of the Bismarck Tribune, I saw in blazing head lines that Jay Cooke [107] had failed and that Secretary Ed. S. McCook [108] had been mortally wounded by a pistol shot from P. P. Wintermute, a Yankton banker.[109] Here was the panic of '73, later attributed to the "crime of '73," as the gold standard was called, that affect-

[107] Jay Cooke, New York financier and promoter of the Northern Pacific railroad construction.

[108] General Ed. S. McCook, native of Ohio and member of famous "Fighting McCook" family.

[109] Wintermute's bank on Broadway was the progenitor of the present Yankton National bank.

ed us all so seriously, and the homicide that has influenced hundreds of men ever since. The proceedings against Wintermute went on. He was promptly arrested and guarded, indicted for manslaughter at the October term, released on heavy bail, this indictment quashed in January, 1874, held in custody, indicted for murder in April and tried in May and, after three weeks of contest, convicted of manslaughter, which was reversed on appeal to the supreme court. A change of venue was then taken to Clay county, where, upon trial before a jury of that community, he was acquitted. The excitement in Yankton and the strong feeling previously existing between opposing factions there, which was greatly intensified by this event, caused the case to be reported everywhere. The prominence of the men, especially General McCook, led to newspaper discussion in remote cities. Thus it came about that the result of the final trial was criticised and reflections were cast upon South Dakota. The entire affair was most deplorable. Yet I have never heard any facts alleged or any serious and unbiased opinion expressed that reflected upon the integrity of the court or the Clay county jury before and by whom the acquittal was made. There is not and never has been in the territory or state a more reputable, law-abiding and justice loving citizenship than that of Clay county. Having heard the Yankton trial throughout, I must honestly state that I would have been satisfied with some degree of manslaughter, but can see how a jury of integrity might acquit.

The other celebrated case is that of "Jack" McCall, hanged for the murder of "Wild Bill" Hickok in Deadwood in 1876. The court which had its seat at Yankton, Chief Justice Shannon presiding, had jurisdiction over all the region west of the Missouri till government and courts were established in the Black Hills, and Mr. Wm. A. Pound was United States attorney. The trial came on in 1877. McCall was convicted, and was executed under United States Marshal Burdick [110] on the school section near where now stand the buildings of the hospital for the insane. Probably all was as it should have been; but the case has been made nearly as prominent in public annals as the Wintermute case, and the two have been written about more or less

[110] J. H. Burdick, U. S. marshal 1872-1877.

ever since by newspapers and historians. The repeated telling of the stories and the extreme importance given to the cases have been extravagent, to say the least, and have been so placed in the public mind as to cause a sort of belief that "of such were the territorial days generally." The fame of territory and state have suffered seriously and many of our present citizens express wonder that so bad a state of human society could exist. The fact is it did not exist. That two homicides of prominence occurred in twenty odd years in a new country, one in Yankton and one in the mining camp of earliest Deadwood, is not remarkable. The only cause for making them thus prominent should not be to proclaim the territory as lawless, but rather to show that they were so exceptional and unusual in a vast region whose inhabitants were so generally law abiding. That is the truth. One was acquitted, the other hanged. Conviction in both cases occurred in Yankton, but the first was set aside by as honorable a supreme court as we ever had, and acquittal followed in one of the best communities in the commonwealth. We decidedly object to giving bad repute to South Dakota under such circumstances. It is no more due than reputation for crime would be for the county of Union, one of the best in the state, from the first, because a considerable number of crimes have occurred down in that little corner, near Sioux City, between the Sioux and the Missouri. Both would be wholly unjust.

In a legal aspect both trials had points of interest. Leonard Swett of Chicago, the friend and associate of Abraham Lincoln "on the circuit" in their early days, was associated with Hon. Bartlett Tripp, Hon. G. C. Moody and others in Wintermute's defense. In my view Mr. Swett made his most effective speech in the opening. He prepared the minds of the jury for his later view of the case and in a large measure argued it before the evidence was submitted, not the case proper, but the theory. He read from celebrated self-defense cases and others showing that even if one party made the attack and then retreated while the other followed up and became the attacking party, the situation changed and the killing of the final assaulter was self-defense. It was probable in the minds of nearly all listerners to his opening that the verdict would not be for murder. This was the first case in South Dakota that an official stenographer was used; he

came from Chicago. Before this, when Judge Barnes [111] was impaneling a jury, I had, at his request, written in long hand the questions and answers, and in almost entire fullness, being then a very rapid writer. In the McCall trial it was essential to show that the homicide was within the judicial district. Jurisdiction must appear affirmatively. There were no surveys of any kind in the Black Hills. The boundary between Dakota and Wyoming had not been run and marked; was simply the twenty-seventh meridian west from Washington. The evidence had related to Deadwood and some neighboring points, none of them located. Oliver Shannon, Esq.,[112] was defendant's attorney and objected to some of this testimony, showing its lack of certainty and that no definite point was made or jurisdictional fact settled by any of it. This was an error of judgment. Had this point been saved till the case was closed and submitted to the jury, the point would have prevented conviction. But now Mr. Pound [113] opened a new line, introduced the official publication of Custer's report of the expedition and the astronomical location of Bear Butte. Thus the men from the Black Hills were put on the stand, one after the other, to show how far Deadwood was from Bear Butte and many other facts that took the better part of a day. Jurisdiction was established, as it seemed it would not have been but for this objection. The only object, however, in mentioning these two cases is to declare that they were rare, exceptional and contrary to the whole tenor of events in Dakota; that they derive their prominence because of this, in large measure, and that Dakota had really all the time a law abiding population, the most so of any new territory.

The Grasshopper Plague

While a good degree of prosperity prevailed throughout the territory and plenteous harvests were falling before the sickle, and large numbers of new settlers were taking their free home-

[111] A. H. Barnes, associate justice of the supreme court from 1873 to 1881.
[112] Oliver Shannon, brother to Chief Justice Shannon.
[113] William Pound, United States attorney for Dakota 1873 to 1877; died in office.

steads, the first grasshopper visitation began in August, 1874.[114] The pests came in great clouds from the far northwest and settled down upon fields and gardens, which they soon destroyed. They would eat almost anything vegetable, would cut off the heads of wheat by eating the tender part of the stem just below, would strip the succulent corn of foliage and ears, and would eat onions down below the surface of the ground. The invasions affected Nebraska and Kansas even worse than Dakota, and northwest Iowa as far as Fort Dodge was almost devastated.

Mistaken courage and pride caused the people and public officers to believe that the damage was not overwhelming, that the settlers could pass through the crisis without great suffering and that cases of special suffering would be relieved by friends and relatives. But when a severe winter came upon them and fuel and food and clothing and comforts of every kind were lacking, and illness began to follow upon exposure and want, the need for help become manifest. It seems to one almost impossible that suffering from want, and almost famine in some instances, could ever have arisen in such counties as Yankton, Clay, Turner, Lincoln, Minnehaha or Moody, where abundance brings continual thanksgiving now, but it was too evident to disregard. Though in the fine autumn and even early winter the hopeful people did all in their power to prepare and save, when the heavy snows, the storms and cold of January came, the cry was heard for help. The people were largely in their first homes on the prairies, little houses and shanties, often with thatched roofs, and "dugouts" in the sides of hills, made of a few posts and covered with poles and brush and over all the earth as the warmest available covering. The virgin prairies were beautiful in the summer time, but while they supply food for animals, they furnish practically nothing for man. The buffaloes migrated from them in the autumn, the elk and deer went into the hills and timber away from man, and the antelopes died in great numbers when the snowfall was great. The soil was rich, as we all know, but it must be plowed and planted and there had been little time for this in the year or two only that many had been there, and

[114] There was a previous infliction of the grasshopper plague in 1864.

the grassshoppers had taken the patches of grain and the gardens.

Then relief began to be sought individually and by neighborhood, or volunteer county agents. The governor, John L. Pennington,[115] former Governor Newton Edmunds and others moved in the matter. The governor issued an appeal to the general public. A general relief association was formed, with former Governor Edmunds at its head, and Governor Pennington gave me a written commission to go east and gather relief in the rich centers. I had been over parts of the border region looking up the condition and personally knew the need. We had gone into the little homes of the people and had seen hunger and bare want, to most of which we were able to give but slight aid. Going across from Sioux Falls, irregularly, toward Yankton, consultations were held with leading men. In southern Turner county, I believe it was, though the precise spot is not recalled, Judge Shannon and I entered one of those "dugouts," built as above described. In the corner was a bed, the frame made of posts driven in the earth floor, and with ticking filled with straw for the bed. Upon it lay the wife and mother, too ill to rise. The father was clad in coarse, cheap clothes, patched and reinforced with pieces of sacks and scraps of old remnants, and upon his feet were shoes plaited of straw, reinforced with strings and diverse kinds of cords. The two children, scantily clad, were hovering over the stove, in which the fuel was hay or straw, watching hungrily their father prepare from a little milk and flour of some kind a dish that he hoped his thin and feeble wife might be able to eat. Judge Shannon was generous, and I helped a little. Such things we saw, and all degrees of need.

You know how it is apt to be in any such case. Not all people are unselfish; possibly we are not always so. Some people would go out into the world and collect money and property in the name of charity, and there was lack of responsibility as well as inequality in its bestowal. I told the governor that I would go only upon the condition that mine was the sole general commission, and it was so made in its express terms. We wanted a sure

[115] John L. Pennington. For sketch see 1st S. D., 139.

basis of confidence for the public charity. Thus equipped, I went to Chicago, called upon Lyman J. Gage, then cashier of the First National Bank, who knew me, to find approach to some Chicago money. He first said that he believed he had not given enough himself, and handed me his check for $100. I asked him to make it to Newton Edmunds, which he did. Then Secretary Randolph of the board of trade was seen. After some discussion he called a meeting of the directors, who heard me about ten minutes and ordered an announcement to the open board and a collection. Mr. Randolph made the announcement, and in twenty minutes some $1,400 was paid in, which he remitted to Governor Edmunds. The next trip was to Lansing, Michigan, where Governor Bagley and some state senators contributed, and the governor gave me an open letter to the people of Michigan which was published in the Detroit papers. A public meeting was called by the mayor, in the opera house. Here was the liveliest time I met with. Four or five gentlemen were there from Nebraska and wanted everything. Nebraska was so much larger and more important than Dakota! I wanted equal chance, right and favor. The meeting was a big one, and representative. The Nebraska gentlemen were to speak and tried to monopolize the meeting. I readily agreed to speak last. They had their own time, and their dignity and smooth persuasion were great. I saw in the audience several whom I knew, two of my former professors in the law department of Michigan university and several classmates of the literary department. At last my time came, and the audience had remained. I felt as if the very future of Dakota was in my hands, as it was in my heart, and I spoke with all my power and judgment and feeling. Some cheers came at last, and a final triumph that was most enjoyable. Dakota got its share, and they remitted to Governor Edmunds. This was the rule, not to touch the money, but to have it sent to the chairman. Indeed I had to get financial help personally from a classmate till I could "get money from home." A similar division was secured at Toledo, Ohio, and the trip was soon ended. I know nothing precise about the funds, but Governor Edmunds told me on my return that the remittances were about

$4,600. Colonel Tom Brown [116] of Sioux Falls had secured several hundred dollars, and in a thousand ways individuals secured help. It resulted that the suffering was relieved and seed grain was supplied to needy in the spring. These two or three years were a severe trial upon the young territory. There has been no other to compare with it. Considerable sickness was induced by the hard times, and the total of suffering can never be summed up. The people were marvelously brave, hopeful and loyal. They stayed by, and saved their homes. They were ready to do even all the good things they accomplished in later years. The territory never had a better people than those who faced this trial and won the victory for themselves and for Dakota.

The Southeast the Original Leader

To understand well the territorial conditions it is best briefly to refer to the great diversity and almost isolation of the three sections—the south, the north and the Black Hills. The original settlements began in the southeast corner or quarter, and for many years these expanded and held the capital, the activities and the aims of what may be called the growing commonwealth. It was here only that statehood was thought of, here only that there was an early school system, here where churches were organized and connected in policy and administration, where fraternal lodges were first organized and all the permanent associations and local institutions of a people were formed. This population grew with common ideas and purposes, each increment receiving its impulse and sentiment, as to law, government and ultimate aim from all that had preceded it. Here and by these people the early laws were made and the then judges appointed by the United States had their residences and held their courts within a short distance of one another. This was modified but slightly by the fact that Wyoming and other regions were temporarily attached to Dakota. When Dakota was mentioned it meant to every mind this southeast section and people. Indeed

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[116] Thomas H. Brown of Sioux Falls; born in Portobello, England, 1837. Came to America in 1848. Served in Third Wisconsin, through civil war. Came to Sioux Falls in 1872. Was one of the South Dakota commissioners for the Chicago exposition, 1904.

it was to the eastern part of our present state that the name of Dakota was immediately and by popular act and assent applied when Minnesota was admitted to the union with its diminished boundaries. To this region the missionaries of the various churches for white people first came. The Catholics, the Methodists, the Congregationalists, the Episcopalians, the Baptists and others reached and covered the ground opened for them. Soon these ecclesiastical bodies organized, each in its way, the governing powers—the conferences, the associations and the bishoprics—and with admirable energy and zeal carried forward the work of each. It may be said with all confidence that South Dakotans were never so sincerely and so generally religious in faith and practice as they were from 1875 to 1885. The Lutheran churches were, perhaps, the very first in their complete organization as well as the most numerous in active adherents. They were less noticed, as their organizations were almost entirely in the rural districts.

Besides the religious and political organizations that united the people in various ways, the fraternal, social and other bodies were not without great influence. While these do not attract the general public interest that the others create, they are the means of extending wide personal acquaintance and creating strong personal confidence, which operate as an indirect means and basis for union and useful work in other good lines. The beginning and organization of all these were also in the southeastern section to which population and leadership first came. There were Masons and Odd Fellows among the first population. In 1863 the first Masonic lodge was chartered and opened at Yankton. Others followed at Vermillion, Elk Point, Sioux Falls and Canton. These lodges were formed into the grand lodge of South Dakota and its officers were duly installed at Vermillion, July 21, 1875, by T. S. Parvin of Iowa, by authority of the grand lodge of that state. These details are given as a basis for another fact, there was a lodge at Bismarck and it refused to yield allegiance to this grand lodge, holding to its charter from Minnesota, and considerable discussion and some feeling followed—one of the first strong points of division in the territory. Oddfellowship was also duly organized in the southeast quarter, at Yankton, May 25, 1870, and within five years a number of lodges were instituted,

including one at Fargo, N. D. The grand lodge of this order was duly organized at Yankton, October 13, 1875. By May 20, 1885, there were seventy-two lodges in the territory, much the larger number being in the south.

In the early territorial days the temperance order of Good Templars was organized at Yankton and elsewhere. Dr Joseph Ward was chief of the Yankton body, and the writer later held that position. But this is not a history of secret or social and temperance orders. So much only is stated to bring into view forces, influences and societies that were active means or indirect agencies toward the making and holding South Dakota toward its separate goal as a state. It must, it seems, now appear to any student as was then felt as a fact, that South Dakota would lead on toward independent statehood. The traditions were all in that direction, for all early tradition of struggle, of Indian wars, of pioneer life, of organization—religious, fraternal, educational and political—were in the southeast quarter. Here the people met with one another in all these fellowships and memories, and the ideas, the sentiments and the struggles of the beginnings grew in strength and power as the years passed. The most natural thing to be expected was that South Dakota would be a state.

Sections and Politics

There were now, in 1877, three distinct and, in settlement, separate sections in Dakota territory, and they were called South Dakota, North Dakota and the Black Hills. The Northern Pacific railroad had been completed to Bismarck in the spring of 1873, and settlement began actively along that line and the Red River of the North. There had been some settlement from very early days at and near Pembina, and a slight beginning at a few other points. Other railroads reached the Red river later and opened other doors. The occupation went on with increasing rapidity as it did from the same period in South Dakota. The settlement of the Black Hills was by a rush. There is no waiting for railroads when gold is found. The population in North Dakota was from Minnesota and Canada largely. They did not know South Dakota generally until they learned about it

after their settlement in the north section. It was a vigorous, capable, speculative and effective people. There were leaders, too, of skill and daring. Most of the Canadians were from Ontario and secondarily from Wisconsin and Minnesota, and a superior people in education, industry and thrift. The professions were well and ably represented in all parts and the means of education were quickly supplied for the young, under the laws in force at the time. The early years upon the new soil were favorable, and great crops of "No. 1 hard" gave prosperity to trade and enterprise. It is, perhaps, hardly wonderful that the people believed their land and even themselves superior to all else on earth, and if they still act upon this doctrine, we shall certainly not find fault with them.

While in North Dakota there were very few who had resided in South Dakota, a few judges and officers at most, there was not a large per cent from either section in the Black Hills, though more from the south than the north. In the Hills there were many able men as well as adventurers, and capital soon secured the best mines. All the circumstances tended to create a sense of isolation and independence and to concentrate political power and action. The Black Hills, from the first, has generally acted as a unit. It is not surprising that as early as 1878-9 there was a sort of independent statehood movement there. Had the neighboring regions of Wyoming been occupied then as now, we might have possibly seen different boundaries between South Dakota and that state.

From these sections came to the legislatures and political conventions delegations out of harmony with the south, which still long held the majority in the apportionments by virtue of votes and population. The north and the Hills were made up of such material and feelings as more naturally to combine with one another and against the south, which, being a purely agricultural and stock section, was less active, speculative and daring. The south was relatively the conservative section, but the responsible one while the capital remained there. Indeed, it came about that the Black Hills people used to call the south "the cow counties" as a useful political characterization. It is clear that legislative bodies and conventions would now become much newer in membership and more frequent changes would appear. It took

a week sometimes for all the members of a new house to become acquainted; and the numbers increased also. Occasionally in some body the north and the Hills, with a little help from the south, could attain control. There is not time for detailed history. As we know, territorial institutions began to be duplicated, which, whether realized by the north at the time, became a strong argument for division. But many more towns, north, south and west, wanted institutions than could be accommodated by any place or combination. Yankton was becoming, relative to settlement, far to one side, and was not the only town with a railroad—there were scores.

The legislature of 1883 saw the prize of the capital as possible for some one of eight or ten towns. Governor Ordway [117] was opposed to and by Yankton. He had failed to win popular favor in the south—perhaps with a capital far from Yankton he might realize some high ambition. From the first matters shaped favorably. Mr. Scobey,[118] president of the council, wanted to plant the agricultural college at Brookings, his town, and Mr. Williams, speaker of the house, was a resident of Bismarck. We have always believed that the bill introduced and strongly advocated by Hon. Geo. H. Walsh [119] of Grand Forks, to locate the capital at Huron, was but a play in the general plan. It soon resulted that a bill was passed to appoint a commission to locate the capital and, after a considerable more "play," Bismarck was chosen. Many other institutions were at the same session located or greatly aided, though not all this was in the plans of the combine.

The one conclusion, from all this, is that it made division of the territory certain. Had the capital been located at Aberdeen, it might have delayed or possibly defeated the division movement; its location at Bismarck decided the question in all the south, and we would have been resisting to this day the admission of the territory as one state if division had been refused.

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[117] Nehemiah G. Ordway. For sketch see 1st S. D., 157.

[118] James O'Brien Scoby, member of council from Brookings. Born in Schoharie county, New York, 1854. Located in Brookings 1879. Left Brookings about 1886 and located in Washington, where he has since been president of state agricultural college.

[119] George H. Walsh of Grand Forks, North Dakota.

And the act may be accounted as favorable to the north, for, had the capital been placed at Mitchell, Huron, Redfield, or even Aberdeen, the probabilities reach certainty that they would have led in a struggle for division. In any form the issue might rise, all the conditions dictated division. Probably no one doubts this now, and no one regrets it in either section. All did not then see what we do now. The struggle was for advantage and local gain. With the railroads now under construction, the sections in South Dakota will be at an end, except as there are local interests in all states. It must appear plain to every fair mind that the conditions in the vast territory pointed to the danger of graft, which might have grown greater, if all were held in one state. The sole excuse for writing upon these conditions is to justify the labor of South Dakota for division and show that it was wise under the test of time.

Education—The Earliest Schools in the Settlements

One's judgment of beginnings must be formed from a very different standpoint from that of work done now. A small population, reaching but about 14,000 in June, 1870, with little property and consequently very limited revenues and necessarily but slightly organized, could do little; but they really did some notable things. The American people think first, last and all the time about the education of their children. The person who has the authority and the opportunity to direct this sentiment in the best way possible is guilty of great dereliction if he does not do it. Its importance has never been overestimated. The words of Horace Mann are more true today than when he spoke them: "We must educate! We must educate, or perish by our own prosperity." It may be truly declared that the people in territorial days were more zealous, unselfish and self-sacrificing than they are now in this rich state. They would have a school, if it met in a log or sod shanty or in a room in a private home, or in the first little church. An impulse was given to educational effort in territorial days by the fact that the people came from Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin and other states where revival in educational plans and efforts was active; where normal schools and colleges were opening and at work, and educational advantages were good

FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE IN DAKOTA

Built at Bon Homme, May, 1860. From pencil sketch made by Delia Rounds Williams, a pupil in the school

and public sentiment vigorous. The lack of schools and their need of them here were as marked as their desire for homes. So private and denominational schools were opened early. There were doubtless many of these of which we have no record, just as there were in the later settled counties before public organization could be made or taxes levied. Both the American and the foreign elements of our early population were fairly educated, if their languages were unknown to others. So we can hardly get back to a time when the foreign elements did not have at least some form of school whereby their youth could learn to read the catechism and the service. The Sunday schools were early helpers to the same ends. These first private and church schools may be accounted the beginnings of our present great school system, and from that time to this South Dakota has had a high rank in freedom from illiteracy by every census.

When, July 10, 1859, the treaty became effective in the opening of the Indian lands to settlement in the southeast quarter, there were no families at Yankton and but a few at Vermillion, Bon Homme and elesewhere. Dr. Franklin Caulkins,[120] who had for a time resided at Fort Randall, went to Vermillion in the fall of 1859 and toward spring was employed and taught there a private school in a room over McHenry's store. A division among the people led to the employment by a part of them of Miss Hoyt of Yankton, now the wife of Dr. Henry F. Livingstone[121] of the latter city. Her school was held in the pioneer church building

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[120] Franklin Caulkins came to Dakota with Agent Redfield, as physician to Yankton Indians, but owing to the opposition of the agent to the vaccination of the Indians he resigned and came to Vermillion. His school succeeded until Valentine's day when he received a valentine showing a teacher bearing a squash for a head. He believed it was sent as an insult by A. W. Puett and got into an altercation with the latter, which nearly resulted in bloodshed. After that his school ran down and General Todd obtained for him a position as assistant surgeon in the navy and he left Dakota.

[121] Dr. Henry F. Livingston of Yankton came to Dakota in 1865 as physician to the Yankton Indians. Later he was agent at Crow Creek for eight years, and locating in Yankton was for a time superintendent of the state insane hospital. He was born in Quebec, April 18, 1843. His wife, Miss Ann E. Hoyt, was a daughter of Rev. Dr. Hoyt, the celebrated missionary of the Episcopal church.

of the territory, erected by the efforts of Rev. Chas. D. Martin,[122] a missionary of the Presbyterian church.

A group of settlers from Minnesota had formed a little community at Bon Homme in 1859, and there, in the spring of 1860, under the leadership of John H. Shober, erected the first school house in South Dakota. It was constructed of logs and had the primitive dirt roof, while its floor was the ground. In this school house, in the month of May, 1860, Miss Emma J. Bradford began and continued a three-months school, with ten pupils.

The Indian war began in 1862 and closed all the schools. Captain Nelson Miner of Vermillion commanded a troop of cavalry which was company A of the First South Dakota. Returning from service up the Missouri, they were encamped at Vermillion, and in midwinter 1864-5 these men erected a log school house at the foot of the big ravine in that town, and it long stood as an object of general interest. In this building, when completed, Amos Shaw of that company, and long an honored citizen of that town, taught a school. Schools have continued ever since in that city, which is honored also as the seat of the state university.

In 1864 an association of ladies in Yankton, under the leadership of Mrs. Edmunds, wife of Governor Edmunds, raised money and built of gravel and grout a two-room school house that was for many years known as "the brown school house," from the color with which its walls were stained. This was the beginning of Yankton's creditable record in public and collegiate education. The school house stood upon the present site of the United States post office building.

About that time Rev. Melancthon Hoyt, the pioneer Episcopal rector of Dakota, secured the opening of a parochial school in Yankton that, in its own buildings, for many years, did academic work in the education of Yankton youth.

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[122] Rev. Charles D. Martin, missionary of Presbyterian church, came to Dakota in autumn of 1859 and was first to hold religious services among the scattering settlers. He organized a church at Vermillion and built a small house of worship. He was born at Bath, New Hampshire, March 26, 1817, and died at South Sioux City, Nebraska, April 20, 1891.

Schools at Military and Other Posts

Prior to the above mentioned, and unrecorded beginnings in new settlements, there had been schools at some of the military and trading posts, wherein white children attached to the garrisons, sons and daughters of officers, traders, helpers and some French and half-Indian pupils, were given an elementary education. It was noticed in early territorial days, with surprise, as the writer remembers, that some of the scattered up-river younger Americans, French and half-Indians, could read and write, and a few of the older ones were leaders of influence among the Indians on account of their fair education. The very first regular school in South Dakota that we know definitely about was in the garrison of Fort Randall, situated just where the south boundary of the state touches the west bank of the Missouri. It was taught by a relative of Captain J. B. S. Todd, a close relative of Mrs Abraham Lincoln, and had for its pupils half-Indian as well as white children. This school was during the winter of 1857-8.

The leading traders, and all white men who were financially able, who had half-white children, undertook, as they now do, to secure for them a good education. Among these were Manuel Lisa and the Picottes. One of the latter family was very influential in securing the treaty that first opened the territory, and by that document was granted land that included the east part of the present city of Yankton. Some of these children were usually sent to St. Louis schools, taught generally by sisters of their faith, and brought back the ability, which was at least partially used, to help others to acquire a beginning in education, also some womanly skill and training in better tastes and more decent living. Audubon, in his journal, relates that while proceeding upon his voyage up the Missouri river in 1842, they met William Laidlaw, bourgeois at Fort Pierre, and Andrew Dripps, Indian agent at Fort George (some twelve or fifteen miles below Fort Pierre, on the west bank), between the points where Vermillion and Elk Point are situated, taking Laidlaw's half-Indian children to St. Louis to be placed in school. Thus, some enlightenment followed the river and the early trade. I do not discuss here the Christian

and educative work of Father De Smet,[123] the famous Catholic missionary to the Indians, nor that of Rev. Stephen R. Riggs[124] (Sept. 2, 1840), missionary to the Dakota Indians, nor that of Rev. Thos. S. Williamson,[125] another missionary, and their descendants.

The education of half-breeeds, then and now, all over the west, is generally due to their often but half-acknowledged white fathers, either directly as in many cases like the above, or in the Indian schools, which they especially favor. It was the writer's duty in 1889 to take temporary charge of an Indian school, known as Harrison institute, near Salem, Oregon, and he has before and since visited many others. As all know, one sees in these institutions everywhere a majority of half or quarter-breed Indian youth. Their names, very often that of their father, tell the story of the frontier from remote days, and how the employes, trappers and sometimes even agents, managers and traders, took Indians wives. No one else could meet the border conditions with them, or, being in their native land and speaking the mother-tongue, hardy and devoted, could so well serve the welfare of both. My original sentiment was hostile to all this, but I have seen that these relations often helped toward peace, assisted in treaty making, and formed the intermediate step between the wilder conditions and the white occupancy. While the Indian schools are for all of their race, this was the source of their suggestion, and is an influence that helps maintain them, though the motives of Christian civilization have done so much. These fathers and mothers are often very dutiful to their children, and alike hold them in affectionate regard. There is base immorality, but there are very many honorable exceptions.

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[123] Father DeSmet. See 1st S. D., 131.

[124] Dr. Stephen Return Riggs, celebrated Presbyterian missionary to Sioux Indians, came to Minnesota country 1835. Father of Dr. Thomas L. Riggs, first president of this society.

[125] Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, associate with Dr. Riggs, as Sioux Indian missionary. Father of Dr. John P. Williamson, whose address appears in this volume. For story of life work of Riggs and Williams see History of Sioux Indians in 2nd S. D.

Sketch of Common School Legislation

If frequent legislation would create and maintain an efficient system of public common schools, there should have been happy results all the time; but much of the legislation has been mere repetition, and sometimes retrogression. As population increased it was usually necessary to reprint the pamphlet laws to meet the needs, and it became the custom to enact a new law at nearly every session of the territorial legislature. When the governor had selected a proper person, he prepared the new bill and it was passed. Sometimes the bill named the new superintendent, and he was thus legislated as well as appointed into office. Sometimes he was chosen by the voters. All the time the organic act (the law of congress creating and providing for the government of the territory) required that he should be appointed by the governor, the same as the other strictly territorial officers. It will be seen that the laws after the first (1862) held a very general similarity, providing the same system and policy. Good improvements to this were made in 1879 and some others in 1881. That of 1883 made more radical changes, providing a township system, but some fifteen counties were excepted from its operation. The writer deems these exceptions a misfortune. The vigorous opposition to the township system came from the counties that did not have it and had no experience in its administration or observation of any of its conceded advantages. This power was joined by enough from township counties and led by a superintendent very hostile to that system, and the result, as usual, was a double or compromise plan. However, it left townships a single district when that was preferred; and it so remains in many cases, though powerful influences were directed against it, for two years. The subsequent administration under Hon. E. A. Dye,[126] state superintendent, and Hon. Geo. A. McFarland,[127] assistant superintendent, and others, were in favor of the township system.

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[126] Eugene A. Dye was a resident of Spink county and county superintendent of schools there, before his appointment to the state board. He died several years ago.

[127] George A. McFarland. See General Beadle's Memoirs, later.

It should be stated that the successive governors of the territory and the state were educated, intelligent and capable men in all respects, and have all been strong friends of popular education and desirous of building up the school system. The writer has known every one of them, more or less intimately, except the first, Governor William Jayne, and knows their general high purposes. There have been some peculiar views held by them at times that may be mentioned hereafter, and in one or two cases they were led by political conditions and mistaken expediency into courses that we regret for the cause of our common schools. This high commendation of our governors in respect to education applies alike to Republicans, Democrats and Populists.

South Dakota has been a strongly partisan territory and state, generally, in its political administration. This has affected school administration and legislation too greatly in some respects. The evils caused by this were in the main temporary and, while not irreparable in any case, have delayed the best advance. The entire state system, down through counties and into the districts, is too largely political, caused mainly by the fact that state and county superintendents must be chosen upon partisan tickets, and both are prohibited from serving more than two terms, while city superintendents and the presidents and faculties of educational institutions are expected to continue indefinitely long in service. The foregoing preliminary statements are made here, and some special cases may be mentioned as occasion may arise, should circumstances permit this paper ever to reach reasonable completion.

March 2, 1861, congress passed the organic act, the members of the legislature were chosen September 16, 1861, and Governor Jayne called them into session March 17, 1862. They enacted many good laws, and one of the best was "An Act for the Regulation and Support of Common Schools," approved May 13, 1862. While the law was not quite complete when put in practice, it contained many excellent provisions. One of these was the creation of union graded schools, under a joint board of two or more districts. The "county superintendent of public instruction," as the law styled that officer, was to be appointed by the board of county commissioners, and that board was required to divide the county into districts. It cannot be learned if any officers

were appointed or schools opened under this law. Private schools were all as yet. The Indian war postponed everything.

The next school legislation was the act approved January 15, 1864. This act made the governor, secretary and treasurer a territorial board of education and appointed an annual meeting at the capital. The board was required to appoint a superintendent of public instruction, who, by law, was secretary of the board. This provision was retained many years. The school law was revised and enlarged in details.

The laws of 1864-5 slightly amended the foregoing. The act of January 12, 1866, revised and re-enacted the entire law; named Rev. Melanchton Hoyt, Wm. Schriner and N. J. Wallace a board of education, with provision for electing such a board at each delegate election thereafter. The board did not qualify.

Hon. James S. Foster [128] had been appointed superintendent of public instruction in 1864, and continued in office without reappointment in 1866.

The act of January 11, 1867, named Hon. J. S. Foster as superintendent, and provided for electing a superintendent at each delegate election, and fixed the term at two years.

The act of January 3, 1868, named Mr. Foster again, as no delegate election had intervened. The entire law was revised and re-enacted.

The act of January 5, 1869, again provided for the election of the superintendent and repeated the entire law, with few changes.

Mr. Foster had now served nearly five years, and his successive appointments show that he was meeting the approval of the boards and the legislatures. Few records remain except in legislative proceedings or other documents.

T. McKendric Stuart,[129] of Union county was elected as superintendent in October, 1868, and succeeded Mr. Foster in January, 1869. He served till August, 1869, when he left the territory. While it seems certain that Mr. Foster was appointed in the autumn of 1869 for the unexpired term, there is little of record. He had become active in other business, and probably gave little

[128] James S. Foster. For sketch see 1st S. D., 131.

[129] T. McKendric Stuart was a minister of the Methodist church. He was appointed superintendent of public instruction in March, 1869, and left the territory in August of that year.

time to the office, performing the formal duties and advising by correspondence. In April, 1869, the present writer became a citizen of the territory, and he remembers that Mr. Foster was then superintendent.

The act of January 13, 1871, simply re-enacted the entire law. The provisions for union graded schools remain throughout the several acts, from the first, and appear last in this law of 1871.

Hon. John W. Turner of Clay county, a highly respected old man of the most kindly nature and earnest zeal in all his life, was elected by the people in October, 1870, and held the office during the years 1871 and 1872. But he soon appointed James S. Foster as his deputy, who performed most of the duties. "Father" Turner soon removed to Turner county, named in his honor, and built a mill on the Vermillion, where there was a postoffice named Turner, near where the Great Northern railroad now crosses the stream. He was an earnest friend of popular education and, living and dead, his name was revered by all who knew him. He was previously a member of the territorial board of education, being elected thereto in 1866.

The act approved January 10, 1873, makes the salary of the superintendent $600 a year, payable quarterly, but the act of January 15, 1875, repeals this provision and fixes the pay at five dollars per day for time actually employed.

The act of January 15, 1875, repeated the former law with few changes, but it put the whole into seventy-eight sections, when the previous number was ninety-one. It is, however, distinguished from all others by adopting by names and titles a list of texts books for use in all the schools. The book agent had reached Dakota! It is due to mention that the very first educational record appearing upon the books of the office of the superintendent is the minutes of the first meeting of the first board of education, in the office of Governor Newton Edmunds, December 13, 1863; present Governor Edmunds, Secretary John Hutchinson [130] and Treasurer John O. Taylor.[131] Superintendent J. S.

[130] John S. Hutchinson of Minnesota; a member of the renowned Hutchinson family of singers and bell ringers, appointed secretary of Dakota territory in 1861. During much of Governor Jayne's period, Hutchinson was acting governor.

[131] John O. Taylor; territorial treasurer, succeeding Silas G. Irish of Bon Homme.

Foster was clerk of the board. Mr. Foster presented his report, which seems to be lost. The board adopted a series of school books for the territory and adjourned.

There was, however, a report of the board of education, the first report of any kind about schools, made December 22, 1864, which states that there were then no organized public schools, but measures had been taken to put the machinery of the school system in working order. What were then commonly called the "lower counties," those along the Missouri in the southeast, had elected county superintendents.

The board advises that: "In selecting a site for a school house all personal feeling and selfish interest should be laid aside, and a pleasant spot selected, which may be easy of access and convenient for all, the grounds enclosed with a substantial fence and ornamented with shade trees."

In the report of December 12, 1865, only four legally organized districts are found in the territory, three in Union county and one in Bon Homme county. The private schools had not given way to public schools. "In Yankton, Clay and Todd counties excellent private schools have been maintained, some of them numbering as many as seventy-five pupils and taught by experienced and competent teachers." This refers to Rev. Hoyt's school in Yankton. Within the five counties, in public and private schools, there were 382 pupils enrolled out of 621 of school age.

The report of 1866 mentions the time as one of "unexampled prosperity," but adds to that "few, if any, of the districts are so perfectly organized as to reap the full benefit of our present generally acceptable school law." The private school seems first in nearly every new community. The writer attended first and for many years "subscription schools," in Parke county, Indiana. Not even the university in its place was better than one of these under the same teacher for some three years. Miss Lavinia Tucker, that teacher, will be the heroine of a romance should he ever write one. The most enterprising and capable citizens have to join and work carefully to start and maintain a private school. Putting their money together, they will pay it to none but a capable and faithful teacher. They persist in this till by law they can secure as satisfactory results in the public schools.

These facts also lead me to feel sure that there were many private schools of which we have neither record nor tradition. They were all incentives to public schools; let us not reflect on them.

The act of February 17, 1877, again repeated the law in eighty-one sections, required that the territorial superintendent should be nominated by the governor and confimed by the legislative council(the upper house, or senate). Thus it conformed to the organic law, which had in this matter been disregarded up to this time. This act continued liberal appropriations for blanks, institutes and printing reports, and again made the salary $600 per year.

Meanwhile Hon. E. W. Miller [132] of Union county was elected superintendent and served during 1873 and 1874. His reports are recorded in full in the office records and show the conditions and progress of education in the territory. Mr. Miller was a capable and active man and promoted the holding of institutes and sought to arouse public interest in education.

In 1874 Rev. J. J. McIntyre [133] of Turner county was elected, and discharged the duties of the office with vigor and ability during the years 1875 and 1876, and till February, 1877. W. E. Caton [134] of Union county was appointed by the governor and held the office till 1879, with C. F. Mallahan [135] of Elk Point as his deputy.

This reaches the time of my first appointment, and I served under successive reappointments until April, 1885. I add statistics of growth till that time:

	1867	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878
Youth of school age (5-21).....	1,550	3,946	7,500	6,312	8,343	10,396	11,046	12,201
Enrolled in public schools.....	421	1,973	3,500	4,006	4,428	5,410	6,431	7,156

These were the beginnings.

[132] Ezra W. Miller; native of Ohio; born 1835; settled in practice of law at Elk Point 1871. Was receiver of Huron land office 1885-89; United States attorney 1893-97. Still resides at Elk Point.

[133] J. J. McIntyre, a native of New York, was born September 22, 1827, and died December 19, 1902. He came to Dakota as a missionary of the Baptist church in 1871.

Observations and Recollections of the Early Days

From the spring of 1869 I began personally to learn about the conditions of local schools and of education in the territory. In 1872-3-4 a few of us used to speak one to another of the duty of attending the district school meeting in Yankton and seeing that proper officers were elected. Among all Hon. William Pound, United States attorney, was very active in this respect. We had young families and wanted the best schools available. Some of our children were sent to Rev. Hoyt's school. But the "brown school house" witnessed our presence at the annual meeting, though often only a half dozen in all. Thus I became related to the Yankton schools, and finally served about eleven years on the board of education of the city, till 1889, and was president of the board when we erected the "central" school building. It was a delightful service, with the able and unselfish members, who gave much time faithfully to the cause. Thus Yankton had first of all full graded schools and a complete and excellent high school of four years. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1873, Yanton Academy, the beginning Yankton College, was projected, and I joined in the movement with due enthusiasm and two hundred fifty dollars. Dr. Ward had previous to this opened and taught a private school for part of the year 1870.

It was possible for me to know and I was well acquainted with every territorial and state superintendent from the first to the present time. With Mr. Stuart the acquaintance was brief. When county and other institutes were held it was convenient for me often to attend and to take part in them. Right there and in all other relations to education I began and continued the doctrine of "thoroughness"—the quality of going through to the end, completeness, perfectness, mastery—for which I have not found a more significant or comprehensive term. Thus I attended institutes under Mr. Turner, Mr. Miller, Mr. McIntyre and Mr. Caton. Of these Mr. McIntyre was the most systematic, scholarly and capable. In some of these Mr. A. W. Barber

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[134] W. E. Caton, served one year, in 1877-8. He then engaged in Indian trade at Cheyenne agency.

[135] Charles F. Mallahan was for many years editor of the Union County Courier, and postmaster at Elk Point.

was active, a man of the most definite and clear ideas and always very helpful. Thus he and I were together learning about schools and often discussing points and seeing defects as well as the hopeful facts. I would sometimes get on the subject of language or spelling or reading. He was one of the best spellers in the nation, and strong in arithemetic and language, and most concise and apt in expression. We grew very intimate in friendship. It happened that along about 1875 the "spelling-school revival" reached Yankton. Dr. Ward and others, ministers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, editors and all took part. Finally it was arranged that Dr. Ward and I should "choose up," and I won first choice, taking Mr. Barber. Dr. Ward chose Miss Haskell, a scholarly and accurate lady. Then I choose a man little known, a German. It went on to some forty on each side. I cared little after the first three, for we felt that we could stand like Horatius and his two companions at the bridge. A learned minister pronounced well a long selected list. Good people fell out rapidly farther down the line, till Dr. Ward had ten left and I had six. Then it was nine and six, then eight and five, seven and five, six and four, five and four, four and three. My two were there yet and we were still able to smile and spell. Then it was reduced to three and three. I began to believe that Dr. Ward and Miss Haskell could spell all the words in the dictionary. Then they two were left, and finally my German friend (whose name I cannot recall), asked permission to write the word offered on a tablet before spelling it orally. This was refused and he missed. Scarcely a person in the great room full had left, and it was 11 p. m. At last, so easy a word, apparently, as "Catholicism" was offered to Dr. Ward and he thoughtlessly spelled it with an "o" after the "l." I immediately said "c-a-t-h-o-l-i-c-i-s-m," and it was but a little while till Miss Haskell fell before Mr. Barber upon some technical, not literary, word. After that they would not permit Mr. Barber and myself to spell, but assigned to us the task of collating and pronouncing the words. I am still of the opinion that Dr. Ward was a better speller than myself, but not better than Mr. Barber. He won reputation as a proof reader in the labor bureau and in work in the general land office, where he now remains.

Mr. Foster had a good education and had been much engaged

in teaching before coming to Dakota in 1864, leading the well known New York colony. He was born at Salisbury, Connecticut, and in educational lines received the impulse given by Horace Mann.

Mr. McIntyre was an educated minister of the Baptist church and a forceful thinker and speaker. I was surprised that he was not reappointed, in place of Mr. Caton, who succeeded him. He became well known, in his vigorous old age, at the Lake Madison Chautauqua, which he attended regularly. He was always a most respected and lovable man.

Driving about the country and settled parts of the territory, I was able often to visit schools in the country as well as the towns. I wish to commend very many of the pioneer teachers. There were educated and trained teachers, then as now, but not so many. The increasing immigration naturally had its fair share of teachers, except among those direct from Europe, who could not speak our language. As the tide of immigration rose, the proportion of teachers with it increased. There was at that time a vigorous educational revival in the northwestern states which added to our supply of teachers. Then Dakota became more and more favorably known, drew an intelligent class, and all members of the families. The towns supplied many teachers to the rural schools. So at least some of the schools were well taught and many of them were fairly instructed and managed. But there were schools under great difficulties. We saw the school of a young lady in a Scandinavian neighborhood in northern Yankton county. It was held in one of the rooms of a larger private home, where a dozen children assembled. The first great work was to teach the English language, and this began with the simple opening exercises. "Good morning, children," was the teacher's greeting, and "Good morning, Miss—" the reply. So pleasant phrases were taught and exchanged. The objects in the room were gone over and their English names pronounced several times each. There was even a little blackboard, which was simply a blacked board, and on it some of these words were written and were pronounced by one or all the pupils as called. Finally, a phrase and a little sentence were written and read by some at least. There is nothing remarkable about this, as all primary teachers do this and much similar work now. The dif-

ference was that the pupils were from seven to fourteen years of age, all in one class. After awhile the school adjourned to the woodpile out of doors, and every detail of that was gone over with English names, and log, stick, axe, chip, saw, wood, bark, splinter and other words were drilled upon with the objects in hand or view. Then the axe was used and little verbs like chop, split, pile were used. Then they went back and had a spelling lesson, part oral and part written. Then they all read from primers of the same grade, but the next week the larger children were to have a second reader. This is only a part. At lunch time they learned more English words, till they knew "cheese from chalk." And then they went to barn or stable, and horse, ox, cow, calf, barn, hay, house, door and others were repeated over and over again. They were all learning to speak English; over half their time was devoted to this end, and with it was some reading, some spelling and very little number work, except with the older. For the first seven weeks all were in one class; for the next six weeks there were two classes. The teacher had a fine spirit and a clear, distinct and kindly voice, and every child seemed earnestly working to learn to speak English as if the father and mother charged them every morning to do so. There was not an English speaking child in the little school. The district had decided to have a teacher who spoke English only. This in a general way describes many early schools. But in the larger number, many if not most were English-speaking children. In some, as in Hutchinson county, many schools were taught by German speaking teachers and changed more slowly to English.

In a school in another county was a bright and capable young woman. The school house had the ground for its floor. The seats were a few long benches; the desk a good sized box. It was one of the most orderly schools I ever saw. The pupils were as neat and clean as any we see now. The teacher believed in soap and civilization. She had a wash basin and towels and combs! Before that school opened every child had clean face and hands, and it was wonderful how neat and clean were their plain clothes. She gave advice about washing clothes at home, and even taught the use of the pocket handkerchief! Then the movements of the school were as orderly and precise as a model school or a company of regulars. Across the floor she had a line

marked in the earth floor, and the three or four classes came out as called and "toed the mark" for their recitations. Result, success. They spelled orally and passed above one another as a missed word was correctly spelled. When the lesson was finished they numbered from head to foot of class and took places the next recitation accordingly. To those who were most delinquent, a small list of words was given to be written correctly. Here was a new idea. Yet people will not use oral spelling at all, and blame us old "educators" for remembering with pleasure the old spelling school in any form! All I have to say is that we learned to spell well in that way, though we later did more and more written work. Dr. Ward learned that way; so did Mr. Barker and Miss Haskell, and thousands more. Let it be said, too, that they learned much, indeed, by accurate writing. Both help.

School picnics were held in the early seventies. When the G. A. R. was organized in the territory, school children began to march with them, at least occasionally, and to learn patriotism by helping to decorate the graves of deceased soldiers of the union. Slowly but steadily flags began to appear, here and there, upon the school houses. Patriotism and love of country were brought here by our people as a part of their American legacy. At no time were the anniversaries of our independence more properly and loyally celebrated. There was wide spread and enthusiastic loyalty to the flag and the country, and in these celebrations those of foreign birth heartily joined. On these and like occasions, public education and the free common schools became topics for appeals to public pride.

School houses improved more and more rapidly and became the pride of towns. They were matters of frequent mention in the local newspapers.

In 1877, as before stated, I was a member of the house in the legislative assembly. When serving with the commission to codify the laws in 1876, I addressed Hon. J. J. McIntyre and requested him to send the draft of an improved school code to be made a part of the political code. It was suggested that then, when the entire body of the laws was being revised and made complete, was an opportunity to secure the enactment of an excellent school law. His reply was that he had no draft or

changes to offer. It was already in my mind to do something well in this line, if opportunity offered, but I was then wholly engaged and could not work upon it.

When in February, 1877, we were engaged busily in reading and passing the codes, Mr. W. E. Caton of Elk Point came to my seat against the bar of the house, informed me that he was appointed superintendent of public instruction and handed me his draft of the proposed school law. I looked it over carefully, saw that it changed the old law but slightly, and submitted it to the judiciary committee. The commission had previously decided to let the school law of 1875 stand unrepealed. Mr. Caton's proposed bill was introduced and was passed. It made reasonable appropriations for printing blanks, for institutes and for reports. Otherwise no particular advance was made.

Meanwhile new counties were organized and the school system expanded upon the district plan. These districts were created in the parts of counties first settled and were generally large at first. The inhabitants were taxed to build the school house in each. So they progressively extended, one after another, in more or less irregular form and area. Then as the population increased they were divided, new districts were formed out of parts of others and boundaries were rearranged upon petitions. There were appeals to the county commissioners and often bitter struggles ensued. I never liked the plan.

Under Governor William A. Howard

In 1878, upon the expiration of the term of Governor John L. Pennington, President Hayes appointed Wm. A. Howard of Michigan to succeed him. Governor Howard had been an active and influential member of congress from 1854. In the period when the struggle for Kansas was so fierce between freedom and slavery, he was a member of the commission of the house of representatives, under the chairmanship of Hon. John Sherman of Ohio, and during the latter's long absence he acted as chairman. The commission went into Kansas and made an extended investigation and report upon the outrages inflicted by the Missouri slave holders. He held other important trusts and performed many distinguished services in those times of trial and

excitement, down to the beginning of the great civil war. He was the most unselfish man and public officer I ever knew, though we have had many such.

Early in the autumn of 1878 he sent for me and told me that after consultation with former Governor Edmunds and Rev. Joseph Ward, he wished me to serve as his private secretary, and desired later, at the proper time, to appoint me superintendent of public instruction. He kindly added that he desired my service as private secretary because he understood that I was very familiar with the laws of the territory and with the entire territory and its people. He said that he did not know that proper pay could be secured for the labor required, but he wished me to accept and agree to serve in both positions. Then we had a long conversation upon many points, in which I told him that if I served as superintendent I wished two things well understood. These were that the schools laws should be fully and adequately reformed, including the township system, and that I should stand strongly for the principle that no school lands should ever be sold for less than their appraised value, and never for less than ten dollars an acre, using the very phrases that I wrote for the committee of the convention in 1885 and are part of our constitution. Upon these points and others we agreed. Accordingly, I served as private secretary, but most actively while the legislature was in session, January and February, 1879.

The three sections of the territory were represented fairly in apportionment and ably in many of the members of both houses. In the council were such well known men of experience as Geo. H. Walsh of Grand Folks, president, Newton Edmunds of Yankton, R. F. Pettigrew of Sioux Falls, W. L. Kuykendahl [137] of the Black Hills, Wm. M. Cuppett of Canton, S. G. Roberts [138] of Fargo, and others. In the house were John R. Jackson,[139] speaker, of Minnehaha county, John R. Gamble of Yankton, John

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[137] W. L. Kuykendall was one of the first lawyers to locate in Deadwood and was chosen judge of the miners' court, before the organization of the county. He presided at the trial of Wild Bill.

[138] S. G. Roberts, a publisher and book manufacturer, for whom Roberts county, South Dakota, is named.

Langness[140] of Minnehaha, Alfred Brown[141] of Bon Homme, and others. It may fairly be said that now, when all sections were represented, there was a change in the attitude and action of the legislature. Instead of sharp divisions and contests in either house, an early understanding appears to have been reached in both branches, and especially in the council a majority league acted together. From this time the struggles were with the governor and not so much with one another. There had been some trouble with Governor Burbank, but generally majorities in both houses acted with him, as they did with all early governors. There was not much conflict between the legislature and Governor Howard, and what there was arose mainly from efforts to establish new territorial institutions, to issue bonds, and other special legislation. It seems that from this time members sought special fame at home or generally among the people by being known as pronounced friends of the territory, as against political appointees sent here from other states to govern. Among the measures pushed was one by Mr. Pettigrew to establish and build a penitentiary at Sioux Falls. This was opposed by many because they believed the territory was not financially able to meet the expenditures, and not at all because they were opposed to locating it at Sioux Falls which was later done. Very near the close of the session this bill was passed, and the three days' period permitted the governor to use what was known as the "pocket veto." He did not sign it, and it was not necessary to veto it. This, and the defeat of the bond issue, caused great hostility on Mr. Pettigrew's part toward the governor. It was similar matters rather than the merits of the difficulty between Hon. E. A. Sherman[142] of Sioux Falls and the governor that caused what feeling there was. I knew every thought and sentiment of Governor Howard toward Mr. Sherman, whom he held in kind regard and high respect, as he showed by appointing him

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[140] John Langness, born in Norway, October 22, 1839. Came to America 1866 and to South Dakota 1868, locating near Baltic. Was member of territorial legislature and county treasurer.

[141] Alfred Brown of Scotland, born near Ottawa, Canada, January 1, 1836. Came to Dakota in 1874. Brown county is named for him.

[142] Edwin A. Sherman, born Middlesex county, Massachusetts June 19, 1844. Settled at Sioux Falls 1873. Elected territorial treasurer 1876, served two years, then auditor for two years. Still resides at Sioux Falls.

territorial auditor. The fact was that as a government the territory was then poor. The financial condition was the burden of Governor Howard's message. The tide of immigration was rising toward the flood that came during the next five years. Expenses were increasing, but taxation was limited both by law and the low assessments. Governor Howard was experienced, not only as a lawmaker, but as a business man, and had been trained under the economic conditions of Vermont, his native state. There he had been a laborer and a cabinet-maker. He could join wood so perfectly that it looked like a single piece. All this tended to make him most prudent and strict in financial matters. Conflicts in views were thus unavoidable.

After the first general message all his communications to either house were in my hand writing, as dictated by him, whether in approval or veto of measures. All mere notes of transmission are signed by the private secretary; all messages by the governor. It soon came to be believed by several members of the council, if not in the house, that I influenced unduly and even advised and dictated his veto messages, and some hostility toward me was shown by some of these gentlemen. There was no man ever in public office in Dakota who more decidedly had views of his own than Governor Howard, and attributing his opinions to myself was extremely erroneous. Very naturally I came into sympathy with his general policy. Other members of the council, and especially former Governor Eumunds, often closely consulted with him. Such are the origins of many of those personal likes and dislikes, and even political broils, that we read so much about and do not understand. Some of the members became opposed to me for superintendent, but I was nominated and promptly confirmed. Still I have felt ever since the effects of such hostility originating then and later. Some men have doubted if I were ever of any use whatever to the territory or the state, but I have never retaliated in any way, believing that life is too short and duty too obligatory for hate and malice. In a way the experience of this legislature and that of 1881 was in preparation for the grand combinations that ruled in that of 1883, which accomplished so much. It should be said that the territory could have its criminals cared for by other states, but its insane patients were practically turned out of doors

by Minnesota, and no neighboring state would receive them. So the hospital for the insane was authorized while the penitentiary was not.

Hon. Alfred Brown strongly wished to secure the passage of a bill to create larger counties in the central and northern portions of what is now South Dakota. He drew the bill, then brought it to me for criticism, as I knew well all that region. Finally he requested and I rewrote the entire bill, making definite by lines of public land surveys all the county boundaries. I also favored his idea that counties should all be larger than had before been the general rule. In writing it out I left the names of the counties blank, and he later filled in the names of Kingsbury, Beadle, Hand, Hyde, Clark, Spink, Day, Brown, Hutchinson and others as he chose. The bill was passed. Though there was for a time some objection to the large area of Spink and Brown and attempts made to divide them, the plans failed of popular support and the boundaries remain. The county of Day was divided later, as the railroads had made the shape and size inconvenient.

From 1877 to 1879 Mr. Amherst W. Barber[143] was the very successful county superintendent of Yankton county. He and I were intimate friends and often discussed educational and other matters. From his study and experience he suggested certain important and useful amendments to the school law. He was careful to change it as little as possible. Its general plan and scope were left unchanged, but here and there a word, a phrase, a clause or section was inserted or changed that modified and much improved the efficiency of the law. When he had drawn the law it was introduced by Hon. John R. Gamble and was passed. Useful and excellent as were these amendments, the result was not "an elaborate school code," which it is called in Doane Robinson's history. That came in 1883, from my own work, and will be fully considered hereafter. The legislative council limited the pay of the superintendent to $600 a year, and all other expenses to $400, and the house finally concurred.

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[144] The act regulating educational affairs passed at the session of 1879—the Barber act—contained 95 sections and occupied 28 pages of the printed laws.

There was little means to work with and it was clear that if anything was to be accomplished it must be done by individual and personal effort and by creating enthusiasm and zeal among the county superintendents, teachers and people. The beginning in this was in a large institute to which all teachers were invited, held at Elk Point the last week in April, 1879. Having no money to aid them, it was mainly paid for by Union county. As conductor we secured the services of Professor (now President) Albert Salisbury of the state normal school at Whitewater, Wisconsin. The institute was a great success and its influence spread into several counties. Among the members of the institute and a must attentive student was Mr. E. E. Collins,[145] later state superintendent. That was the beginning of a revival, a new campaign, a wide-spread movement. It could not all be done in a month or a year; it required ten years for the final accomplishment of all then planned and that followed in development. To write in detail of the duties would require a year of steady labor. At once several things were attempted; to raise the standard for teachers' certificates, to improve the responsibility of school officers in handling public money and property, and to have a stricter observance of the revised law in laying out and adjusting district boundaries. To these ends the county superintendents were personally visited as far as possible, and circulars were issued, while the correspondence was large. We did not have stenographers and typewriters in those days. The population increased rapidly. New counties were organized, and the rapid extension of the railroads created many new towns. The railroads were the main east and west lines, and there were long no cross lines between them. My office was at Yankton, and to reach Mitchell one must go via Canton. If Brookings or De Smet or Huron was to be visited, the all-rail route was via Sioux City, and Mankato, Minn. Several times a single absence was of six weeks or more in duration. When Volga was beginning I slept on some lumber in the partly constructed station there, and similar experiences were had as the new lines were followed up.

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[145] E. E. Collins, native of Michigan, came to Union county in 1863 with his parents. Son of Rev. E. C. Collins, note 74. Several times superintendent of Clay county and state superintendent 1899-1903.

Later a stage line connected Flandreau with Elkton in Brookings county; and a drive was often made from Mitchell to Huron. One line of institutes of six weeks' duration was Redfield, Faulkton, Brookings, to Flandreau by a drive, to Madison in one of the earliest trains run, thence by driving to Howard Saturday evening and on to Mitchell on Sunday, to meet an institute there. Each institute lasted one week, and I was usually the sole worker in each. Sometimes we could find a good primary teacher who would instruct in that line. The entire institute was usually in one class. Upon the opening, a daily program was written upon one end of the blackboard, and for six hours or more each day I took up one subject or topic after another. A few minutes' interval occurred between subjects, and a recess of fifteen minutes occurred at the usual time in forenoon and afternoon. At all other times teachers and superintendents consulted me upon all manner of questions about school law, school government, principles of teaching, classification, contracts and all other points. With some of them I would sit in social conversation at meals; and as quick as supper was over school officers from the country and others would seek me to present the various problems that arose in their duties. Some of these, too, had theories of their own that they loved to discuss. Others were in the habit of doing things as they had been accustomed to do them in Wisconsin, in Iowa or elewhere, and thought their way was just as good as that required by our law. One treasurer of a district made his annual report to the school meeting, after the clerk had read his, by rising and saying orally: "All the money that has come into my hands as treasurer has been expended and paid out." That was his only "official" report. All degrees of irregularity were met with, but little dishonesty. Questions about school district boundaries were frequent, and my lack of authority at once to determine every one of them no doubt led many to believe that I was a "poor stick" for superintendent.

Often, too, generally one public address was given and courteously listened to by good crowds of teachers and people. Not infrequently I was asked to speak also on Sunday, and ministers sometimes united in this request. Usually these addresses would be upon the subject of temperance or some similar topic about moral training. If a text were thought of it was usually part of

some chapter from the Sermon on the Mount. I did not pretend to preach sermons. It was proper, too, to give some evening in the week to a social, which was due the young people for every reason. It would be remarkable if "a few words" were not asked for on such an occasion. In some one of these addresses I began, and later more and more strongly, to discuss the school land question, and was happy at first to gain one or two "converts."

Such was the round of duties for a few weeks at a time. My mail would follow me and I could find time to answer part of more important letters. Then I would be at home for a time, and then out again upon another tour of a few counties. This time it would be Fargo, Grand Forks, Grafton, Jamestown and others in North Dakota. Reaching Watertown one Monday somewhat late in the day, I went at once to the school house, where I found County Superintendent Frank Crane [146] and an assistant deeply absorbed in the task of instructing an institute of Codington county teachers. Superintendent Crane and his helper expressed great pleasure in seeing me, and inside of three minutes had me at the blackboard. Never afterwards during the week could I find Superintendent Crane free enough from pressing business to resume the place at the blackboard. And so it was generally. "They have me or us all the time; they are very anxious to listen to you all the time you are here," was a common and very kindly greeting. The long drives across the prairies were a delightful rest betwen these periods of more pressing labor. Sometimes the considerate superintendent would get me out of town two or three hours behind his horses, for a relief. On the drive I would form some new acquaintances and have a word with some good men about the schools and the school lands, planting a little seed by the way.

In September, 1879, I had appointed an institute to be held in Deadwood, and had sought by correspondence to secure a large attendance, deeming a good acquaintance and understanding with the people of the Hills an important help in the territory. Being

[146] Frank Crane, born at Sparta, Wisconsin, December 14, 1855. Master of arts Gale College; came to Dakota 1879; superintendent Codington county ten years; state superintendent 1895-1899; clerk supreme court since 1901. At time of General Beadle's visit to Watertown, Mr. Crane was superintendent of the city schools and Edward N. Brann was county superintendent.

in North Dakota, I took the stage at Bismarck and in fifty-two hours' continuous travel reached Deadwood at midnight. Going by Centennial prairie we reached the high bluffs of the gulch above Montana City, as that lower part of Deadwood was called. I was out on the seat near the driver, and we went down that long and sometimes steep roadway at good speed. The roadway was narrow and often very close to the edge of the steep bluff, yet the horses went at a swinging trot, and a stone two inches through under the inner wheels would have tipped the coach dangerously toward destruction. But the stones were all gathered out and the downward way was easy. At the foot of the hill we came into the single street and passed through the narrows of Chinatown with its red lights. Thence up the principal thoroughfare, where it seemed more than half the houses were theatres and saloons. The streets were very light, and half the town was yet out. On Monday the institute met, and it was a pleasure to see and know the excellent people who already had charge of schools in that region. That night about midnight my door at the hotel on Lee street was burst in and the cry of fire resounded. There was time to pack my grip, and going down stairs I found Judge J. P. Kidder, Nye Phillips[147] and others, helped the judge carry his law books up to Judge Moody's residence, high on the western hillside, and next went with others to help friends in person and property through that dreadful night of flame and explosion. The institute was closed.

Returning by the same stage line to Bismarck there were four passengers, one of them a little taller than myself, another very short in stature, and a lady (she acted as such in every respect) who was a member of a theatrical troupe and had with her a silver cornet which she could play well. Frequently on the route she would wake the echoes from hill and plain with its music. We made arrangements for the journey. At night the lady had the rear seat, the short man the middle one, and the two tall men lay on a buffalo robe on the floor of the stage with overcoats for pil-

[147] Nyrum E. Phillips, born Trumbull county, Ohio, May 5, 1846; served in war of the rebellion in Nineteenth and One Hundred Twenty-fifth Ohio; settled in Sioux Falls 1869. Held many county offices; was warden of penitentiary, 1893-1899. Present sheriff Minnehaha county.

lows and our heads to the front. It was a treasure coach; a mounted guard rode a hundred yards ahead and another a like distance in the rear, and one was with the driver. Each had a Sharp's rifle and a belt of cartridges. We were behind time all the way. There were eating stations at proper intervals, but the dinner place was reached about 4 p. m., the supper at 10 p. m., and breakfast at 10 a. m. At times in daylight the guard on the stage would spring to the ground and with his large pistol shoot a jack rabbit, and once or twice an antelope. These were taken aboard and left at the next station, and he said they kept all the furs to keep feet and hands warm in winter. His aim was unerring; the wild animal dropped dead when he fired, every time.

Early that winter the association of Congregational churches met at Yankton. Governor Howard delivered a notable address before it, which I was able, aided by my familarity with his thought and language, to report almost literally to the Daily Press. Invited to speak, I talked briefly upon education and the school lands. Referring to the great Deadwood fire, I spoke with joy of the fact that the next morning there stood on the point of land in Deadwood, between the two gulches, two objects, the public school house and the Congregational church, untouched by the fire. From this I forecasted the great work of both for public education and righteousness in the future state. The applause showed the sympathy of all present for both causes, as much for the schools and the school lands as for their church. Subsequent history proved this remarkably.

Governor Howard's health had never been strong. In the winter of 1879-80 he failed noticeably, and late in the winter was seriously ill. I had come to know him well, and when at home called often and sometimes remained till late. Often, as often as a half a dozen times, at his request, I read to him the eighth chapter of Romans, and he would at times comment briefly as I read. Repeating a strong and comprehensive verse of the chapter he said: "Is not that great, remarkable? The unanswerable logic of eternal verity." Charitable, kindly, firm, he wanted only the right. Trusting wonderfully in God, he sought for personal and civic righteousness. His influence continues for these in the state. Going to Washington city, his illness returned and he died

there in April, 1880. He was succeeded by Nehemiah G. Ordway of New Hampshire, who had long been sergeant-at-arms of the United States senate.

Under Governor N. G. Ordway

The duties, as broadly indicated in the preceding chapter, were continued and new fields of work were opened. An act of February 17, 1881, authorized parents of children in organized districts which did not maintain free public schools for the time that authorized taxes would sustain them, to send their children of lawful school age to any other public school in the county, for a period not exceeding six months in all, at the charge of their home district. One amendment to the school law authorized women to hold the office of county superintendent, and several women were soon after so elected. An act of March 3, 1881, authorized school districts to issue bonds, in an amount not exceeding $1,500, to build school houses. Another act authorized the printing of 3,000 copies of the school law, so amended, together with these special acts. Except this provision for special printing, the appropriations were the same as in 1879, six hundred dollars for salary and four hundred dollars for printing, travel and all other expenses. In the bill I had inserted a clause empowering and directing the superintendent to visit the capitals of the states of Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan and there study the history and policy of these states concerning the management and disposal of their public school lands. This provision was adopted. The council, however, attached a proviso to the foregoing appropriations for salary and all expenses, that under no circumstances should more than one thousand dollars be paid for all salary and expenses. This was surplusage, for no money could be paid out that was not specifically appropriated.

On two different journeys, together taking some seven weeks, I visited Des Moines, St. Paul, Madison, Springfield, Indianapolis and Lansing, where I was in every case most courteously received and treated by the governors, superintendents and other officers and furnished all the information available. Some of the governors and other officers were older men and remembered the

earlier days, and told their story of waste. There were also living then in several of these states aged men who knew all the facts of their history concerning school lands. Many of these had been superintendents, judges and other officers, and very frankly confessed the shame they felt that speculation and fraud, as well as gross improvidence, had robbed the schools of much of this great heritage. In state libraries I found old documents and reports that related to the mismanagement. These studies added details rather than general facts, which I previously knew, but they strengthened my purpose, increased my zeal and added to my enthusiasm in the cause. I was determined in a high ideal for the future state. The studies in Indiana convinced me finally that their township system was the best in the union for common schools. Thereafter I gave prominence to this feature in my talks with superintendents and others, while the school land issue was now formally stated and urged in nearly every address, or conversation, with those who showed an interest in education. It is not practicable to follow in detail all the work done, and general statements will show the nature of the advancing work.

By 1882 the south part of the territory was fairly settled to the Missouri river, and all parts of the Black Hills as well. Counties were organized in the north and the south as well as in the Hills, and the vast field demanded the utmost activity in visiting its different parts, in holding institutes and advising county superintendents and schools officers through them. Among other things, a territorial teachers' association was organized in the south and later another in the north, and ultimately one in the Black Hills. The association in the south did me the honor to elect me as its president two or three years in succession. Its work and influence were helpful in every way. There is not time now to collect and write its history, but it has been preserved by others and can be found in its later proceedings.

At Fargo, at Grand Forks, at Jamestown, at Grafton and Valley City institutes were held, and at these and other places in the north I delivered addresses in which the protection of the school lands was made a vital issue and the other topics were as vigorously and decidedly discussed.

Finally, in furtherance of these plans but mainly to secure the best possible administration of the law, which, though much im-

proved, was still defective, I prepared and had printed at my own expense, because there were no public funds available, a circular of twenty-four pages, dated February 15, 1882. This circular is printed in the same volume of the historical society publications in which this memoir appears. To it the considerate attention of the reader is invited, and it is a fair and wholly true picture of the efforts and difficulties of those times. It is an effort to promote and secure the orderly transaction of all public school business. The circular in the main is a summary or digest of all the opinions, decisions and recommendations I had made in three years, especially in the preceding two years, upon the school law then in force, as amended by Mr. Barber's suggestions. It should have been stated in writing about that law, that it was not passed exactly as prepared and submitted, and some of the changes made after it left his hands caused some of the defects alluded to in the circular. The highest effort was made to state every point most definitely. The plainest language was used. Never in writing, even in a military report, did I so strive to make every statement clear, concise and accurate. There were but two typographical errors. Where the sentence reads, "The reports can be made clearly in writing," i. e., if they have no blanks, the word "meeting" was printed in place of "writing," and where "show" was printed for "share." The circular has a final and authoritative tone, because it was a re-statement of scores of decisions previously rendered. Under "Who may attend schools," I always decided that a person over five and under twenty-one years of age, who is married, could not enter school as a pupil or be counted in the school census. It seems that some state tribunal has decided that under our present constitution and law a married women under twenty-one can be made subject to the discipline of a school mistress.

The Township System

The reader will easily infer that districts and their boundaries and changes, the very numerous officers required for the whole of them and the great difficulty in finding, at least securing the election of, men who would and could transact all their affairs faithfully, would lead one to think out some better plan. Accordingly, I proceeded in the circular to set forth in fair outline and detail

the proposed township system for schools. The reader of this is asked to read that circular, as printed herewith. He will thus see that more than a year before the bill for the township system was presented to the legislature of 1883, the system was clearly and fully set forth by this cicular, as it was in addresses, letters and hundreds of conversations, beginning with Governor Howard. When the legislature met in January, 1883, the draft of the bill was but fairly begun and it required many hours of labor daily to complete it in all its parts including the bond law, which followed the previous legislation in the limitations upon amount for each school house.

The bill was most carefully prepared and was very specific and definite in every feature, and left nothing unprovided for. Members of the council and house were consulted as opportunity offered, and the character and purport of the bill were well known to all, especially to the committee on education in each body. There was no lobbying for the bill by myself or any other person. It was printed in full and laid before every member. It took its regular course, was referred to committees and reported favorably So it passed both houses and was approved by the governor. There never was more fair and full notice given of proposed legislation, and it was the most valuable legislation ever enacted in Dakota for the benefit of schools.

There were two or three typographical errors in the enrolled bill. These errors were in the printed copies supplied to the legislature. From its considerable length one of these was used for the enrolled bill. In one section it required that not less than two members of the township board (of three) should be present at a regular or called meeting to constitute a quorum and transact business. That word was printed "ten" instead of two. Later, when a few people desired to oppose the system, that error was used as a big stick, though other parts of the law showed that two was the intended number.

Another unfortunate thing was that representatives from a few counties decided that as districts were then fully established in their counties it was best to except them from the operation of the law. Then others followed, till fifteen of the older counties were thus excepted. Then an additional series of sections was necessary to provide for these, but all the general features of the

law, including those concerning finance, reports, teachers' contracts, the ending of the school year with June 30th, and many others, were applied alike to districts and townships. All these provisions were necessary and most useful. In all the remainder of the counties the full act went into effect in due time. They were divided into school townships, usually corresponding to the land townships. Here was a permanent school corporation, with boundaries that need require no change; the boards were all to be chosen at a public election by ballot. School houses were to be located by these boards under strict rules, and could not be nearer than one mile to a township boundary or nearer than two miles to any other school house. All persons could select the school under reasonable conditions to which they preferred to send the children in their charge. This law provided the very beginning of the idea of concentrating or consolidating schools. It provided for graded schools and the single township, or two or more acting together, could establish a high school or more advanced graded school. And such schools were established, to the credit and advantage of communities. It provided for the concentration of older and more advanced pupils from several into one school, when the house might have two school rooms instead of one; and such concentration was done. There ought to be people living who attended some of these graded schools. On the prairies of Brown county the boys and girls who were older would ride on horseback or drive several miles to such a school, where they had a shed in which their horses were cared for till they went galloping home again. The De Smet graded school was long used for the entire school township. There were other examples here and there in the territory of some form of gradation and concentration. And there would have been many more had the system been continued. Some people may suppose that this law is wholly gone. I beg such to read over the act of March 8, 1883, and then look first at all previous school legislation, and then turn to all subsequent school legislation and see how many improvements that act introduced that have been used ever since. And they will not find these provisions in the laws of any other state from which they could be drawn. Of course the organization of the state and its constitution brought other duties and required certain provisions of law to conform to them. We

have had several since statehood, some good and others lacking symmetry and soon abandoned. The last is the best. Of course those matters that depend on statehood are necessarily new or different, for the state and county officers are suppiled by the constitution. There are now many state educational institutions, and their graduates are provided for, while the whole matter of the examination and grading of teachers has advanced in standard, except the third grade or "permit," which is about the same, except as county superintendents here and there try to practically dispense with it, to their high credit. But look at the scores of other provisions that were continued from that law of 1883. In many respects the law of 1883 was a permanent reform.

The capital was removed to Bismarck in 1883, and Governor Pierce had come into office about the same time. The governor went generally with this movement. There was no quarrel with him because he directed his course in harmony with the new regime, and especially with the majority of the council, which included J. H. Westover,[148] president, John R. Gamble, A. Sheridan Jones,[149] B. R. Wagner,[150] R. F. Pettigrew, Geo. H. Walsh, Judson La Moure and others, who, by agreement or compulsion, acted with them. Since the rapid growth of the territory demanded a new edition of the school law, I most carefully went over it all and corrected the errors referred to, and made a few modifications that would add to convenience and had it introduced. Meanwhile affairs were being arranged and Governor Pierce told me toward the close of the session that he could not reappoint me. The leaders of the council had decided upon this, but had not yet agreed upon their candidate. Hon. John R. Gamble was an able and influential member and was not originally opposed to me. So to bring him into agreement they fixed upon Dr. Joseph Ward of Yankton for superintendent, and the govern-

[148] J. Henry Westover, member of territorial council 1885 and president of that body; represented Hughes county. He settled in Pierre 1883; was a lawyer; removed to Chicago and still resides there.

[149] A. Sheridan Jones, born St. Joseph's, Missouri, 1840; served in civil war; settled at Olivet, Dakota, 1872; territorial auditor two years, and territorial superintendent 1885-87; died 1893.

[150] B. R. Wagner was born in Washington county, Maryland, on what became the battlefield of Antietam, January 30, 1830; served in civil war and settled in Bon Homme county 1874; died there 1898.

or nominated him, but he refused to consent. I wrote and telegraphed my urgent appeal and offer of all possible aid, but he had other aims and positively declined. Finally these gentlemen agreed upon Hon. A. Sheridan Jones of Hutchinson county, and the governor sent in his name and he was immediately confirmed. Not for any personal reason, but solely because, with thousands of others throughout the territory, I did not approve his ideas and policies concerning public education and the school system. I criticise his policy.

Immediately upon assuming the office, some time in April, 1885, he began an active warfare upon the township system. He had been and continued to be the editor of a newspaper at Menno in his county, and he later established a monthly school journal, and in both of these held up the township system as the enemy of the rights, liberties and privileges of the people, and in his two years of service lent the influence of his high office to the deprecation of the system as an evil not to be endured longer, if it could be disposed of. Superintendent Jones was a man esteemed by his neighbors, honest and earnest, and an honorable citizen of high moral character. It seems, therefore, that he was sincere in his purpose to change the system then in good working order in a large part of the territory. It could not be expected, however, that, even if zealous for popular education, he would seek to perfect the administration of this law and advance its usefulness and popularity. His influence was to the contrary in large measure. Very naturally he would find faults, if any occurred from whatever cause. Then the county superintendents were very generally new in their office and experience and, like many in any similar place, not disposed to sit down to a careful and thorough study of any law or system. Like Mr. Jones, they would often see difficulties and charge these to the system instead of its misapplication, and not suppose that any troubles would arise under any other system, or had existed under the district system to a much greater extent. The legislature had not even corrected the two or three typographical errors in the law.

Thus it came about, unfortunately, that the movement was against the law and system. Yet in reading Superintendent Jones' report, printed in 1887, it is singular how few of the superintendents he is able to quote against it. If Superintendent

Foley of Stutsman county finds fault, it is because the school townships were created too large. It was a large county, and they made the townships greater in area than a land township, but the district system was not, therefore, the only or the best cure. However, Superintendent Jones calls both systems "imperfect and unsatisfactory." In the end he drew a bill for a new act that called all rural school corporations "districts," whether they were large enough for many schools or for but a single one. He also provided for fixed lines of subdivision between the schools in a township if the people so desired. The result is, I believe, that we have full township districts under one board, sub-districts in townships, and the regular single districts. Much that was best in the previous statute was continued.

Superintendent Jones was succeeded at the end of two years by Superintendent E. A. Dye, a man of large and varied experience as a teacher and county superintendent, one who had tried the township system and found it advantageous and useful. In these respects he was a decided improvement upon Superintendent Jones, whose experience as a teacher had been mainly confined to penmanship and bookkeeping in commercial schools. The other members of the territorial board of education with Superintendent Dye were Superintendent Geo. A. McFarland, who has since served with great success as president of the Valley City, North Dakota, state normal, which he has made one of the best of all the state normals in the northwest, and Superintendent Frank A. Wilson, also a very capable man. These men composed a scholarly and able board of experienced educators and teachers, and although the times were not so prosperous nor the conditions so favorable, they made a decidedly favorable advance in the work, as their reports show. They say: "We believe in the township system of schools. We have seen both in operation, side by side, and have been brought into contact with both in our official capacity." Such was the opinion of experienced educators generally in the territory in 1884-8 who had such experience. The opposition to the township system was strong in the district counties. It was the representatives from the old and strong counties along the south and east edges of the territory who destroyed it. Their people were taught to fear it like a calamity. The people of great counties like Brown, Spink, Beadle, Clark,

Kingsbury and many others north and south, who actually worked under that system, as Messrs. Dye and McFarland had done, had no such fears, but saw its conveniences, facilities and advantages. All those counties escaped the troubles of district creation, subdivision, rearrangement and other complications that more or less filled the period from 1864 to 1883, and still leaves the districts to more or less change upon which contests arise and appeals are taken to the county commissioners. Superintendent Dye and the gentlemen associated with him on the board say among other things in their report for 1888, page 39: "We find ourselves possessed of two systems. One should he abandoned at once. Seventy-six counties under one and fifteen under the other. It is not just to ask the seventy-six to yield to the fifteen. We believe the time has come for the legislature to extend the township system over the other fifteen counties, and if the coming legislature can pass but one act affecting education, we hope it will be this one. It is our duty to education and to those who shall come after us, to have a uniform school system." * * * "The wise thing to do is to secure one system and then let all the people, no matter under what system now, bend their energies to developing a school system for Dakota." * * * "We most earnestly urge the legislature to extend the township system over the entire territory and to authorize a school law commission whose duty it shall be to consider the amendments needed to the law as it now exists, and to report the same within one year." The board urged that this commision be in part made up of members chosen by the educational associations of North Dakota and South Dakota, acquainted with educational theories, history and present needs.

That recommendation is now timely and would be most useful, though our school laws are now in better shape than in 1888. We name commissions to codify all other laws. In any other department the people of the state would not endure such a condition. The legislature alone has power to meet the need. Composed in part at least of attorneys, it sees other legal needs, but very few members study educational conditions or even read such reports as that from which we have quoted. They have not time during a session to frame a full and comprehensive code, and they lack time to consider fully one that may be presented. To make an

historic and legal study of this subject, such as the two commissions have given to our codes, requires a similar board composed in part of experienced educators but in part also of capable men from other lines. The legislature will then be informed and will candidly, honorably and efficiently deal with the problem.

This is not the kind of a paper in which to deal fully with this issue. The state will some time, and before a great many years, have the uniform township system. They will not go back fully to a district system; that is conclusively sure. Gentlemen will say, "Oh! he is defending the past." But in reply we say these same gentlemen will yet favor the township system. Some other may say, "Oh, he is a crank on that subject." The reply is that we will certainly have the township system uniform over South Dakota. "But," they will say, "it is too much trouble to change to it." The reply is: "It is very little trouble, and you will certainly do it." "We will not have it," may be said. "You will unquestionably desire to have and will surely have it," is the reply; and in like manner the similar answer will be made. I have not the slightest power to compel this; the state will desire it and will surely have it.

There is not a particle of personal feeling about all this. We have no enemies or friends on such issues. It is purely a question of how best we can promote the excellence of the common schools. The gentlemen who have had charge of the state's educational policy since statehood, as well as its legislators, have my high respect. The superintendents have more and more advanced in reforms proposed and the gradation and concentration of schools forecast by the circular of February15, 1882, have been elaborated and urged. They met obstacles. They could not unite independent districts to this purpose. They failed to point the remedy and prepare a sure method by directly advocating the township system, the basis for these and all other like reforms. They will logically follow up their movement and we shall certainly have some well planned and properly regulated township system. It is not unlikely to be moved for by the remainder of the original fifteen excepted counties. We are all thinking and working and will find the line of least resistance to attain the desired ends. We shall then have our rural graded and even high

schools, and the most capable teachers in each. We shall then have our township libraries, and the school system and its pupils will move up higher under the stimulus of our liberal school fund.

Some Miscellaneous Matters

After the close of my superintendency, my only direct relation to education was as a continuing member of the Yankton board of education, though I still assisted in some institute work here and there. My business interests had suffered most seriously. In 1889 I was called by the commissioner of Indian affairs and the general superintendent of Indian schools to some service, especially at Harrison Institute, near Salem, Oregon, and went there in February to take the place of the superintendent, who had been dismissed. Remaining there till about August 1st, I had the pleasure of reorganizing that institution in some measure and to recommend some of the improvements since carried out in that school. I can only say that the experience was valuable.

Before this I had been appointed one of the board of visitors of the Madison normal school, and in association with Geo. A. McFarland, Theodore D. Kanouse[151] and others helped to make very thorough examination of the school and some reports, but one of which was printed, being in the report of Superintendent Dye for 1888.

One of the most treasured papers I ever received was the resolutions of the Yankton board upon my resignation to accept the Oregon work. I was then president of the board and had been active in the schools and in the erection of the central school building in 1889, the best school building for its cost in the state. At times in the eleven years of membership I had been chairman of three committees at one time and regularly of that upon the employment of teachers, which my relations as superintendent aided me in serving usefully. Some superior teachers, with Superintendent A. F. Bartlett, were brought into the schools in

[151] Theodore D. Kanouse, born Lodi Plains, Michigan, March, 1838. Active in temperance work; right worthy chief templar of the world, order of Good Templars. Came to Dakota 1880; settled at Woonsocket. Elected to congress on provisional ticket, 1885; warden of penitentiary 1889-91. Removed to Glendale, California.

that time. As it was the first full high school, it was also long the best in the territory and state. I visited the schools throughout often and some of the most pleasant and gratifying memories and frienships of my life belong to that period.

At the same time I was a very early member of the corporation of Yankton College, upon which they have done me the honor to retain me till now. It was a great privilege to assist Dr. Joseph Ward and others in the work of building up an institution devoted to thorough liberal learning. Having early become connected with the Yankton Congregational church, Dr. Ward was for some time my pastor. Coming to the presidency of the Madison normal in August, 1889, I retained my membership in the Yankton church because a member of the college corporation, and partly also because it left me more free in the selection of members of the faculty at the normal. Last year, when I retired from the presidency of the normal, I changed by letter to the Presbyterian church of Madison, where, by their comity, there is no Congregational church.

While residing at Yankton, finding the college in need of teachers, I volunteered and heard three classes most of the winter, without pay, but well rewarded by the associations and experience. Fortunately I had in two subjects one of their best senior classes.

When the state normal school was located at Madison the law made the superintendent of public instruction ex officio a member of the board, and I served with them when other duties permitted. It became the duty of these members to locate the school by designating one of the tracts offered for a campus. One member favored the one west of town, another the site north of town, and for two or three days I devoted myself to the careful study of the problem. It was as if I alone had been directed to make the selection. I voted for the site on the north edge of the city and have never regretted it, besides which the other two gentlemen have always been among my best friends. We did not quarrel or go to law, but Dr. S. M. Jenks [152] has come to believe

[152] Dr. S. M. Jencks, a leading physician of Madison.

that C. B. Kennedy [153] and myself judged wisely. There is no site for public buildings in the state that equals it in natural features or in present beauty of buildings, trees and walks.

The legislature of 1883 provided for opening the state university at Vermillion, and the act made the governor and superintendent ex-officio members of the board of regents. Accordingly early that spring, the board met at Vermillion and organized by naming Governor N. G. Ordway as chairman and myself as secretary; so I wrote the opening minutes and they may possibly be in existence. The people of Vermillion and Clay county had voted bonds for a building upon a site which had been donated to the territory, and the building was completed in the spring of 1883. The academic work had been opened October 15, 1882, under Dr. Ephraim Epstein, and I had often visited his classes. Thus a pleasant association was formed with the early life of the university, and it used to be my delight to visit it; while with several professors a long and warm personal friendship was maintained.

While territorial superintendent from 1879 to 1885, the great influx of population occurred. Already familiar with the natural features of nearly every part, I now saw it rapidly covered with settlers, and towns grew where I had passed upon surveying expeditions or had surveyed the land. At this time I was often useful to the railroad managers and engineers in giving information about the country and helping them in the location of their lines. They never gave me a townsite. Visiting the counties often, acquaintance was made with great numbers of the people, and in 1885 I probably knew more citizens personally than any other one in the territory, and it seemed to me that nearly every one knew me, wherever I might go. I had spoken to audiences in nearly every town of any consequence, and often before rural meetings. They were in those years a happy, contented and pleasant people, warm in friendship, kindly in greetings

[153] Charles Bartlett Kennedy, a banker of Madison and life member of this society, born in Moscow, Maine, March 28, 1850; settled at Madison 1878.

[154] Dr. Ephriam M. Epstein was a native of Russia and grew up in Jewish faith, but became a Protestant Christian of the Baptist denomination. He was pastor of the Baptist church of Yankton when called to the presidency of the university. He resides in Chicago at the present time.

and cordial in manner. They struggled under many difficulties, were deprived of just markets for their products, but were brave and cheerful. They felt that they were creating a new commonwealth, in which finally all would be made right. The sun never shone upon a better citizenship than Dakota had in those years. They were open-minded and fair and desired good government. They were better than the ordinary politics. Scheme rather than voluntary popular motive governed most conventions. The sectional divisions led to some of the best specimens of log-rolling and marvels of combination the United States had ever known, all of which tended to strengthen the statehood movement in South Dakota. As things then were, politics was like the flea and the Irishman; he put his finger upon it and it was not there. Let an example serve, using no names. The convention of the Republicans had met at the appointed place. One wing had made its combinations and felt perfectly secure in its control. This depended upon Cass county, of the north, standing firm with the deal, and that it might so act was a secret. But the leader of the opposition caught onto the plan just as the convention opened. Things were moving right along toward organization and action, when the opposition leader saw the probable failure of his hopes. All depended upon Cass county. Sparring for time, he rose and in solemn tones told the chair that it was a time-honored custom to have prayer offered at the opening of conventions, and moved that a certain minister be requested to perform that office. As the minister passed toward the platform the mover whispered to him to make a long prayer. And he did. Meanwhile the opposition leader made terms with and secured the support of the Cass county delegation and controlled the convention! Thus at times part of North Dakota or all the Black Hills would turn down one side or the other in the south and convince more people that division was desirable. Similar diversions and conflicts occurred in Democratic conventions, such as that between M. H. Day [155] and Governor Church [156] at Wa-

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[155] Merritt H. Day, born in Green Lake county, Wisconsin, 1844. Served in civil war; located in Brule county, Dakota, 1873; removed to Bon Homme county, 1876; leader in Democratic politics; died 1901.

[156] Louis Kossuth Church. For sketch see 1st S. D., 160.

tertown in 1888. The division issue was prominent and its ghost could not be laid.

In the somewhat long period that I had the privilege of serving as superintendent, among the large population that settled on our prairies and in our towns were many good teachers. The population brought as a part of it and as members of families many experienced teachers, some of them well trained in normal schools. These were all very valuable aids toward the establishment of the school system and the opening of schools. Not infrequently some of these were married women who, like the younger ones, gave part of their time to teaching. There were also frequently young or unmarried men who sought fortune in the new land that were superior scholars, if not experienced teachers. Two of these I remember were graduates of Harvard university that settled in Brown county. At that time the school laws granted certificates of very limited duration. The legislatures seemed to be afraid to trust either superintendent or teacher very far or long. The territorial certificate had the longest life, being for two full years! In all that time I never had any blanks printed for these, but would occasionally write one out on a sheet of paper, sign and present it with my compliments to some lady or gentleman that I found deserving, either by work in institutes or in schools. They were rare enough to be highly prized. Still two different county superintendents rather protested that I ought to leave to them the test of all teachers in their respective counties. In both these cases it happened that the qualifications of the teachers were surely good, and I had granted them as the only means by which these persons could be kept in the territory.

Some of these two-year certificates are, I know, still carefully preserved and highly prized as marks of distinguished honor, by the recipients. Most of them are doubtless gone with the waste paper of those times. About 1883 Dr. C. M. Young,[157] now dean of the college of literature and arts in the state university, a graduate of Hiram college, Ohio, came into the territory and was teaching at Tyndall. For him I wrote a certificate in formal

[157] Clark Montgomery Young, born at Hiram, Ohio, about 1850; came to Dakota 1883.

phrase and transmitted it to him by mail with my compliments, in a letter. Mr. Young seemed just then to be wondering just what he might do to secure some such general warrant to teach, and it pleases him to this day to recall the fact. There were other and good, probably better, reasons for the continued warm friendship that still exists between us. Frank Crane of Watertown had been a very efficient and successful county superintendent, doing much for the schools in Codington county. Desiring to approve this as well as his high scholarship, I wrote out in the best terms I could command a two-year certificate and transmitted in a letter of formal compliment and courtesy. The last time I was at Pierre, in 1902, he took these from a safety box in the vault in his office and exhibited them with evidences of sincere pride.[158] One each was sent to the two Harvard graduates. Among others I met two young men, born in Iceland, who had but recently graduated from the Lutheran college in northeast Iowa. They were about to settle among their countryman out by Pembina mountains in the northeast corner of the territory. I liked them greatly for their sincere character and devoted work, and wrote for each a territorial certificate. I think it would be found that Prof. Geo. A. McFarland received one, as he surely deserved, and perhaps the present superintendent of Deadwood. There is one preserved in Montrose, McCook county, and two or three others that I know of. This treasuring of such documents touches one's good feelings. Yet I did not issue, probably, over twenty-five such during the over six years in which I was trusted with that great authority!

With the salary and appropriations mentioned, how did one live, travel, pay personal expenses and support and educate a family. In addition, how could money be secured to rent an office, not provided for by law, to hire an assistant or clerk, which was unavoidably necessary; or meet the expense of all the extra printing, such as the circular herewith printed, the postage, the stationery? In the beginning I had some money and used it. Later I secured little surveying contracts and absented myself two or three weeks at a time in executing them, then went in

[158] This certificate has, by Mr. Crane, been presented to the state historical society and is kept among the choice relics of its museum.

to the nearest town, got and answered my mail, and surveyed two or three weeks more. With the gain from this work it was possible to go forward with education. It cost me for four years about double the amount appropriated by the territory. When illness overcame me in the winter of 1883-4, it was necessary to go to Florida from February 20th to April 20th for recovery.

But there grew up a strong body of county superintendents, generally able, capable unselfish and devoted to the high aims of the school system. Let me give full credit to them and the splendid people of that "golden age" of South Dakota. This paper gives little space to individuals; to mention and duly commend all who wisely labored and greatly aided would expand it to great length and change its purpose. Hundreds are passed by with regret, and where should we draw the line when so many were deserving? But I must refer to some. In 1883 there was expended for teachers' wages $181,691, and in 1884 the amount was $394,785. From these figures the enormous growth and expansion in organization of schools in one year may be inferred. The township system rendered it possible. Estimate, if you can, the vast service demanded of county superintendents under this development. No such work ever comes now in such lines. Hard as was my labor, theirs was more onerous. I remember the faithful, steadfast and capable work of such superintendents as W. H. H. Fate of Union, O. H. Parker[159] of Brookings, R. W. Jones of Brown, C. C. Bridgman[161] of Clay, W. G. Dickinson of Day, J. C. Collister[163] of Hughes, James S. Bishop of Beadle, E. A. Dye of Spink, R. M. Evans, M. D., of Walsh, Geo. A. Williams of Kingsbury, Frank Crane of Codington,

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[159] O. H. Parker, first state commissioner of school and public lands; born in Ashford, Connecticut, 1842; early settler of Brookings and six years superintendent of schools of that county.

[161] C. C. Bridgemen, born in Hardwick, Vermont, 1846; settled in Vermillion 1874; now engaged in mercantile business at Vermillion.

[163] J. C. Collister, born Loraine county, Ohio, 1845; served in civil war from Illinois; came to Pierre, 1882; active in education work; studied medicine and removed to Iowa.

F. R. Van Slyke of Lake, B. F. Spaulding of Cass, W. E. Benedict [167] of Lincoln, M. A. Lange [168] of McCook, G. L. Pinkham [169] of Hand, C. E. Jackson of Pembina, E. F. Peterson [170] of Clay, C. A. Burton of Grand Forks, A. N. Van Camp [171] of Hyde, Charles A. Crissey [172] of Miner, J. E. Colton [173] of Minnehaha, and they deserved high mention for the various talents and common faithfulness they gave to their duties. Then the women of the territory came forward worthily as superintendents as well as teachers. Of these Mrs. N. G. Herring of Sargeant, Miss E. E. Nichols of Potter county, Mrs. E. P. Hugill and Mrs. Clara Rogers of Lawrence, Miss Belle Dennis of Fall River, Mrs. A. P. Rose of Faulk, Clara O. Pindall of Ransom, and Miss Hattie L. Workman of La Moure were honorably efficient in the pioneer work they performed under difficulties, which was essential to later and larger work that is more noticed. One could do little without such loyal and capable leaders and co-workers as these and many others in the widely separated counties. They knew my confidence in them and my great obligations to them at that time, and their names recall years of struggle, self-denial and enthusiasm, almost without pay, that helped lay the foundations for the structure that is now the pride of the people of both states. The flag of our hope fluttered high at the peak. Sometimes, later, it was for the moment obscured, but the full light came and they were all loyally glad.

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[167] Willis E. Benedict, now of Custer; born in LaFayette county, Wisconsin, 1858; came to Dakota 1872; twice member of state legislature from Custer county.

[168] Moritz Adelbert Lange, born at Smith's Mills, New York, January 28, 1855; educated in Iowa; settled in McCook county 1878; county superintendent, county surveyor and deputy state superintendent under Frank Crane, George W. Nash and M. M. Ramer.

[169] Gilbert L. Pinkham, first state superintendent of schools.

[170] E. Frank Peterson, the well-known publisher of maps and atlases of South Dakota and separate counties; a native of Minnesota; located at Vermillion 1878; now resides at Lake Andes.

[171] A. N. Van Camp, born at Muscatine, Iowa, December 18, 1850; settled at Highmore 1882, and has held several county offices; was county superintendent for a brief period during organization of county.

[172] Charles A. Crissey, born at Chatfield, Minnesota, March 23, 1858; settled at Howard 1880.

[173] J. E. Colton, born at Sylvester, Wisconsin, March 28, 1857; located in Minnehaha county 1878; county superintendent 1883-87. The village of Colton takes its name from him.

No territory ever had such fealty and allegiances as these men and women and thousands more then faithfully rendered, and no state ever came into so noble a fame as these people gave to both states. But where shall we cease to write upon topics and men and women that recall such hallowed memories or give such clean and cherished sentiments and pleasures? Let us turn to the harvest, the final attainment of it all.

The School Lands, Division and Statehood

Let me say, as if I were writing a personal letter to each reader, that I loved the people of South Dakota from 1879 to 1889; and ever since. Few know me now as many thousands did then. I have been held close by a short picket rope, since statehood, by the state normal school at Madison. Before that I was able to visit nearly all of them and talk with them. I knew how they struggled, thought, hoped and had an enduring faith. I know how clean and honorable were the great majority, without respect to party, or creed or nativity. I knew the missionaries of the churches and the Sunday school cause as they went over the territory and brought organization and moral power. The suffering and the success in every line were before the eyes of the observer. I saw the people of Deadwood assemble in mass meeting the day after their city was destroyed by fire in 1879, and there declare for and protect the rights of every person, rich or poor, in his property and personal privileges. It was not necessay to send for troops or think of martial law to protect or govern such a people. It was more like some famous New England town meeting, consulting upon problems of property and right. Let people talk about the supposedly wild mining camps. I had seen Deadwood a few nights before in the glare of midnight lamps, but it was quiet then. Let men write about that splendid town meeting, held there in sight of the spared school house and church, and the honorable civic life since, and see how small and unworthy a part are the stories of Wild Bill, Jack McCall and Calamity Jane! The people who filled South Dakota east of the Missouri were a splendid people. They proved it in their stand for the school lands, for division, for the Sioux Falls constitution of 1885, and held firmly to their purpose till statehood was at-

tained in 1889. Much that appears in all the preceding pages shows the progressive rise of the purpose to secure division and statehood.

The heading of this chapter shows the order of the then great issues. The movement for the school lands began first and became a strong factor in the other aims. The saving of the school lands was advocated by me from the day of my arrival in the territory, in April, 1869. It had become fixed in my mind from discussions and laws, from my boyhood, in Indiana and as a student in Michigan, when the defaults of the past were placed before the people as reasons for better work then and in the future. On the ride from Sioux City to Yankton it was mentioned by me and my companion. It was mentioned to many persons in the early days of my residence in Yankton. The surveyors of public lands would, if living, remember our talks upon it. They often said, and it seems in some measure true, that many of the school sections were the very pick of the land. They were above the average in many parts. The first reference in writing to the subject is to my advocacy of the cause in 1871, less than two years after my arrival. The following is, in full, a copy of a letter from Hon. H. A. Jerauld,[174] after whom a county is named. I was talking with many legislators at the time to which he refers, and I discussed not only the Indiana, but the Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin waste of a great heritage.

"National City, California, July 20, 1903.

"General W. H. H. Beadle, Madison, South Dakota.

"Dear Sir: I trust you will remember me, for I have not forgotten you. Nor do I forget your loyalty to the best interests of education in Dakota's early days.

"Today I send to a local newspaper a communication, a copy of which I send you, and which explains itself.

"When I read the new California law referred to, I thought of you, and it brought to my mind an incident connected with the legislative session in Dakota territory in 1871, in which you gave us the dark history of the waste and robbery of the public

[174] H. A. Jerauld, member ninth session, 1871.

school funds of Indiana, and the newer states admitted into the union up to that time.

"I stood with you at that time, and am glad that South Dakota has appreciated your long service in the line of her greatest good.

"The history you gave us made a lasting impression upon me, and I would thank you if you will refer me to the sources of like information on the subject.

"Trusting you are well and still in the service, I am, yours very truly, "H. A. Jerauld."

From the first the work went on quietly. All will understand that there could not then be any practical organization toward statehood or any extensive and public discussion of the school land issue. We were preparing for the time when these great issues could be raised when population was here. I have given the conversation with Governor Howard in 1878, when he invited me to serve him as private secretary and to become superintendent of public instruction. My successive appointments were on the same basis, for my advocacy was then public and general. In the legislature of 1877 I spoke once upon the topic, urging that a bill might be passed protecting the school section at Dell Rapids, and that it would be valid unless congress disapproved it, which they were sure not to do. In January, 1888, I had written a letter to Hon. Carl Schurz, secretary of the interior, upon the protection of the school lands by the United States, to which the following was his reply:

"Department of the Interior

"Washington, Febr'y 1, 1878.

"Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 26th inst., and have made myself acquainted with its contents, for which I am under obligations to you. Truly yours,

"W. H. H. Beadle, Esq., "C. Shurz."

"Yankton, Dakota."

In his history of South Dakota, published by B. F. Bowen & Co., vol. 1, p. 316, Hon. Doane Robinson gives the conception of the statehood movement to a meeting of Governor Howard,

Hugh J. Campbell,[175] W. H. H. Beadle and Dr. Joseph Ward at a Thanksgiving dinner at the home of Rev. Stewart Sheldon (a brother-in-law of Dr. Ward) in November, 1879, when all the issues were united, and "from that time General Beadle devoted himself to" * * * the plan "that every acre of the school land should be held until it brought at least ten dollars per acre." * * * "While General Campbell and Joseph Ward agitated for the division of the territory, to the end that a more compact and therefore a more representative commonwealth be created, where the tendency and temptation to corruption and graft in government should not be so possible. They and others were tireless in their work from that date, and many citizens' meetings were held at Yankton and various other localities where the matter was discussed." Let me say that Dr. Ward was an early supporter of the school land plan, long before the time mentioned. Governor Howard gave his practical assent to it in 1878 in our conversation upon the subject before mentioned; but he never was able to take an active part in the campaign, his death occurring soon after. Let it also be even more clearly stated that General Hugh J. Campbell did not enter upon the statehood movement through the school land door as the others did. He loyally accepted the idea, however, and was always favorable to it. His ideas and aims were more distinctly political, and in that direction his ambitions were high and strenuous.

Now that the movement was launched I again addressed Hon. Carl Schurz, secretary of the interior, setting forth fully the conditions and soliciting the more active aid of the United States in preventing trespass upon the school lands. This letter he referred to the assistant attorney general for the interior department, who returned an opinion to the effect that these lands had been by United States statute set apart when surveyed and were to be sacredly preserved for the use of the future state for the benefit of schools, and directing all land and other officers of the United States to warn and prevent setlers from occupying or otherwise trespassing upon them. Through the bureau of edu-

[175] Hugh J. Campbell, native of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania; served in civil war from Iowa; active in reconstruction days in Louisiana; U. S. district attorney for Dakota territory 1877 to 1885; died at Yankton 1898.

cation this circular was printed in very large numbers and sent to such officers, and many hundreds of them to me as superintendent of public instruction. These circulars were scattered widely over the whole territory and had a great influence in preventing further trespass, and led a good many settlers to abandon these lands, and seek other homes while public lands were yet available. In my addresses, north and south, this advice was urged strongly. These trespassers were told distinctly that when the state was organized they would have no rights whatever, and that the state would sell the lands at auction to the highest bidder, and put him in possession, without reference to or any return whatever for their so-called improvements. Everywhere we declaimed against them, warned them and called upon all other people to stand firmly against such trespassers as enemies of their rights and interests. We spoke now with more decision and force, in the name of the United States, and by its official and legal authority. The effect of that circular was great. It spread fear among violators of the law and encouraged the friends of education. Men who had been indifferent came over to our side and we soon had a considerable following.

But organization was necessary. Chief Justice P. C. Shannon was our friend, and Gen. Campbell, who was United States attorney all this time, was fond of nothing more than a prosecution. Cases were begun and indictments found against men, wherever we could find proof, for cutting timber on school lands, and several convictions were secured. The news of these spread among the people. In those days the second judicial district, over which Judge Shannon presided, covered all of South Dakota east of the Missouri river. Then United States grand juries were summoned, not from selections made by drawing names from great lists, but the district attorney supplied the names to the United States marshal. We were careful to select the best citizens, and among these such as we already knew to be friendly or probably favorable to the school land and statehood movements. In a similar way the petit jurors were summoned. So the terms of court would bring to Yankton a considerable body of rightly disposed men on the juries, and many others could be added to these who came as parties or witnesses. At first somewhat secretly, and later more openly, these men were persuaded to take part in

our cause. Next we began to organize clubs or associations in the various counties east of the Missouri, with these men as leaders. A sort of circular or declaration of principles was prepared and printed on writing paper, which was sent out to these leaders, who secured signatures of many others to it. Thus clubs were formed and extended into the settlements. They were by no means confined to towns, but on the contrary the organization was rather more rural than in towns, for we wanted disinterested and faithful people, not politicians, as the basis of the movement. Thus, finally, there was a great number of "committees of correspondence" organized, and these often met and the sentiment grew. In Yankton we had a club that held stated meetings in the hotel then kept on Second street by Mr. H. H. Smith, who was secretary of the club and an active worker. There were clubs in other towns, but they did not hold public meetings, simply private conferences, where reports of progress were received and new members signed the roll. Of course the plans were not uniform everywhere, but a steadily increasing number stood for the cause. In our public addresses we never alluded to these clubs. They were not secret societies at all, but a means toward the dissemination of the doctrine and a future public movement.

The north and the south were differently situated in several respects. In the north was a great national railroad, the Northern Pacific, with a vast grant of lands, practically taking half the land for forty miles on each side of its track, and taking indemnity in Dakota for lands lost in Minnesota. That corporation at that time dominated North Dakota. Men bought great tracts from it, and secured the intervening government sections by pre-emption and formed the "big wheat farms" they simply plowed and planted, many school sections among the others. There was no transcontinental line across South Dakota, and the only land grant was to the old Winona and St. Peter Railroad company, a part of the Northwestern system, as far as the Big Sioux river at Watertown. This company disposed of its grant quietly, at reasonable prices and not in large bodies, so it made no impression upon the people. In the north, smaller farmers added parts of adjoining school sections to their farms, and others made their homes upon school sections. In an ad-

dress at Grand Forks, I set forth this whole matter vigorously and argued the school land issue as fully, freely and pointedly as if before a South Dakota audience. The Herald reported it fairly, though not at length, and as if it favored my views. I was pleased to have a fair number in the audience speak to me after the address, shake hands and express their approval. In other parts of the north, even in Fargo, the Northern Pacific railroad centre, I found similar good sentiment as was shown elsewhere in that section. The people wanted the school lands for themselves and their posterity.

At Fargo a well selected United States grand jury was part of the court over which Hon. Alanson H. Barnes presided as judge. I was familiar with all that country, had done some of my surveying north and south of Casselton and Wheatland. By personal inspection and from friends we secured a considerable list of trespassers and of witnesses who would freely testify to the facts, and presented the entire matter before this grand jury. I was one of the witnesses, as I recall it now. The case was elaborately presented and upon the evidence the grand jury made a formal presentment to the court, setting forth by name every trespasser and giving the exact description of each tract of land so cultivated. It was a big list and one of the citizens named in it happened to be a son of Judge Barnes. When the presentment was made by the full jury to the court, it was read distinctly at full length, whereupon the court ordered that it be received, filed and noted in the records, and then commended and thanked the jury for their services in the matter. All these were powerful influences. In every way practicable and reasonable they were used. Speaking later in the south, these facts from the north were set forth and the people were urged to struggle for separation from the big railroad and other corporate influences of the north, from their political methods and from their probable management of the school lands, and to form a state that was more free from danger of graft and could be economically managed.

In 1880 James A. Garfield was elected president, and I sought more direct and powerful government protection for the school lands. Early in February I went to Cleveland and out to the little station near which was his rural home. He was a friend of

popular education, a man of the people, had risen through toil; why not tell him the whole story? Driven to his house in a sleigh, he kindly received and talked with me nearly two hours about the new west, the territorial governments, their school systems and the school lands. It was urged that in view of the records of the northwestern states in disposing of these that the congress might properly legislate directly upon the subject for all the territories. I had first told him that my purpose was solely to protect the school lands and to promote the schools, and that I had not come for office for myself or any person whomsoever. Whether he learned much, if anything, from me, he heard with interest and his remarks were comprehensive and definite, and his mind was generally well disposed toward the policy. He, of course, said that he could not tell what congress might be disposed to do. In his first message there was a general remark that made me believe that he remembered the subject. Being introduced to him when president, he shook hands at once and said, "I remember General Beadle well, and have not forgotten our talk at Mentor." If one had heard all that conversation at Garfield's farm home, one would have believed that there would be an effort toward general legislation for all the territories, prescribing a uniform school system and protecting the school lands; and it would have been well for the future states. But Garfield was assassinated.

All these incidents and struggles had their influence upon the workers in South Dakota, increasing zeal, strengthening their purpose and supplying argument in their debate. From the first one steadfast plan was pursued by me, to persuade and convert individuals to my views about the schools lands. That was the purpose with Mr. Jerauld and his co-legislators. Dr. Ward was my first convert, if he required conviction at all and had not always thought substantially that way. Talking with him one day I read a letter I had written on the subject and he quietly handed me five dollars and said: "Please print that." My pastors have always been my social, literary and, I may say, political companions and are now. Many a long walk and visit and general or special discussion I have had with them, to my advantage, if not theirs. When Dr. Ward went into the college work ex-

clusively, an early successor was Rev. Dan. F. Bradley,[176] with whom visiting one day questions of employment, general life work and aim were debated. I then showed him an offer I had at $3,000 a year to enter the school book business. That looked very large to me, but I might not have been successful. He spoke of some other work. To this replying, I said that my "call," my "vision," my duty led me and held me to popular education, to that I was devoted, that I could not leave voluntarily, and I quoted as accurately as I could from St. Paul: "Necessity is upon me that I do this thing." This referred to the struggle then being waged. "That is good," he said, and it confirmed my resolution. There were many talks with other people. Whether driving across the prairies or riding in the cars I found some one to talk with upon this "ruling passion." It is certain that a score of times I talked on the subject with one man only, while we rode half way across the present state. Upon every train some one would mention the topic, or I would introduce it, and an apparent interest on his part would lead me on to a full argument of the issue. If one man here and another there could be led to see the whole question and to get his mind free from the petty objections or erroneous ideas held by many about what was proposed, he would be a new center of reasonable argument and judgment. Not all were so persuaded; some became zealous. Some days I would talk twelve hours on this one thought, and fourteen hours if there was an address at night.

One lives all the time and is somewhere all the time and, if he has "an eye single" to one purpose, people are apt to hear of it. So when citizens came to know me very generally they would look at me and speak about me to one another, not for anything remarkable or worthy I had said or done, but with a smile, saying, "I wonder if he has convinced any more people that these school lands are worth ten dollars or more per acre. He seems to believe it, but I would not want to buy them at his figures." Then it would sometimes be: "How are you, general," with a friendly hand shake. "Do you really believe you will succeed in your plan to have the school lands held till they are worth over

[176] Dan. F. Bradley, acting president of Yankton college 1889-1890; now president of Iowa college.

ten dollars an acre." "Yes, sir, I do," was my reply. "Hundreds more believe it every month, and you will soon wonder why you ever doubted" "Success is certain; the good people will all be with us very soon." Then, perhaps, would follow a long and always good natured argument. I did not hunt for the leading politicians, nor were they disregarded. At Faukton, holding an institute and going to Major Pickler's [177] home to dine, I found the major and Mrs Pickler, and apparently the children, all on my side. So it was often, and such facts are recalled with pleasure and such people are kindly remembered and ever will be. Finding myself in the country one Sunday, where nearly all were Scandinavians, I went early to their church in a quiet way. A considerable number had assembled early and were resting and visiting outside before the services. Speaking to such as I knew and being introduced to others, they turned the talk upon the school lands. One said: "Yes, we hear about that. It is a good thing. Our minister said so to some of us the other day. He do not think a few should get the lands and have us make him rich by our work, building up this country." And to this wise proposition several expressed their approval. There were many similar scenes. The working men and the real farmers of all classes and creeds began to adopt such views. The Catholic people were not behind any in favor. The question was outside of churches and politics. The Methodists and Congregationalists were at this period the most active churches in extending their organization and building up congregations. The Baptists were also vigorous. The work of these churches has never been better than in those days; certainly it was most noticeable then. A new work shows in an otherwise untouched field. The Lutherans had long been organized. Among all these I am led to believe that the pastors very generally, and many of the leading people, began to adopt the plan because it was in the cause of education, was moral and righteous. It often happened that Dr. Ward was absent either when pastor or in the college, driving in early days clear across to near where Sisseton is or elsewhere, and

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[177] John A. Pickler, born in Washington county, Indiana, January 24, 1844; served in civil war, rising to rank of major; located in Faulkton 1882; served in territorial legislature and in congress from 1889 to 1897.

I know that, among his other duties, he did not omit any opportunity to encourage friends to stand for the school lands, for division and statehood. In fact, I think it became naturally the policy of all ecclesiastical bodies to organize and plan toward a division of the territory. In an earlier chapter I have shown how South Dakota from the first tended in all things toward à unity of its own. About this time, in 1884 I think, the South Dakota Press Association was formed, and this was indicative of the tendency of newspaper opinion upon division.

It was plain from early days that division would surely come. The victory for that was really won when fully entered upon, and was as good as assured in 1883, when the first or preliminary convention was held. Still, it took long and faithful labor to complete it with statehood, November 2, 1889. But the school land problem was not solved till the last moment. It was a new thing; that territories should be divided and statehood gained was guaranteed by the ordinance of 1787, the general provisions of which were extended by the congress over all the northwest, including the Dakotas. That South Dakota should stand for a price "not less than its appraised value and never less than ten dollars an acre," when Iowa was selling such lands near our southeastern border at $2.50 to $4.00 per acre and when no state had ever placed a limitation higher than "double minimum," that is $2.50 per acre, was a surprising demand. Speaking one evening at Madison, about 1881, and urging the full measure of this plan, some one asked me if I supposed the school section (36) a mile and a half northwest would sell for ten dollars an acre soon enough to do anybody living then any good, I replied that it would sell for more than that within a year after the state was admitted. The reply was that the people proving up on pre-emptions could get loans of but $200 on quarter sections, to pay the government. It took a long argument to convince people that these cheap lands would soon be so valuable. When Major Thomas H. Ruth,[178] commissioner of school and public lands, came to Madison in 1891 to appraise and prepare to offer some lands, I easily convinced him

[178] Thomas H. Ruth, born at Carmicheals, Pennsylvania, March 5, 1844; served in civil war, and located at De Smet in banking business 1880; second commissioner school and public lands, 1891 to 1895.

that he should mark that section at $25.00 per acre, and the others at about $12.00 to $20.00. The section did not then sell at $25.00, but it later sold at $35.00 to $41.50, or fractionally near that. It was not an easy matter to convince people that statehood and a few years would bring higher prices, but the arguments from other states, soon after their admission, were used broadly and sometimes in detail. The rates of interest were then high in Dakota; a quarter section well improved would rarely be taken as security for over $600.00. Railroad tariffs were high and the farmers believed the grain and stock markets were "unfair." It was a long way eastward into Iowa or Minnesota to where affairs were materially better. It would require twenty pages like this manuscript to reproduce all the objections and to fully state the arguments used to avoid or refute them. The people were paying heavy school taxes and wanted early relief. They said that they were now poor or had little property, while the future state and people would be rich and could easily maintain their own schools. One man justified Illinois in selling so much school land at a low price on the foreging principle, declaring the state had been more benefitted as it was than it would have been upon my theory. The reservation of the school lands so long a time would delay their occupation, delay population, and actually prevent the advance of other lands in value and price! Yet, all the time we gained. There was not among the people then a great desire to get hold of the school lands. And we showed the speculation in Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin in such lands, the vast land grant to the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific and other railroads, and how speculative occupation of these swept the school lands into the same pool. We even went so far as to point to the fact that many of our legislators showed no interest in this question or stood for a low limitation. Hon. R. F. Pettigrew, as delegate to congress, was endeavoring to secure the passage of an enabling act and wrote me that he fixed $2.50 per acre as the limitation on these lands, and asked if I did not consider that sufficient. We argued that such a limitation was no better than none, and that when statehood had come the first legislature might be worse than the one that moved the capital to Bismarck, and all its members might be made rich by an act selling a million or a million and a half acres of school lands at one

bargain to a syndicate who should have two or three years to select and pay for the lands thus bargained for! The fear and finally the belief of many came that some such scheme was on foot. The reader will see that such a sale was possible with a low limit. Still the victory was not won. In a meeting addressed on the subject, with ten dollars as the limit, very rarely would more than one-third the audience respond favorably by rising. After the first address I delivered at Mitchell on the subject I begged all who favored the doctrine to kindly speak to me of it as they passed out. But one man did. He was then the landlord of the Sanborn house, and later lived at Artesian, name forgotten. Under the less than decidedly encouraging conditions should we change the proposition to a lower limit? No, never! We stood by the original, first, declaration, and in the language that finally went into the constitution. We never wavered one moment, but declared that success would be certain on that line. There were hundreds of men and women who were true to the cause. Nearly all the county superintendents I have named were early and steadily faithful. Many educators who have since become known to fame were loyal at all times. So the struggle went on, but the foregoing gives the general and many of the special lines upon which we argued.

General Hugh J. Campbell was active in his own way, keeping in close touch with these "clubs" or "groups" and aiming chiefly at division and statehood, together with his own political preferment. He was undoubtedly ambitious to become a United States senator from the new state, and he had many warm friends and adherents, but never a following that could assure success. He was a Scotchman—vigorous, persistent and unyielding. His way was the way; his plan the true plan. So he did not adjust and accommodate himself to the large body of men in the movement, in the convention or among the people. He and Judge Shannon were somewhat alike in their Celtic steadfastness or obstinancy, and as prosecutor and court they pursued crime with even undue vigor. While it must be granted that the court made crime unpopular, gave law to the rough elements up the river and generally established peace and order, both men developed opposition among the bar and people, not subjects of their forceful administration of justice. Always the friend of both, their unmovable

rigor of idea and persistence rendered it difficult to cooperate with them. Yet I was always indebted to both for evidences of sincere friendship and acts of personal favor. General Campbell was the prosecutor and a hard one. He and Judge Shannon did not agree well. Campbell was not admired for kindly and noble qualities, but for his fighting blood. A Presbyterian of the old type, his lines of thought were fixed. He was the oak, never the yielding willow. Opposition intensified his own opinion and strengthened his purpose. He was never soft or gentle, always a sledge-hammer. He had high integrity, I believe, in all things, but to persevere in the integrity of his own ideas and will was his characteristic. He was so rigorously erect as to lean the other way. He served the cause of division and statehood with great energy and, in its earlier days, gave it power and momentum, but when it became a great popular movement he could not control it, or use it rightly for his personal advancement. He antagonized all the politicians, who were wiser in their day than he was. Besides this he had also antagonized all politicians who had never supported the movement. But it is not remarkable that he then had and deserved many very warm friends, and that among them are living men today who regard him as a great leader. He deserved their admiration and regard, but he did not fill their expectations as a manager of great affairs, and failed at the most critical moment by accepting a general gage of battle, and fell outside the works. Thus I attempt to analyze the qualities and work of a man I too admired greatly, but found wanting in the crisis and unable to adjust himself to reasonable conditions. For a long time I would have been glad to see him senator, but never saw hope for it.

Dr. Joseph Ward was a manly and earnest man, full of good common sense and kindliness, and of broad views. He saw opportunity whenever it appeared. A few letters that he wrote occasionally to eastern papers in his early years at Yankton show far-sighted vision for Congregational work, for education and for civic righteousness, all of which were equally dear to him always. He had given pledges as he had received charges to be faithful to these, and his life work was invaluable to South Dakota. He could labor and could wait. He could stand calmly after the performance of duty and wait with confidence upon the

result. He was a man of large self-possession and real power in mind and spirit. Under the strain of heavy responsibility, trial, and even adversity, he could cheerfully go forward in all duty and constantly broaden his field and take stronger hold upon the resources within reach. His life, his manner, his preaching, his public work were all simple. He came near living the simple life, but was never idle. His rest and recreation had usefulness in them. His acquaintance broadened till it included South Dakota. There was the highest wisdom in his advice, and in a few sentences he made a policy clear. So everything he aided prospered, and he aided every good thing. So broad was his philanthropy and so simple and kindly his manner to all, the rich, the common laborer and the needy, that people of all parties and churches and social grades held him in uniform respect. Within my own knowledge some Catholic people called him "Father Ward," in such esteem as a minister and citizen did they hold him. Dr. Ward was, from his wide acquaintance, a strong help toward the cause of the school lands and of statehood. A sure indication of his modest sincerity, his trust in God and his profound love of broad republican government is found in the state motto, of which he was the author: "Under God the People Rule." Dr. Ward had not only this large personal power and direct influence, but the equally great one of holding others together, harmonizing and combining them in all the fields of service entered by him. He was not a politician at all, was not pretentious in the least, did not seek honors. The state of South Dakota and Yankton College are his monuments. I tried hard, but in vain, to do his labors justice when I delivered the oration over his grave when his friends placed a monument there in Yankton cemetery.

Rev. Stewart Sheldon[180] was another one in that Thanksgiving dinner conference upon the public welfare at his home in Yankton in 1879, with General Campbell and Governor Howard. He was sent by the American Home Missionary society and gave sixteen years to pioneer religious work, during which time (1874) he gave great aid to civil movement as well as to religion.

These men are specially so mentioned because their work was in the genesis of the movements that reached such importance.

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[180] Stewart Sheldon was the father of Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, the renowned author of "In His Steps."

But theirs was not the only church nor they the only men at work. The Methodist Episcopal church, the Baptist, the Catholic, the Lutheran and the Episcopalian (led by Rev. Melancthon Hoyt and others), and later the Presbyterian and others, were equally zealons and faithful, and from all alike came influences and helps of the highest value. Nor was this a church or a religious movement. It was largely a moral, profoundly a righteous, movement. It was these influences coming into the civic field at a great opportunity. Besides, the press of the territory was an increasing and higher power every year, and not only freely gave the reports, but lent advocacy to the cause. Not all the papers as not all members of churches or ministers or all the people espoused the aims of the leaders. Political campaigns and political considerations of every kind had their place in those days, as now. The early volunteers and laborers were very generally not politicians, though such distinguished men as Hon. Bartlett Tripp of Yankton, Hon. P. C. Shannon, Hon. Granville G. Bennett, Hon. Barney Caulfield and scores of others yielded their private and public support.

These "clubs" and local groups heretofore described were now useful, and by their aid and otherwise delegates were chosen to a convention that met at Canton, June 21, 1882, which declared for "division and admission" in pronounced terms. This meeting and the executive committee appointed by it, show that men from every church named and from both parties were in the advance guard. The committee was Joseph Ward, Newman C. Nash, Wilmot Whitefield, J. V. Himes and more. The veto by Governor Ordway of a bill for a constitutional convention aroused the people and the Canton committee called a delegate convention which met at Huron, June 19, 1883. It was a large convention of the most able and dignified men of the entire state. Hon. Barney G. Caulfield was president. As Doane Robinson writes: "It acted with calm deliberation and sagacity, which encouraged all the friends of the movement." It adopted an address to the people and by ordinance called a constitutional con-

[181] Barnard G. Caulfield, an early resident of Deadwood, was born at Alexandria, Virginia, October 28, 1828; served Forty-Third and Forty-Fourth congresses from Chicago; died in Deadwood about 1886.

vention which met at Sioux Falls September 4, 1883. Some of the leaders were Bartlett Tripp, Hugh J. Campbell, Gideon C. Moody and Arthur C. Mellette.[182] The constitution prepared by this body was presented to and admission sought by congress, but in vain.

The legislature of 1885 provided for a constitutional convention for South Dakota. The delegates were chosen at an election held June 30th, and the body met at Sioux Falls September 8th. The popular movement had legal sanction. A lawfully chosen body was in session, under its president, Hon. A. J. Edgerton of Yankton, and the "division and admission" effort was in its final stage. How was it with the school lands? Many with me had continued the labor for this cause along with the other. I had consulted the members of these conventions when in session or individually as far as could be done. They were almost unanimous for division and admission, but not decided upon the school lands. The state had been filling up with new voters all the time. These caught sympathy readily with the political movements, but the school land issue was new to them as it had been to all others, and it is probable that when the Sioux Falls convention met, September 8, 1885, a majority of the people might have voted "no" upon the question, if it had been alone submitted. So it was in the convention itself. The victory was yet to be won. We are not writing a history of that excellent body of men. They were earnest, honest, capable. They had met there to perform a great duty and all their work was admirable. It is one thing to favor a strong, economic, republican constitution, with guards of civil and personal rights and limitations upon legislation and other powers. They were willing to "legislate in the constitution" upon all such questions. Other states, like Illinois and Pennsylvania, had framed new constitutions with advanced provisions upon many points; but none had ever done what was asked concerning school lands. The reader may think that this

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[182] Arthur C. Mellette. For sketch see 1st S. D., 161.

[183] Alonzo J. Edgerton, was born at Rome, New York, about 1826; in 1856 settled in Minnesota; served in civil war, retiring in 1867 with rank of brigadier general; appointed United States senator to succeed William Windom in 1881; in 1882 sent to Dakota as chief justice; chosen U. S. senator by provisional legislature 1885; in 1889 appointed U. S. judge for district of South Dakota, serving until death in 1896.

now seems a most reasonable thing to do, but it did not appear so then. It was a very radical departure, for which there had been no precedent for a people struggling to establish homes in a new land.

Among the able and good men who had espoused this cause early was Rev. James H. More, a preacher of the M. E. church, laboring in Beadle county. He was chosen a delegate to this convention, as was Dr. Joseph Ward of Yankton county. I shall ever feel grateful to Judge Edgerton that he placed these two men upon the committee upon "education and the school lands." Rev. J. H. More was made its chairman and Dr. Ward was second on the committee. The following was written recently by Chairman More, from his home at Polo, Illinois, where as he writes me: "I am living by God's goodness in comparative comfort and enjoy a very good degree of health for one of my years." His statement follows:

"The committee on education and school lands in the constitutional convention which met at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in its earliest sessions was not a unit on the policies to be incorporated in its report.

"The prevailing opinion was that school lands should be early put on sale, that the proceeds might be available, to assist settlers while they were struggling with the difficulties and hardships incident to the establishing of new communities.

"A minority, having large confidence in the future of South Dakota and believing the lands so liberally given by the general government for the promotion of education would rapidly advance in price, and if retained until needed by settlers, at a minimum price of ten dollars per acre, when sold would accumulate a magnificent endowment for the common schools of the new state, held persistently to their convictions and at length won over the others and the committee unanimously approved fixing the minimum price at which school lands should be offered, which was the amount indicated above.

"Some members of the committee had seen the school lands in the older states hastily sold, to the great detriment of the later history of school development in those states, and the fund of which the lands should have been the basis depleted by serious losses, because not sufficiently guarded, and all desired to so

frame the constitutional provisions that the accumulated fund should be safely protected.

"In working out the details of their report the committee were greatly assisted by General W. H. H. Beadle, then of Yankton, who at their request met regularly with them during the last half of the session of the convention. His thorough knowledge of the conditions in the territory, obtained during his administration of the office of superintendent of schools for the territory, and his sound and discriminating judgment were of incalculable service in perfecting what has been pronounced a very perfect constitutional provision for well endowed free public schools. The state owes much to General Beadle for the generous, broad-minded and magnificent service he has rendered her school interests."

It was something of a struggle, but it was reasonable and kindly. My first and manifest object must be to secure the unanimously favorable action of the committee. That was not done till late in the session. Taking all their ideas, suggestions and work, I sat in their committee room while they were attending sessions of the convention and drew the article upon "Education and School Lands" as it appears in our state constitution, except that some amendment was made in convention to a section relating to investment and security. This they read and re-read, and it won their approval slowly, one by one. It was that formal and complete document, not oral discussions and misunderstandings, that won the case. I was ready to reply to all questions. At times, at least, they treated me like a member of their committee, but I was careful not to speak with the least authority. Some earnest persuasion was used with individual members and I talked most freely with Dr. Ward that he might, if possible, meet all objections. Rev. J. H. More and Dr. Ward endorsed the paper fully from the first reading, with enthusiasm. Finally, near the very close of the session, the committee made a unanimous report, presenting the article as drawn. I had meanwhile gone over it section by section, clause by clause and word by word, and made every punctuation mark, all in a fair and legible hand. They would read this over repeatedly. It looked complete. Should the majority, against Chairman More and Dr. Ward, prepare another report and draw another article upon another plan? It did not seem easy. Let me assure the reader

that it is not. That $300 worth of experience I had enjoyed writing upon the "codes of 1877" was a great help to me. Asked privately by a member of the convention if I would draw another article upon a modified plan and a lower limitation, I respectfully declined and stood by the draft exactly as made. Meanwhile I talked with members of the convention personally, as opportunity offered, and with those of the committee. The unanimous report was made, and but a short time before adjournment it was adopted by the convention! Then the people adopted the constitution. The dearest thing to me in my public life was an accomplished fact.

I take the liberty to quote from two letters received from Rev. James H. More combining these expressions. He had been asked to sketch the history of the convention's work upon the question. He says:

"I send you a mere outline of what seemed to me appropriate for me to say. The long struggle for the right basis need not be told. As soon as I have leisure from the accumulated affairs that demand my attention I will review and recall what I can of the work of the committee on public schools and school lands and write you again. I am sorry not to have seen you when I passed through Madison. I am desirous the people of your state should know how much they are indebted to General Beadle for their most excellent, complete and successful foundation for public schools. Accept assurances of most exalted esteem of,

"Yours very truly, "James H. More."

The outline sent is printed above. It is a personal pleasure to know that some such friends, many I believe, were won in that long contest. During it some bitter things were said about my motives and plans. When men occupied the school lands they were not friendly to those who disturbed them. Sometimes parts of such sections were used as burial grounds. This I had attacked, and at least one newspaper held me up to scorn for interfering in such a sacred affair! The constitution was adopted by a vote of 25,132 against 6,522, and probably some of the latter were cast upon the school land proposition. Something can be learned of the moral tone of the people and the convention by the fact that a prohibition clause separately submitted was car-

ried by a majority of 334, and in 1889 by a majority of 5,724. I regret to say that woman suffrage lost. While not specially advocating it, I had always favored it and voted for it, as I did for prohibition. The towns and villages of South Dakota were not then largely given over to saloons, as they now are. It took several years of desperate struggle to remove the prohibition clause. Even before this most of the towns were upon a prohibition basis, refusing licenses. The towns along the river, from Sioux City to Bismarck, and the few leading interior towns, with most of those in the Black Hills, favored and patronized the saloon. But the great interior region and the rural towns generally were almost wholly free from them.

The people who from 1879 to 1889 came to make their homes here were intelligent, self-respecting citizens, used to governing themselves, trained to hold meetings, to organize movements and direct events. The learned professions increased in the numbers and ability of their representatives. Many of the officers were able and faithful men, and made progress in every worthy direction. Law was enforced more and more fully, and a commonwealth of high purpose arose out of the earlier confusion and bitterness. The women of those days, the mothers of the present generation, deserve the highest praise. They, too, were intelligent and capable. Side by side with the men, they endured the struggles and privations unavoidable to the border. There were dangers of Indian war and of the wild beast. They helped to build the sod house and to make the home. Often they were lonely, far from neighbors, and denied by circumstances the social life that is so much to them. They toiled though summer and winter to make and keep the home and lent their aid in all opinion and effort that finally made the state. It is not singular that in the mountain states the suffrage was often given to the women. They bore the same hardships and met the same dangers as the men. Nor is it singular that in the period referred to the women of South Dakota were held in such honorable esteem by the men. Many favored giving them all political rights.

The survivors of these pioneers are worthy of all honor and praise. To them, and to their associates now gone forever, it was given to redeem a wilderness, to plant the institutions of American liberty upon a new soil and to place on record endur-

ing evidences of the sturdy quality of American manhood and womanhood. When joined by thousands more like them in later territorial and early state days, they wrought by patriotic sentiment and diligent toil and left a record for coming generations to emulate. The foundations they laid in the state of South Dakota will tend to preserve perpetually the principles upon which our government is founded.

These sentiments and expressions are suggested by the work and writings of others, but the people have ample cause for state patriotism.

Here one might stop. The entire victory had been won. The rest is all history, and the record of it is fairly complete. Doane Robinson has gathered the facts, often even in detail, and this is not to be done over again. Some others will, years hence, take up the record as it has been made and give the philosophy and cause and effect of it.

A little may be said upon events from 1885 till November 2, 1889, when "We are a state" was realized. But how did it come that South Dakotans clung to their purpose and persisted to the end? The long struggle had unified them. That organization from 1879 to 1885 went right forward in its work, and the people kept their faith. Those "groups," "clubs," and "committees of correspondence" were not continued in form and for their original purposes, but in substance they perpetuated the struggle. The Sioux Falls constitution became dear to the people. They were attached to it. The entire territory as one state was not safe to make so good a fundamental law. Then the article upon the school lands became more and more a sacred thing. Now that it was done, almost the entire people became proud of it and stood by the whole movement for that reason. The authority of the Huron and the Sioux Falls conventions was great with the people, and assent was given to their words generally. Then all men who participate in a great political act of high merit become more attached to it after than they were before the act. They could defend their course finally only by success. Nearly all minds settled into a confidence and determination. It was discussed before the vote on the constitution and that instrument won supporters. As time passed, others accepted and defended it wholly.

The Sioux Falls convention did not finally dissolve when the constitution was completed in 1885, but met again in 1886 and kept alive the statehood aim. Committees went before the congress and the president and argued for admission. These arguments and the pamphlets printed by committees were read by many and re-enforced the arguments for statehood. South Dakota was unquestionably Republican in politics. Many prominent and able Democrats had supported statehood. They were consistent afterwards. Cleveland became president in 1885 and we soon had a Democratic governor of Dakota territory, Louis K. Church,[184] whom I hold in respect, but he opposed statehood and his own party in South Dakota largely opposed him in this. The Sioux Falls Press of July 15, 1886, has the following: "After the adjournment of the constitutional convention yesterday, the state league held a session and renewed its pledge to work untiringly for division and admission. President John A. Owen resigned that position and T. D. Kanouse was elected to succeed him." The members of the convention and thousands of others were doing good work all the time. The press of the south advanced in ability and became practically unanimous in favor of statehood. The people of the north favored it more and more and finally became reconciled to and advocates of division and admission of both. It had reached a condition where the people would have acted and voted almost solidly for it for another four years or more.

Hon. John A. Owen, above named, was an early and stalwart statehood and school lands supporter. Residing at De Smet, he had a fine influence upon public opinion there and more widely. A man of the finest qualities and character, he was an esteemed citizen and one of the best school board members I ever knew. He soon removed to California, after his resignation above noted. Theodore D. Kanouse of Woonsocket was an ardent advocate of statehood and education, a pleasing and rather eloquent public speaker, and was nominated and elected to congress as a part of the statehood movement. He later removed to California.

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[184] Louis K. Church. For sketch see 1st S. D., 160.

My own activity did not cease, but was less general, as I had ceased to hold the office of superintendent. Still, whenever opportunity offered, I spoke or wrote. The following is taken from the Sioux Falls Press of April 4, 1886:

"General Beadle, interviewed by the Yankton Press on the subject of the Sioux Falls silver mining excitement, says that no silver exists in the Big Sioux quartzite, and it is his opinion that the alleged silver find covers an intention to secure a school section at Dell Rapids under the operation of the mining laws. This is a theory that will bear investigation."

Sometimes I encouraged a prosecution for cutting timber on school lands. The public mind received such items as the above with favor, and the public conscience was kept lively upon the subject.

In the convention of 1885, and after, General Hugh J. Campbell was the most radical of the advocates of the doctrine that "We are a state." In the convention he could never command a majority for his theory that we were a state by the consent and authority of the people and might elect our state officers and put the whole machinery and power of the state into operation, and not await the pleasure of congress to create a state for us. He advocated this doctrine before the people steadily, and had a good many supporters, but never anything approaching a majority. And he lost political support and public confidence by his course. When statehood came his ambition to be a United States senator was due to certain disappointment. By that time too the fact was accomplished and all the political forces were active, whether they had early served the cause, as he did, or not. And he passed out of the scene which he had for some time so greatly helped to create. Still it must be conceded that he and his supporters had materially aided in the persistence of the statehood movement to its success in 1889. Had General Campbell reserved his doctrine till Governor A. C. Mellette's message to the legislature at Huron, it might have received more favor. In that document, while he did not favor assumption of state powers, Governor Mellette took every other ground that General Campbell had held, saying: "The people of Dakota are a state by the supreme right of creation." "The state is the creature of the people, not of congress." "She demands a

right granted by law which congress cannot legally refuse." He would, however, wait upon congress to give it life. There is ample reason in all these facts after 1885 why the people of South Dakota stood steadfast and won statehood.

I repeat as I said early in this paper, one must have the point of view of those times and conditions to understand South Dakota history up to 1889. Man's environment has changed vastly since then. His mode of thought has been almost transformed. He has new conditions, new ideals, new thought since it required two weeks to get news from Washington city to Yankton that the territory of Dakota had been created by congress. He cannot experience or think as people did in those years. They were feeling their way toward an indefinite future. When they were in numbers and means suffiicent, they began to form ideals of a state that was to be, and men began to organize and labor toward those aims. There were leaders at times that all of us followed who were unworthy of our fealty, and we have no pride in them. They passed and better ones arose from time to time. Absolute ideals were not held or attained by any. Out of all the struggle the best men available formed the Sioux Falls convention and later won the victory. I would like to discuss many of them, but such is not the purpose of this paper. I think we had a splendid people, desiring to do well, "with courage in the right as God gave them to see the right," and they did well. We now are closing the seventeeth year of statehood and have all we can do to bear ourselves as well as they did. Our history and present success justify a high state pride and patriotism. The future ought to be thought of that it may justify the present. We believe the future manhood and womanhood will surpass those of the present and the past. "Honor thy father and thy mother," is followed by promised endurance in days. As I grow old I look back upon those times and those people from 1879 to 1889 and honor them. It was the golden age of South Dakota in achievement. Still our praise of the past grows in large part out of high belief in and anticipation of the future. We have never faltered or deteriorated, therefore we shall advance. As providence moves through all history, like Homer's gods through space, so the truth of the future shall be greater than the truth of the past or the present. True optim-

ism is doing better, endeavoring to realize higher ideals. The state of South Dakota offers far more splendid opportunities now than the territory of Dakota ever did or could.

Note.—This paper has been written under difficulties. With many other pressing duties, with my right hand long disabled, severe illness followed and these pages have been written hastily in the month of July, and I ask the considerate criticism of the reader.

W H. H. Beadle.

Madison State Normal School

The last chapter might have been an appropriate close to these sketches, but Secretary Doane Robinson kindly requests that they be extended.

About August 1, 1889, when I was temporarily engaged as head of the Harrison institute, an Indian industrial school, near Salem, Oregon, I received a telegram from the governing board notifying me that I had been elected president of the Madison, South Dakota, state normal school, and I wired my acceptance, closed my relations in Oregon and came promptly to the duty. It happened that I had been connected with the Madison normal in some way from its inception. In public land surveys I had passed across nearly every part of the territory east of the Missouri, and among others across Lake county from northeast to southwest, and saw that it was a splendid body of rich land, like so much country all around it. During the legislative session of 1881, Hon. Chas. B. Kennedy, now as then an honored resident of Madison, represented Lake county in the house and secured the enactment of a law locating a territorial normal school at Madison, and such was the vast snow blockade that he brought the first news of the fact on his return from the session. At the following session of 1883, Hon. R. C. McCallister, the well know and honored citizen of Madison, was the representative and secured a small appropriation for a building and to open the school. When this bill came before Governor Ordway, he sent for me and questioned me as to whether Lake county and that region were fitted by productive soil and otherwise to sustain a good population and make it a fit place for such

an institution. My reply was strongly favorable, and the act was approved. The law authorizing the school made the superintendent of public instruction a member of its board, ex-officio, so I became connected with the school from its beginning. Later, when no longer superintendent, the board appointed me a member of the "board of visitors" along with such gentlemen as Geo A. McFarland, T. D. Kanouse and others. In these capacities I served as I was able, and have thus been connected with the institution almost continuously from its inception to the present hour. Similar acts brought me into the early boards of the state university, the Spearfish normal and perhaps other territorial institutions.

The first president (1883) was C. S. Richardson, graduate of Colby university, Maine, who was a hard-working, faithful and most kindly man, seeking to help all around him. Leaving the school in 1886 he took a post-graduate course at Harvard university, was professor of mathematics and astronomy in Olivet college, Michigan. Going to Utah he was active in mining, and died at Omaha, Nebraska, June 24, 1904. He was succeeded by William F. Gorrie, A. B. 1864, A. M. 1876, Williams college, Mass.; born at Salem, N. Y., May 25, 1842; died October 25, 1903, at his home in Minneapolis. He was a superior scholar and skillful manager. He conducted the school in an orderly, systematic and pleasing manner and was, as his memory is, held in high esteem by all his graduates. Before and after his service as president here (1886-9), he held other high and responsible educational positions, including principalships at Minneapolis (east side), Afton academy, Afton, Minn., Stillwater, Minn. (two years), then superintendent of Watertown, S. D., schools, then to this normal. Knowing him well, I always held President Gorrie in highest esteem, and he deserved continuous success.

My call to the presidency was not of my own seeking, but came from the governing board in August, 1889, unexpectedly, and I ought to acknowledge here the warm friendship of such men as Hon. John Norton of Webster, Hon. G. L. Pinkham of Miller, Dr. A. E. Clough of Madison, and Hon. Geo. M. Evarts of Sully county, members of the board, moved not only by their own judgment but urged by Geo. A. McFarland and other educators, who asked that I be called. Influences in and about the

institution had in 1889 caused conflict, disorganization and unfortunate confusion, so that discipline and government were nearly gone. An almost new faculty was chosen with me, to some of whom I was a stranger as I was to the students. The policy was the same that had governed me in 1879 and later as superintendent—higher standards, enthusiasm, vigorous, hard work for all, students and teachers, scholarship, knowledge and the enthusiasm of knowledge. With the united assistance of a very able faculty that the board had given the school, strict system was adopted and every pupil was required to meet every duty. The school met for opening exercises every school day at 8:15 a. m. precisely. Bell calls summoned to and from every recitation and the recess, with careful exactness. Tardiness and absence from opening exercises and recitations must have a written excuse, signed by the pupil and approved by the president, in every instance, and this excuse must be in turn presented and noted by the proper professor. For many years it became true that when students were asked by outsiders when our opening exercises began, their reply was, "Eight fourteen and three-quarters!" a testimony to the promptness required in all things. That method was successful. After a few months very little discipline of a stricter nature was required. In a year the old things were forgotten and good will and earnest effort were secured. Some reports went out that we were pretty strict here, but time approved it all.

In my view the best success could not be reached in the early years of a school and its reputation made certain unless the president knew all about every instructor and every student, if possible. So I took two or three classes and met them every day. These were in different grades or school years, so that few students were not under my own instruction in one semester or another within two years. Visits were made to the work of other instructors, and every student was closely observed in the classes. This method is not possible in an old and great institution, but it was very helpful in my period here. The subjects for each instructor had been assigned by the employing board. Such an arrangement cannot be perfectly made, and experience suggested a gradual change, till each instructor was doing the work for which he or she was best fitted.

It requires time and some changes, carefully made, to secure the best faculty, and the change must not be too sudden and complete, but slowly, and largely as voluntary retirements give opportunity. Changes for cause are better made singly. As in 1905 I retired from the presidency and, to my own satisfaction, Dr. J. W. Heston succeeded and the regents gave him with one exception the faculty I had, and by his request the same faculty has been continued, I may without offense speak of my experience. The new faculty of 1889 was good, in the main excellent, and had a number of instructors with whom I would never have willingly parted. I speak of them in the order of their continuance.

1. Frederick G. Young, A. B., Ph. D. (1886-9), John Hopkins University. The faculty was larger in number than we could hope to long retain. In January, 1890, Prof. Young resigned to accept the principalship of the Portland, Oregon, high school, which he filled with high credit for several years and was elected to the faculty of the University of Oregon, where he has ever since held a full professorship. He is a man of the highest worth and ability.

2. George A. McFarland, B. S., M. S., Hiram College, Ohio; born near Cleveland, Ohio; an accurate and liberal scholar, of large and special attainments. He left the faculty at the close of the first year to enter the chair manufacturing business at his native place, following his father's business, but was soon recalled to North Dakota and has been for some fifteen years the president of the Valley City state normal school. The school under him has met progressive and great success and he has won real distinction in that state as well as in this. He taught extensively in South Dakota, at Scotland and elsewhere, and in 1887-8 was a member of the territorial board of education, with Hon. E. A. Dye as superintendent. The report of that board exhibits marks of his judgment and literary expression.

3. William H. Dempster, graduate state normal school, Cortland, N. Y., of which state he is a native. Was at the head of the schools at Miller, Hand county, at Redfield and at Huron before his call here in 1889. In 1903 he resigned to accept the presidency of the state normal school at Drain, Oregon, and to find a more favorable climate for his wife and two boys. Probably no

man in the faculty made a more characteristic personal impression upon his classes and no one will be more definitely or loyally remembered by his students. He was a great worker and a most successful teacher of mathematics and physics. Something was doing and thoroughly, during every second of his recitations or other lines of services. Nobody could escape his requirements, and every one of his pupils asks with most kindly regard about his welfare. He had ideas; everybody knew it; and they were correct.

4. Hattie A. Whalen (Mrs. J. P. Jenkins, Sioux Falls) was one of the two members who formed the first graduating class of the school in 1885; was immediately and unanimously elected by the board as a member of the faculty, and was in like manner re-elected and served the state with fine scholarship and the best influence for ten years, until her marriage. It seemed most appropriate that she should become the wife of so worthy a minister of the M. E. church. Born in Michigan, she came to Dakota in 1880; taught three summers in rural schools of Moody county. She had taken preparatory work at Evanston, Illinois, and her fine scholarship was a marked quality of her work as a student and teacher. During her last five years with the school she was preceptress of Ladies' Hall, in which, as well as her work of instruction, her influence was ideal.

5. J. Whitney Goff, A. B., A. M., Bates College, Maine; born October 16, 1861, in Sangerville, Maine, of English descent, and his paternal grandfather commanded a company of patriots at Bunker Hill and at Yorktown. Mid the hard struggles on a farm he got his start in the district schools and later advanced in Foxcroft Academy under the inspiring teacher, Prof. Bachelder, later of Hillsdale College, Mich. In Bates College, at Lewiston, he won the prize for declamation in his junior year and took first honors as a scholar in his class. Coming into the faculty of 1889, after many years as principal of Monmouth and Ansonia academies, he has continued to the present except an absence of one year in 1891-2. His work has been in all except the first two years in English, language and literature, with advanced grammar, rhetoric, American literature and English literature as his special subjects. He is a scholar of the most thorough and liberal sort, a man of philosophic insight and refined literary taste, a

writer of unusual merit, as his public addresses show, and he has made a deep and permanent impression upon all his students, the very best being his best friends.

6. Miss Cora Monnier Rawlins, A. B., A. M., Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, both with honors, and she also was given the Boyden prize for the highest scholarship in the classical course and membership in the Phi Beta Kappa society. She excels alike in Latin, Greek and English, being also a strong scholar in German and French. Born near Galena, Illinois, she was on the maternal side descended from Huguenots who had taken refuge in Switzerland, had come to Selkirk, Manitoba, and from hardship there retreated to Galena. We found her in and took her from the state normal at Valley City, N. D. She has been eight years in the Madison normal and for six of these was preceptress of Ladies' Hall. She is now librarian and instructor in psychology and German. Her ability has given the library a great place in the lives and culture of the students. Her power to accomplish work is very remarkable.

7. Miss Anna B. Herrig, principal of the training department and instructor in psychology and methods, was born of German parentage at Saginaw, Michigan, where she finished with high credit the high school course, taught three years in the city schools, then graduated with great merit from the Oswego, N. Y., state normal and training school, and took a year's special course for critic and training teachers, for which that school was long famous. Needing two skilled training teachers in 1891, I studied many recommendations and finally selected two from Oswego, of which Miss Herrig was one. Neither was promised the principalship, and not till after their arrival here did I designate Miss Herrig for the higher place and salary. In 1893 she resigned here and accepted a like position at Peru, Nebraska, where she had the distinction of being a member of the educational council of that state. She then did a year's work in the Mt. Pleasant, Mich., state normal, after which she was persuaded to return to this school, where she remains, with increasing power and success. In a normal school this is a very important position, giving the professional studies and practical training that fit the teachers for their work, and Miss Herrig labored long and hard and most successfully, and the effects are felt in hundreds of our graded and

village schools. She has spent one summer in the Harvard summer school. Though a very advanced and finished scholar in English and German languages and literatures and in her professional and other subjects, she has no academic degree.

8. Miss Nellie Collins, born in Dallas, Oregon, in the eastern foot hills of the Coast Range, has been the primary critic since 1893. Educated at La Creole Institute in her native town, after teaching six years in the rural schools of the county, where she had all the experiences of a pioneer teacher, boarding 'round, doing her own janitor work and carrying water from a spring a half mile distant. She then graduated from the Monmouth, Or., state normal, receiving the degree of bachelor of scientific didactics. Teaching three years in Bethel academy, she graduated from the Oswego, N. Y., normal and took the critic and training course, and came to us. She was granted the life diploma of Oregon and has studied three years in the summer school of the University of Minnesota. Her great ability, pleasing disposition and charming manner with children and teachers have made her very dear to our students, as to everybody that knows her.

9. Miss Susan W. Norton, A. B., Vassar college, was born in Elmira, N. Y.; graduated from the Oswego high school, then from the Peru, Nebraska, normal. In 1898 she completed the course at Vassar and was honored with membership in Phi Beta Kappa. She came to Madison in 1899 and remains since then as grammar grade critic and teacher of vocal music. She is a cultured scholar and her speech and writing are clear and pure English. Her very earnest Christian character has made her of great service to the work of the students in their Christian association.

10. Miss Isabel Larsen, B. S. and M. S., Northwestern University, instructor in science, was born at Odell, Illinois. Graduating with high credit in 1901, she came at once to Madison. In 1903 she tendered her resignation in order to return to the university and take her master's degree. At my request the regents gave instead a leave of absence for one year, and since 1904 she has continued her fine work, and personal power. Her strong decision of character gives her much influence over students; she is an important factor in athletics and she has organ-

ized a science club that has advanced the admirable work of her department.

11. Miss Arletta L. Warren, Ph. D., University of Michigan; born in Wooster, Ohio, graduate of high school and Wooster university, taught in high schools of Beaver Dam, Wis., studied a year in Bryn Mawr college; taught in Aurora, Ill., high school; instructor in Latin and preceptress in academy of Iowa college two years. After completing course for Ph. D. spent one year in American school of classical studies in Rome and in travel in Italy and Greece. Has been for five years professor of Latin and preceptress of Ladies' Hall in Madison state normal, in both of which she is most worthily successful.

12. Miss Katherine Davis, Master of Letters, Chicago university, born in Galesburg, Illinois, where she graduated from Knox college; four years teacher of Latin and English in first high school, Knoxville, Illinois, then in Madison, S. D. In 1903 was made principal of the high school, Wells, Minn., which she resigned to accept here, where she now teaches composition and rhetoric and elocution.

So much is written, and we might add several more; W. W. Girton, secretary and teacher of civics and geography; Miss Rose O. Eddy, critic intermediate grade work and instructor in drawing; and others who have been or now are connected with the faculty. These are all scholars and teachers of a high grade and the list is given somewhat fully for a historical record of the school, and to discuss two or three points.

1. We have not continually filled the list with our own graduates, but have sought the scholarly and capable from many different institutions, and only such as have already fully established themselves as able teachers. Miss Alice Joyce De Graff, born near Stirling, Illinois, came to North Dakota with her parents in 1883 and graduated from the Ellendale, N. D., high school; taught two years in graded schools, graduated from Madison normal in June, 1902. Such had been her scholarship and earnest effort that she was, the following winter, called to the normal. She is instructor in arithmetic, geography and physical culture. She is now in the summer school of Chicago university. In 1890 Mr. Edgar E. De Cow graduated with high credit and was immediately employed as an assistant instructor. After extended univer-

sity work, he is professor of mathematics in the university of Oregon. Three other graduates have been employed for brief periods as substitutes or instructors. Many were very capable, but the rule has been very closely observed that no school can maintain advanced and progressive standards and have original and varied power in its instruction that to a considerable extent employs its own graduates immediately into its faculty. It has been my opportunity to visit a large number of universities, colleges and normal schools, and wherever such practice prevails there is a noticeable element of weakness. About one or at most two in ten ought to be the limit. This opinion applies more fully to high schools.

2. Such faculties as I claim that the normal unquestionably has, can be secured and constantly improved, and the same can be done for colleges and higher institutions, by successive changes as opportunity arises or can be created. And such suitable and desirable people can be discovered by keeping the attention upon the field. The wide acquaintance that the head of an institution has enables him to learn unquestionably and to know reliably about many more than he needs. He can generally know personally, if not he learns from those he knows well and thoroughly, and not from strangers and hearsay. I never selected or nominated a professor because he or she was my friend, or because one was the special friend of some one else. To accommodate persons, to give a place because a friend wished to favor some one, was never entertained. There must be a great deal more. That is the very last, not the first, reason, if considered at all. Public welfare, the best interests of the school and pupils and permanence in usefulness are the sole aims. To admit personal interests, prejudice, favors, patronage, relationship, is to invite trouble and division, disorganization, weakness. If best work is to be secured every instructor must feel that he stands on his merit and that all his associates do.

3. There are scholars who are not teachers, and that is half. There are scholars who are so narrowly special that they do not think there is any knowledge outside their own field, and they are out of harmony with the general aim of the school. A normal school can with difficulty get along with a university graduate who has been taught that the normal school has no

proper place in education, that only a professor of pedagogy is capable to tell one how to teach. We did not want such people. In our new west those from the far east learn with difficulty our limitations in buildings, laboratories and material. I prefer that some one else introduce them to the west and teach them harmony with our conditions. In general, the one who has first graduated from a normal and has then taken his college course is the best instructor. Of course exceptions are numerous, for all bright, able and scholarly minds learn how to teach, if they have love for it and enthusiasm in it.

4. I have learned more and more that sound, accurate scholarship, knowledge of subject matter and liberal culture are necessary and the prerequisites of a good teacher. As the faculty list shows, this part of the school has been improved and held very high. The aim has been to make it as excellent as possible. English, and Latin and English hold a prominent place, and history demands a strong position, but science, mathematics, mental science and others go along with them for precision and usefulness. Sound scholarship in all was insisted upon, and no preference was given. Just as able and capable instructors were sought and kept in the latter as in the former subjects and expenditure, so far as possible to be made at all, is made for one as freely as for the others. It has nevertheless been apparent that there was greater need in the first place of advancement toward a fair mastery of English, history, civics and similar work. The English language, history and government must be known well by a teacher who is to train citizens. Thorough equipment in English is a high requisite in the teacher.

5. Are thorough scholarship, liberal studies, science and mental culture, and the education they give, enough? Do they alone make the teacher? Is it sufficient, in addition to these, to study pedagogy and the science of teaching? No. There must be all these, and they must be followed by a course in scientific methods and by practical teaching daily under the best trained and most skilled critic teachers. All the rest is academic work; this finally makes the teacher. That is the uniform tenor of our experience. Those academically trained can often, in time, learn how to teach grades and high school classes. Here is the point

of conflict between the colleges or universities and the normal schools. They adjust their courses and put in a chair of pedagogy and declare that the state normal schools are unnecessary. They have been trained to believe so and they teach others the same belief. So the idea is propagated and spread. What do most, nine-tenths, of these gentlemen know about normal schools except as they have learned it thus from other chairs of pedagogy? But it may be confessed that some state normal schools have in a considerable measure adopted the university idea of putting knowledge and pedagogy in exclusion of practical training. As well try to make surgeons without dissection, the clinic and the hospital practice; to make lawyers by lectures without the moot courts; to make electrical and mechanical engineers without the laboratory or the shop. On the other hand, universities and colleges are learning that they too must have training schools to prepare real teachers. Each of the state universities has one or more professors whose chief duty it is to visit the high schools of their states and inspect the teaching therein. Among these Mr. Albert W. Tressler is inspector of schools for the University of Wisconsin. An advanced graduate of the University of Michigan, he writes in the Michigan Alumnus for April 1904: "While the departments have rendered a great service to education in a general way and are still indispensible in the preparation of teachers, they do not practically prepare graduates to teach. Courses in the history and philosophy of education, in the theory and art of teaching, and in managing schools are of great values in the training of the teacher, but they must be related to observation and practice. Practice courses have for a long time been considered necessary in preparation for all professions except teaching. In this most difficult art, skill is to be acquired only by blundering on and learning from experience. In many quarters doubt has been expressed concerning the feasibility of practice courses. That the problem is not insoluble has been frequently demonstrated. The practice courses should be a part of the teachers' courses * * * definitely related to the subject of method. Many of the teachers' courses do not touch upon methods of teaching the subject even in theory, to say nothing of practice. Teachers who have taken these so-called teachers' courses, expecting to receive practical suggestions and assistance, have

been diappointed. Fortunately, here and there a professor has made this course a really practical one."

This fairly states the case. In territorial days the education of teachers was encouraged by every lawful means, and private and denominational schools were started and certain courses in them were by law recognized as fitting teachers for official recognition. When the territory and the state provided normal training schools these colleges went on in the old way and were still recognized. So we had two standards, the educated and practically trained teacher and the simply educated teacher. The state's recognition was much easier of attainment by the latter, and the state normal and training schools suffered. At one time some committee "revised" the school law and almost left out the graduates of the state schools. The decisions of the state superintendent under another law finally excused the colleges from giving practical training. The last school law cut the first state certificate to normal graduates down to two years, to equalize them with the private schools. Thus it went on for about twenty years, and the state normals were much more objects of opposition by the colleges than was the state university. Connected from its foundation with Yankton College, I was never opposed in any manner to the colleges except in this particular, and just as much to Yankton College in that respect as to any other. If this be taken as unfriendly to the colleges generally, it will be a mistaken inference. As to the idea of making teachers without training by those not well acquainted, if at all, with real normal school work, it must be left to their consciences and to the state. The writer has no power over it, and desires none. A great school system and strong body of capable teachers cannot be built up in that way. The state ought to have and to prefer its own better way. In the long run the results would be more favorable to the genuine work and the permanent prosperity of all such colleges.

The Madison state normal aimed in all its history chiefly and almost solely to educate and train grade teachers and to fit a body of excellent rural teachers. Not the number, so much as the quality of those it should graduate, was the rule of its standards. By lowering these it might have doubled the number of students and graduates, but it has steadily advanced the standards. It has thus had a better influence upon the education of the schools.

No board of control nor any single member of any board has ever suggested a different course, but for sixteen years the progressive advance was supported by all, as it seemed to be also by the governors of the state of whatever party.

It may have been different with this school than with the other state educational institutions, but I judge the motive was the same toward all. It has not been my privilege to know much about them. Since coming here in 1889 the duties have held me close, summer and winter, in the main, and it has been ten years since I was within the walls of one of them, except possibly at a state association meeting. It must be clear that in fact as well as propriety I am not writing about the work or merit of other state institutions or their officers. This school was visited by the governors of the state, except Gov. Mellette, who doubtless was unable to do it. These gentlemen all expressed and showed a friendly interest in its welfare and usefulness, and by their cordial words inspired greater effort. This helpful interest was especially marked on the part of Governor Andrew E. Lee. This is mentioned specially, because he was of another party. Governor Charles H. Sheldon visited us more often, and his daughter for some time and son for shorter period were students in it. I recall no one more steadfast in friendship than Governor Herreid.

As were the governors, so were the regents appointed by them; those named by Governor Lee were as cordial in their support and management as the appointees of any Republican governor. So far as I know, a good understanding was always maintained and I sought, as the faculties all did, to carry out and obey all their advice and directions. Temporary misunderstandings will arise in so long a period and with so many different members, but never to last. No doubt there was here and there in the sixteen years a member of the board who, approached by unfriendly or false suggestions, would at the time have been willing to displace me, but the board did not agree to any such proposition. Not one of them could say that I sought to influence them by methods other than regular, official and direct communication, certainly not by special and peculiar means. It will sufficiently appear from these general statements that one seeking to do his duty need not fear from the men under whom I served. I am aware that the regents are sometimes assailed with criticism, and

I do not enter upon the question beyond their relations to this institution. That far it seems not indelicate for me to speak as I have about my superiors and their considerate treatment of this institution. They have deserved my personal gratitude and do not depend upon my favor in any way whatever. I am yet their servant and through them of the state.

About local influences, combinations, cliques, and the like, there is nothing worth saying. The school has had the support and fair co-operation of the people of Madison and Lake county as a community, and personally I have felt the friendly interest of nearly every citizen. In the whole time four or five different persons have been active in opposition, and probably temporarily influenced others, but I feel no resentment whatever toward any of them or theirs. Life is too serious for that. The respect and confidence of my students, I am doubly assured, were always constant. Regard for students is most natural in a teacher or a president, and he is unworthy if he does not win their good will. This is especially true of those who become graduates. These he knows best and can serve most. Except when temporarily and unavoidably absent, I gave my undivided time and hard labor to the school and its members. When so absent at one time, a rumor that I would not be continued was heard by the students, and wholly of their own accord, and without my knowledge, they all, except one, drew and signed a petition for my reappointment. It was not presented or made known to the board. And now, when I have retired to easier duty in the chair of history, the greatest reward I have or could desire is the good feeling, sympathy and love that they show toward me. That can never be lost. It was testified to by the class of 1905 and the previous graduates in the "Anemone," which they printed as a testimonial without my knowledge. Anyone who has read that will know why it is so difficult for me to express my gratitude and love toward all of them Wherever they may go, while I live, my interest must follow them.

They were, all in all, a splendid body of men and women—graduates and students. Usually those who attend a strictly normal school have formed a determined purpose in life. Generally they are old enough to have formed an established character. They soon learn how to best use all their time. Such a faculty

awakens a new spirit and higher aim in them. To a singularly high number they were or became members of the various Christian churches. They have their Christian association, in which all join or may unite, whether members of a church or not, and in it nearly all do participate. They repeatedly and courteously decline to connect themselves with the college Christian associations, thereby putting some creed, test or other bar before anyone who might otherwise share in their common work. Their motto might well have been, "All for each and each for all." At times, and especially in the week before Easter (before it was a vacation), they met every evening and pastors of the local churches, including Monsignor Flynn, vicar of the Catholic diocese, gave brief addresses. It is open to question if any other method is so successful. And it is not surprising that three-quarters and sometimes more of classes from twenty to forty-five went forth as Christian young men and young women. All this was done without disturbing in the least the home and childhood faith of a single one. When the students assembled in September and January, their church preferences were taken on cards and lists were sent to the several pastors of those preferring their churches. These pastors and the young people's societies invited them and sometimes joined in a general reception to all. These experiences and practices are recited to show why it is not surprising when I say that out of all the several hundred graduates of the Madison normal, every living member is a reputable, honorable and law-abiding citizen. Not one vicious life has come out of the list.

As to the ability and success of these graduates as teachers, the entire state knows. They have proved their worthiness, and many of them have been chosen to high places in the best city schools of many other states. Their success has commended them widely to higher salaries than South Dakota could pay. This was the work of the entire faculty, not mine.

The model or practice school is essential to the work of a state normal school, and the Madison school has maintained one from the day of its organization. This is in reality a public school, receiving all applicants from any part of the state to the extent of its accommodations and without discrimination. The larger numbers of its members are from Madison, a few from the adja-

cent county and now and then one from elsewhere, coming with older normal students. They all belong to the children of public school age of South Dakota, except when a kindergarten class is formed. All was apparently satisfactory, and no children in the state were better cared for or educated than these, but the legislature passed an act that in the school census and as a basis for the apportionment of public school money by the state, all children who so attend a state institution should not be counted.

Now the state constitution provides, in Article VIII on education and the school lands, in Section 2, that "the interest and income" (from the sources provided) "* * shall be * * apportioned among and between all the several public school corporations of the state in proportion to the number in each, of school age, as may be fixed by law." And that law is being rigidly enforced, and many children in several towns of the state are thus discriminated against and in a manner disfranchised. The constitution does not permit public, city or district school attendance to be made a basis of apportionment. The section was directly aimed to prevent that and to make children of lawful school age the only possible basis. Legislation in the constitution was discussed in 1885 and 1889, but all states do this, especially concerning education. Here is a statute directly contravening the clear requirement of the constitution in process of regular enforcement. It would seem from the language of the statute that it would not apply to a practice school in any other than a state institution.

The State School Lands

It has been a pleasure to publicly commend the management of the commissioners of school and public lands of the great trust they exercise under the constitution and the laws, and the faithful care of the governors and other state officers in their relations to this important public duty. Under the policy in force the duties have been admirably executed, and nothing has added more than this to the fair name and pride of the state. These lands and the school fund have been the best general advertisement the state has enjoyed. In the fight for them, all that the policy has proved to be was claimed. The rapid development of the state after admission was forecast on the record of the other states of the northwest previously admitted. The argument was added that

as the public domain had been so greatly lessened and the population of the nation so greatly increased, the advance in land values in South Dakota would be more and more rapid as well as continuous. All that was claimed is being realized. There is one unsolved issue; shall the school lands be further sold. As early as 1884 I took the ground in my report of that year that it would be wise not to sell but to lease the lands, and thus secure the school fund beyond danger of loss and to gain an increasing fund and income. Unquestionably, if the lands shall be sold at current prices and those likely to accrue, the resulting fund will be so great as to be difficult to manage. The interest rate, already reduced from six to five per cent, must be further reduced as the fund increases. Already such states as Minnesota, that by wise management has secured a large state fund, are buying bonds of other states that bring as low as three and a half per cent. When our state demand is met, we shall be in the same market. Everyone can reason on this line to his own satisfaction. The late issue of two per cent Panama canal bonds by the United States already sell at over $104.

Another increasing danger will be to the safety of the vast fund. No citizen of the state could as treasurer give bonds to the extent of more than one-tenth of the probable thirty millions to be produced by the school and endowment lands—the educational foundations. The vast funds of the great insurance companies already compete sharply with our school funds in the eastern parts of our state. It seems from the past that this competition will increase. The bankers of the state, who must be prepared by all their interests to accommodate the varying demands of business, credit and funds, already begin to feel the effects of these two lines of competition.

So far the school fund loans have been an advantage to the state in reducing the high interest charges and in bringing direct and visible relief to the schools. The demand that those who are laboring to create homes and develop the farms should have benefit from the school lands has been met. The productive fund is larger than it was in Iowa, or Wisconsin, or Minnesota at the same period after statehood. It must be much larger than it now is before another policy can be put into operation.

It may be taken for granted that the general policy of holding the educational lands for higher values caused by the settlement of the country has universal popular approval. Would not the state's approval be now given more readily to the plan to lease and not to sell the school lands than it was in 1885 to the present policy? We think this is also unquestionable, and that in twenty years more that plan would be as generally approved as the present one has been. This, of course, is opinion only, but it is based upon sounder and more certain facts than the present system had before its trial by any state. Everyone can see how much was lost by selling the school lands in the southeast quarter of the state. The same will appear true as to all the state east of the Missouri in another fifteen years.

As the endowment and some of the school land are in masses, they might be sold, leaving only the original school lands in place, or not more than three or four sections might be left unsold and held for rent in a township; or some similar plan could meet the objections that lie against holding lands in masses. While the state could not permit its lands to be taxed, it might return three, five or some per cent of rentals received to be paid into the county school and general funds where the lands lie. It would not be difficult to arrange and accommodate every condition that exists and hold all the lands for rent.

The leases might be for twenty-five or even fifty years, which is longer than the average time lands are held by one family in the west generally. With such a term the lessee could improve, plant groves and carry out all the usual plans of any farmer. Besides, he would have equal privilege to lease for another term. Rentals would be payable each year in advance. Leaseholds might be transferable, like other titles or estates in lands. They could be passed by will or sublet. At least once in five years there would be needed a reappraisal to fix the rent for such period, and if the lessee felt wronged an appeal to a court could be allowed.

The entire management of the leasing would be easier, more simple and less expensive to the state than the present system of sales and loans. The belief that it is more desirable to the people, would be adopted by them and bring a larger income for the schools is my reason for favoring the plan. It could not be

carried in 1885. All the arguments against it do not appear to really touch the subject. They are like those of 1885 against the ten-dollar limitation. We are holding now for a higher limit, and there is no complaint. Some wise mannered gentlemen will say now: "Oh! I think the people ought now to have some benefit from the school lands," as if that were not the sole object. It is a safe belief that under the present restricted rentals the case is proved that it is better to rent than to sell. If the fund grows large and becomes endangered, or the interest rate be greatly reduced, we shall hear radical propositions of a wholly different nature—to distribute the funds to the counties and witness a carnival of waste. There is no permanent safety and no magnificent future but in holding the fee of the lands and leasing them for general farming purposes for long terms.

Never before in its history has the state of South Dakota been so prosperous as at the present time. The crops are unequalled and excellent throughout the state. Most extensive railroad construction is in progress, and the entire state is being developed by the extension of old lines and the building of new ones. The situation is most favorable for and seems to demand the adoption of the policy suggested. It may be adopted fully by constitutional amendment, but partially only by legislative enactment. The legislature has power to advance the limitation to twenty or thirty dollars an acre, or it may forbid sales for a certain period. The limitation upon price or the prohibition of sales for a time might be made to apply only to school lands in place and not to selected and indemnity land in masses.

Revision of School Laws

Since three weeks ago this subject was referred to in these papers a movement has been started to have the governor appoint a commision, to consist in part of county superintendents, to prepare and report a carefully considered school code. This is a wise plan, which was commended in earlier pages. Would it not be wise also to have a code that would apply to all schools, high schools (full four-years courses), graded schools, of three and two years above the eighth grade, and for common or elementary schools? Would it not be well to have "a general and uniform" system of schools throughout the state as the constitu-

tion required? Then would it not be well also to have an assistant superintendent of public instruction, whose duties should be devoted to the high and graded schools, an inspector. If a code is to be drawn, may it not properly take up the whole subject and on the general basis of the work already done and reported, require harmonious and uniform system and enforce it? The entire history of the school system in territory and state shows the need of an able and carefully selected commission of experienced persons who shall draft such a general and comprehensive school code, and then carefully observe its working and amend with great prudence and reserve only as need of it shall clearly appear. In this way alone can a code be made that will meet fairly the general needs and be adjustable to others as they arise. Of course, the writer believes that it ought to be some best form of the township plan, without subdivisions except of schools and those who severally attend them. Grading, concentration and advanced schools can conveniently be provided for in no other way. And he believes that so long as other plans are followed there will grow up equal or greater dissatisfaction. That alone will bring a workable system that will approach final plan. It is believed that system will be generally demanded in a few years and therefore adopted. It is sure to come.

The Higher Educational Institutions

Nothing less than the most careful preparation would justify me in writing about the state university and the state agricultural college. Were it attempted, questions would at once arise that reach down to the present time. My experience would not afford much aid. The early relations to the board of the university were pleasant, but ended long ago. With the agricultural college there were none. Dr. Lewis McLouth, for some time president, was a college acquaintance. He was a senior while I was a freshman at Ann Arbor, and my favorable opinion of him began then. The state agricultural college till late years was more often visited by me than any other state institution, and I met and knew the few men that Dr. McLouth called there, and I have observed since that all of them have been very successful there or elsewhere. I also observed the fair popularity in Brookings of President J. W. Heston and that he had fine success in

building up the attendance and good will of the students. Esteeming both of these gentlemen, I do not feel at liberty to say less or to pass them by, though the present condition there seems very favorable.

It has been my fortune in the last forty years to visit many institutions of learning and to read of many more. One point rises prominently out of that study. It is that those universities in which the college of letters and arts was first and always strong have surpassed and today are surpassing those in which industrial, mechanical and technological and other more strictly professional lines have held the leadership and prominence. There are exclusive schools of technology that stand very high. There have been great law schools standing alone. There were great medical colleges not parts of university systems. There are few of all these now that are not included in some university. One interested may study the matter at his pleasure. Read the history and the present condition of the great schools. This formula may be written: "To build a great university, start with a strong school of liberal arts. Add other schools later, as good judgment may dictate, till the full rounded system is established, but meanwhile strengthen and enlarge the central college of literature and the arts or, more fully, literature, science and the arts." Generally, where one finds a great university, one sees that the college of liberal arts has been and is its central stronghold. It develops or draws to it all the others; neither of the others will develop or attract to it a college of literature and the arts. In the college of literature, science and the arts are the life of the university; in that are its traditions and, great as the others may be, it holds the old leadership in traditions, sentiments and memories that cause the growth and development of all. Around it grow the affections that are never forgotten. There youth grows into manhood and womanhood and the mind and soul are by it developed into aspiration, power and enduring zeal. Take any number of those who have taken the course in literature and the arts and later a course in the same institution leading to some profession—medicine, engineering, law or the like—and all their traditions of a broad college spirit and love will go back to the years of that liberal course, while those toward the professional school will be limited and special.

There are, however, a great many who take courses in the professional schools only. Is there among them that loyalty and fealty, those traditions and dearer memories that show themselves in the reunions and general enthusiasm of the graduates of the liberal college? This is all most natural, and will continue as it has in the past. It is, therefore, to be considered as important alike in the older as in the younger institution. It must be counted upon in the whole plan for the evolution of a university from the first and to the end. When a university is begun upon an industrial basis and grows strongly in the direction of applied science, mechanics, engineering and gainful occupations, there is a very different situation from that found in one where the college of liberal arts was early strong and has been maintained vigorously while the others were developed. When "practical" education has possession and gainful callings command the attention, it is a task of the greatest difficulty to create, enlarge and make duly prominent the work of the liberal college. There are examples of both kinds. It is not because in all cases the liberal college was first that these arguments seem to arise, for there are universities begun largely upon the other plan where able men are struggling hard to gain a due place for the college of liberal arts, but with slow and toilsome progress. The college proper is the nurse of the democratic spirit noticeable in American institutions. It does not develop to a like extent in the professional and technical departments. If the college proper be not strong in the university, the institution loses control of the advanced high school education of its state, and this passes into the hands of other colleges or remains long weak and defective. The college proper is the fostering mother of larger education generally in the state, or should be.

Hon. Charles Francis Adams, who is called "generally controversial, but always shrewdly observant and stimulating in his comments," has attacked Harvard (his own) and universities generally upon their organization, and especially the extreme of their elective systems, saying that this is unscientific and mischievous, a fad. He says that it assumes that the boy of eighteen is qualified to determine what courses he shall pursue in preparation for life, that he follows inclination not judgment, takes that which is easiest and not what he most needs. He would break

academic Harvard up into a number of colleges, where something like earlier days could exist, where close contact with students might be had by the several "masters." The master should know every student and individuality could have its powerful play, and courses be selected for the students severally. The college courses would be prescribed and electives would be in the university proper and under the advice and permission of the "master" or president of each college. There is much to commend Mr. Adams' demands. The free elective system strictly belongs to more mature students, or should largely be confined to graduate students, as it is in Germany, whence the idea was transplanted. Otherwise we shall more and more train one-sided men. There is need of a more rounded education, that every student may be prepared for each of the more special university courses and be a widely useful and capable citizen, as well as a person of expert professional learning and skill. All departments of a university are equally honorable, commendable and useful, in their proper places. The courses of the colleges of liberal arts have been enlarged and liberalized to a great degree, and are a suitable basis for all the professional and technical schools. The electives begin too early. They are now demanded and permitted even in the high school courses, and are thought of in the common schools. The state has its first purpose and legal justification for required public free schools and their endowment with lands, funds and taxation in the need for intelligent citizenship in our American democracies, and this is not met by skill and industrial ability alone. The English language and all its literature, the history of our own land and of those from which our people and institutions were derived, and the nature and machinery of our government, are equally essential. The marvelous progress of our manufactures and commerce connects us with every people in the world. We have state, national and international duties, relations and reforms of increasing importance, all necessary to guard and protect the vast trade we produce. The farmers of South Dakota are interested in the affairs of the whole world, which affect them directly or indirectly all the time.

One can see in many of the more "practical" schools a subordination of all the broad preparation to the aim of gainful employment, and many, in some cases most, of the young men hur-

rying forward to a graduation with enough skill to be taken directly into the hire of the big manufacturers and trusts at salaries of $70 to $90 per month, at most. Serving these and looking to them for support, they become their servants and defenders. They are not prepared for the great questions of the day and hour, and their needs and wages make them subservient and not free in the broader field of citizenship as they would be with the broader and more liberal education and preparation. Happily, they are not all so situated; but is there not danger in this commercial life that so nearly all will be absorbed in the money getting, and in the specialized training that leads quickest to it, that the increasing complexity of state, national and international affairs will be left to the few? Possibly this is too true already and has permitted opportunity for the graft against which the conscience of the people has been aroused, even yet inadequately. The socialist leaders speak on our Chautauqua and other platforms for an era of industrial training and independence, where every individual right shall be enlarged and secured, leaving unnoticed and not understood the historic development and present diverse attitude on these issues in England, Belgium and France. Broad, liberal and intelligent education should be their first and leading topic. The best possible education of all the people should be the watchword, the training in citizenship a leading aim in the schools, from the primary to and through the university. And at the end of the course, the capital of the column, let us have the great university, and in that make the college of literature, science and the arts the central stronghold.

* * * *

It is time to close those sketches, discussions and essays. Practically all have been written in the month of July, 1906, under difficulties, recent severe illness, and the right hand still partly disabled from broken joints. In a strict sense it is not history, but a free-hand discussion of events, personal reminiscenses and memoirs. They are written without access to records, in the main from memory. There is no time to rearrange or rewrite, except a few pages. It goes as it leaves my pen. The consideration of critics is asked.

W. H. H. BEADLE.

Supplementary Note by W. H. H. Beadle.

In these reminiscences and discussions no full and clear statement was made about the project or offer to buy a large block of the school lands by speculators. I was under obligations not to expose it definitely while the parties were living. The last of August this year, after these papers were written, I received final evidence of the death of the last and the principal spokesman of the group. Their suggestion or proposition, early in 1884, was that if no high limitation were placed upon the sale of the school and endowment lands by the state constitution, they would make an offer to the first state legislature, or government, to purchase one million acres of these lands at five dollars per acre, the lands to be selected and paid for year by year, but all that amount within five years from the date of the contract. They were to select the lands from time to time and pay for them when the patent issued to them. This they thought that the state would readily accept and that it would give early relief to the schools and benefit the people. It will be seen that the plan would give them all the advance above five dollars per acre caused by statehood and settlement and the growth of five years. I refused to have anything to do with it or to cease from the advocacy of the ten-dollar limitation supported by the active friends of statehood. In the bills before congress at that time the limitation was two dollars and a half per acre. The gentlemen thought their offer was very reasonable. They were not Dakotans in the strict sense, never became actual citizens. To the leader, a business man of high repute at his home, who asked it before making known fully their plan, I promised not to expose them by name and not to publish the plan till after his death. There was no consideration whatever offered to me then or at any time in the matter. It was not very far from the time when I was offered employment at a salary of $3,000 per year, but I must declare that I never could find the slightest evidence that this offer was connected with their plan, but some evidence and all appearance that the salary offer was a perfectly independent matter and wholly legitimate. This scheme was one of the causes for greater vigor than ever in pushing the advocacy of the proposed constitutional limitation to the last minute and its final success at Sioux Falls.

Some general argument drawn from the big land holdings in

North Dakota and declarations of danger to the school lands in the future state from capitalist speculators were made in our discussions, and they had their effect. So it came to be vaguely understood and is mentioned in history that some such scheme was on foot. The foregoing is the story of it. It went no farther then. It was upon my conscience heavily to expose it should the constitutional provision have failed and any such offer have been presented to the state. The scheme made it more pressing to win at Sioux Falls if possible, and the final decision of the committee and the convention was the most joyful news I ever received. This proposal influenced somewhat the language of Article VIII of the constitution, and the reader of that can see clauses that would circumvent every such plan. I have not till this time been at liberty to write this statement. My pledge may be reflected upon, but it was obtained in advance and had no other effect than to redouble efforts for the present plan.

DAKOTA SCHOOLS

A Report by Gen. W. H. H. Beadle

Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction,

Yankton, Dakota, February 15th, 1882.

To All School Officers:

The Legislative Assembly has not authorized the publication of educational reports, and this office has no means with which to aid you in the management of schools, except by correspondence, personal visits and such institutes as can be held. To print this my own money must be used as it is for other objects under this office. The appropriations are $600 for salary, $300 for traveling expenses and $100 for postage, stationery and printing examination question lists. Each is inadequate. There is no appropriation to furnish blanks, none to aid institutes and none to print instructions or reports. This is stated thus definitely because many yet address this office under the impression that these things are provided for by law.

This is printed to aid you and all good citizens in a better and more uniform enforcement of the law and to promote justice and equal privileges under it. The law is very incomplete, inadequate and even confused. Many attorneys have declined to attempt its certain construction. All our best organized schools are isolated by special acts and have special privileges. The administration of this law is left mainly to laboring men, the mechanics and the farmers of the country. The expense is too great to attempt full instruction upon all the duties, but important matters are selected. An account is added of the proposed township system of common school government. It is hoped this will be carefully and favorably considered, and its adoption asked. It alone will bring the advantages of better schools to the sons and daughters of the farmers. Dakota is almost exclusively an agricultural country. It is hoped its farmers may train themselves in correct public business, exercise that large share in the organization of the state their numbers and importance entitle them to, and that they will so shape our laws and institutions as to bring to the dwellers in the little villages and the country all the advantages of an excellent system of public schools. Better system and organization are required, and they are confidently assured that the township system will do this, and at a less expense than any other. We hope, therefore, that by gen-

eral and careful laws all the advantages may be provided for the country schools in time that are now given to them in a few towns by special and local laws. The hope is also earnestly expressed that school officers and all friends of popular education will co-operate to secure the best returns from our school lands and the highest integrity in their management and that of the resulting funds.

—Wm. H. H. Beadle,
Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Blanks, Record Books, Registers

The beginning of all progress lies in proper records, accounts, registers and reports. Without these there can be no system. The Territory furnishes no funds for these. The county must therefore supply its Superintendent and the district its officers and teachers. It would be more economical for the county to supply all mere blanks for reports. All are urged to do so. If not the districts must supply their officers, and their teachers as well. The election or employment is an agreement to do this. Clerks should read section 72 and then forthwith do the duty. The register is the basis of school statistics. One costing $1.50 lasts 24 school months. The contract with the teacher implies that they shall receive it. In a reasonable time after demand and failure they are justified in asking the cancellation of the contract. They should receive three blanks for reports. Without these there can be no enforcement of the penalty in section 74. Each district must, of course, have proper books for the clerk and treasurer. (Sections 41 and 52.)

Annual Meetings—Reports

All the officers should attend the annual meeting of the district prepared to furnish a definite report of the past year, and to present an intelligent estimate for the coming year. These enable the meeting to proceed clearly, and save time, dispute and misunderstanding. The officers must by law report then, but we suggest the following method for all:

After the close of the year and before the meeting, the board meets, compares records and accounts, posts the books and balances them. Then the treasurer makes out in triplicate his regular annual report. (Section 55; also section 52.) The clerk makes his report in duplicate. (Section 46.) All are signed. Besides these the board as a whole then make a summary statement of the funds received by the district during the year from all sources, with the total, and follow this with a detailed statement of the disbursements, showing the purpose of each. They then state the amount on hand or the indebtedness. This can only be properly ascertained by the entire board, as the treasurer only keeps account of receipts and payments. The board follows this with a statement of what they think the district should attempt to do the coming year, with an estimate of the amount of money necessary for each purpose, and the number of mills tax required for each fund, with the total. The recommendation and

estimate should contain precise figures, the number of months school, the wages necessary, amount for repairs, school house building, expenses, maps, dictionary or other apparatus.

The meeting has three distinct purposes, and in this order:

1. To review the past.
2. To elect officers to vacancies.
3. To provide for the future.

When in order, the report of the treasurer is read, and the vouchers are presented with it. The clerk should read his report, though the law does not specifically require it. Then some one moves that a committee of three or five be appointed to examine the treasurer's report and the vouchers therewith, which are the paid warrants. It is best and saves time if the treasurer has a day or two before, secured two or three responsible citizens to examine his report and vouchers, and if so, these form properly a part of the committee. It examines the matters, and if found correct, reports accordingly and recommends the adoption of the following:

"Whereas, the report of the treasurer of this district for the past school year and the vouchers therewith have been examined and found correct:

"Resolved, That said report be accepted and approved, the vouchers cancelled and the treasurer discharged therefrom."

The vouchers are cancelled by order of the meeting by the clerk, director or committee, by writing "cancelled" across the face thereof or otherwise.

The meeting then elects officers to fill any vacancies. These cannot act until they qualify, as hereinafter directed.

The general summary of the past and estimate for the future, by the board, are read. If the meeting concurs in the estimates, or if changes are desired, some one prepares in writing the following resolution, leaving the number of mills in each place, and the total, blank:

Resolved, That the following taxes be and the same are hereby voted and levied upon each dollar of valuation of all property subject to taxation in school district No. ——, for school purposes for the coming year:

For school house fund..... ——— mills.
For teachers' fund..... ——— mills.
For contingent fund..... ——— mills.
Total ..... ——— mills.

When seconded and before the meeting, each part is discussed in the light of the board's estimate and is filled by motions to insert a particular rate in each place, as may meet the views of a majority. There should always be enough raised to meet fully the expenses of the year, allowing something more for delinquencies.

The meeting proceeds to any other matters within its powers. It is best to do all the work at the annual meeting, elect a faithful and competent board and leave details to it. Special meetings are a symptom of trouble often and few of them accomplish good. In new districts; for issuing bonds; to order a school house, or like matter, a special meeting

may be necessary. To quarrel with a board they are worse than useless.

Full and exact minutes of the meeting should be made at the time by the clerk, including all the written resolutions and every action. This should at the time, or speedily thereafter, be spread upon the permanent record and signed by the clerk, and the minutes preserved. If the reports are not presented and business is not ready the meeting should appoint a committee to examine all the matters, and adjourn to another time, the hour and place definite, requesting the officers to be present with their reports.

Immediately upon the approval of the treasurer's report he hands two of the three to the clerk who receipts to him for it, stating that it is in duplicate. The other copy the treasurer retains. Then the clerk is ready to report to the County Superintendent. He attaches one copy of the treasurer's report to his and mails it or causes it to be delivered safely and promptly to that officer. The other copy of the treasurer's report he copies in his record, and files it in his office. He records his own report and files the retained copy.

The cost of all the blanks for this purpose to each district is not over twelve or fifteen cents a year. But blanks are not a pre-requisite, though it is best to have them. The reports can be made clearly in meeting. The report must be made, blanks or no blanks. Officers are urged to consider their obligations to their district, the public and the law. Unless they report and secure approval, treasurers remain responsible on their bonds which will be enforced.

Powers of District Meetings—Taxation

They have only the powers granted by law, with the minor powers obviously implied by these. Besides those before referred to, see sections 25, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 65 and 79. While all pertain to the same school corporation the powers granted to the meeting, to each officer and to the board must be distinguished and the meeting cannot control those matters given to the others specifically. But over some of these it has power, as for the examination and approval or disapproval of the treasurer's report.

Section 29 is important and, like much else, not very clear. Sections 52, 53 and 55 help explain it. There are three funds. The school house and all things in and about it and pertaining to it, that are permanent, belong to the school house fund. All things that are temporary, that are consumed or used up, like fuel, crayons, records, blanks, registers, stationery, etc., belong to the contingent fund; and all that is paid to teachers, to the teachers' wages fund, and it cannot under any circumstances be transferred to any other fund or use. The meeting to organize a district stands in the place of the last preceding annual meeting and has all its powers. The time from that till the next annual meeting is a technical school year as to terms of officers then chosen. But for apportionment a full calendar year is counted under the proviso to section 18. The annual meeting at its regular or adjourned session and the meeting in place of it (36 and 37)

have all these powers without special notice of the business to be transacted. All other meetings are special and no business can be transacted which has not been "stated" or "specified" (which mean the same) in the call therefor, and the substance of the call should enter into the introductory part of the minutes.

The rate of tax to be voted for these funds is varied by the particular use made of each paragraph; as, for instance, paragraph 8th. Paragraph 5th is exclusively for the school house fund and can be used for no other; but paragraph 6th may be used in part for teachers' wages and in part for incidental expenses or wholly for either and none for the other. The 8th is peculiar. When voted for the objects named therein it belongs to the school house fund, but if levied to pay debt lawfully incurred and due from any one of the three funds, as it may be, the levy is for that particular fund. A part of it may be used to pay debt of one fund and part for another, or any proportion of it for either or all three, so the total is not passed. And though levied for the purpose named therein the proceeds may be applied to any other purpose. This latitude is clearly given by the last clause of the section proper and the last clause of the proviso. The rate is not given for the 11th paragraph and must be calculated by the meeting. To what fund it belongs cannot be determined, but it had better be separately accounted as a library fund. Thus by the 5th and 8th combined the school house tax may be fifteen mills at most, or any lower rate. By the 6th fifteen mills may be levied for teachers' wages, and by the 8th added, twenty mills, if none be voted for contingent fund. By like use twenty mills may be levied for contingent fund, and none for wages. No power can be used more than once in all, and the total (not counting the 11th) cannot exceed thirty mills, unless the board under 77 levy additional tax to pay a judgment. But this should be separately and specially certified to the county clerk, stating its object and its authority.

The power to alter and repeal proceedings should be sparingly used, and only when unavoidable. It can never reach a tax spread on the books, a contract fully entered into or in execution, a vested right or an act affecting good faith and public credit. The only way to reach such matters is by an equally formal contract revoking or cancelling the first.

The voters at a meeting include besides those mentioned in section 30, the wives or widows of such and the children who have grown to majority in this nation since such declaration.

The proviso to section 40 permits a foreign language to be taught "one hour each day" and does not permit all such hours in a term to be grouped into a series of days.

Formation and Organization of District

This is a subject charged with responsibility for the County Superintendent. Its proper execution involves more than any other duty the subsequent welfare of schools and the peace of communities. Like some other matters it falls upon the first officers where its importance does not appear. Small and sparsely settled new communities demand irregular

boundaries and large area for districts to meet immediate conveniences. They think schools important, as they are, to them as much as to future generations. They should have the schools but they should not create a permanent evil for many to secure a temporary convenience for a few. A district that seems just right this year is by next year's settlement rendered bad for school purposes; and then individual wishes, selfishness of some, the desire to tax more property or other special interest, will defeat efforts to divide the district or rearrange its boundaries under section 13.

To prevent spoiling the symmetry of the county in school districts and to give a comprehensive view of the whole area free from temporary local wishes, and to secure an arrangement for permanent use and not for one year's convenience, the law provides a county officer, the Superintendent, and gives him full and exclusive authority "to divide his county into school districts." (Section 10.) This power does not depend upon petitions like that to "subdivide and rearrange the boundaries." Section 13 amplifies this latter power, and section 16 is a special form for rearrangement. It must be apparent that the intention of the law is to have the division of the county into districts done so carefully and well that changes by division and rearrangement shall be seldom required, and it does not permit these except upon petition by a majority of those "residing within the area to be affected by the change." (Section 13.) But the large power "to divide the county into districts" so necessary to proper symmetry and the permanent good of all, is not quite absolute. An appeal from grievances is given by section 25. That appeal can hardly go to the whole action, but should be confined to such feature or sought for change as will meet the particular grievance. The appeal should be in writing and served upon both the Superintendent and the county clerk for the county board.

This important power should receive the fullest consideration by the Superintendent, and his action under it should in every case be taken only upon full knowledge of the facts. He should study his county, its railroads, streams, towns, lands and other features that will affect school population for years to come, and school travel at all times. He should make an outline map of the county noting these objects of topography, and as far as practicable the settlement. Then he should act firmly and upon his best judgment.

School districts should be wholly within one civil township. (Sections 12 and 89.) Some actually include parts of three or four civil townships. They cannot ascertain their assessment. Civil township government will greatly increase. We should have this in view so that this confusion will not repeat. Civil townships may comprise more or less than a land township. Generally it is better if they are larger. Sometimes they may properly include three or four land townships or fractions, and may divide land townships if topography demands it. Sometimes a town, a railroad station or natural center of population will be near township corners. It is best to make a large civil township around such a center which will be its place of voting and hereafter may be a place for a high school for the

whole. School districts should, therefore, be formed and bounded by groups so that the exterior boundaries of the group will suffice for the boundaries of a civil township, and they should be so grouped as to make the whole county symmetrical in both districts and townships.

School districts now generally precede civil townships, but we respectfully suggest to county boards and others whether it would not be a wise thing to divide their counties into civil townships at once, consulting all the needs of district boundaries and other interests at the same time. Then the County Superintendent will confine districts to township boundaries and both will organize harmoniously as the country settles sufficiently. But if this cannot be done in fact, the Superintendents are recommended to consult with the best informed and plan in theory the boundaries of civil townships and then work within these. This is another way of grouping districts with symmetrical exterior boundaries.

We may be permitted without offense, we trust, to recommend that those counties now having the civil township organization, carefully reconsider their township boundaries. Are the townships not too small? Can they not be so arranged in harmony with public interest and convenience that by a slight adjustment of district boundaries, the districts can be brought permanently within single townships? It is easy now. Sometime this will certainly be done. Heretofore the school district has been disregarded by township boundaries. They have been equally disregarded in dividing and rearranging counties. They have caused this somewhat by their own incongruity of shape and size.

Looking at all the county and all these features, present and future, the county can be so divided as to require little change. For a long time the district three by three miles will be deemed the standard size and form. The one inconvenience of this is that its center is the center of a section without highways. These can be granted. The school house should be at the center or nearly so. For this reason some favor a district three by two miles, which will do when thickly settled. There are cases too where four by two miles will accommodate, if the extreme ends have no families. Where settlement will long be sparse over a part of it a district may be four by three miles or in rare cases four by four miles. Taking the standard form and the others nearest it, when better suited, a considerable variety can be given to the form of particular districts and yet preserve an exterior of regular lines. This can especially be done where more than one township or one and a fraction can be used.

There should be a view of the whole county so as not to leave inconvenient remnants anywhere. Care and forethought are requisite when formation must begin at different points and grow together. If haphazzard work be done shapeless remnants will be left.

The Superintendent has power to attach unorganized territory to a district already formed. He should, with all his skill, avoid the necessity of any joint district.

The troubles arising from the necessity of dividing and rearranging boundaries of districts is very great and takes more time and causes far

more bad feeling than the proper forming of districts at first. The day of slow growth is passed. A year will change present appearances wonderfully in a new county. Concessions to a summer day's convenience of a few are bargains for years of inconvenience to many. This is plain history that I could hardly exaggerate. If the township system of school government be adopted then schools will become more strictly primary schools, and in towns, villages and civil townships graded and high schools will supply the needs of the higher classes. Winter schools for the younger pupils cannot be remote, and with a good school income we will have six to eight months of school. Our schools are apt to be crowded soon. Many are now. That is injustice to all, and to the teacher. Smaller schools show better results. It is important also to secure a proper and even distribution of school houses. District boundaries will adjust themselves about these in time if so distributed. Our present system of making large districts to be divided up have caused neighborhood feuds, wrought serious wrongs in taxation of some for the benefit of others, and made the burdens often very unequal. The hope is to reduce all this hereafter to a minimum. For that purpose the law gives the power to the County Superintendent, and all good citizens will promote the good of schools permanently by supporting him in right work.

The County Superintendent may also steadily improve the form and regularity of present districts by approving favorable and right changes under sections 13 and 16 and rejecting others. From his refusal there is no appeal.

A newly organized district must hold its annual meeting even if the date for it follows quickly upon the organization. Postpone taxation till the annual meeting unless the organization is just after this date and before the time for reporting taxes to the county clerk. It must also make reports. The proviso to section 18 does not excuse these at all. It receives apportionment for a year, but meanwhile it must perform all requirements to entitle it to its share the second year. So immediately after a district is organized the clerk should report its school census. It is better if Superintendents attend meetings to organize, and preside until they have elected proper officers, or throughout. The next annual meeting, whether the time is nearly a year or but a few weeks, limits the first year of service for officers under section 33.

Division of Districts—Rearrangement of Boundaries

The necessity for these should be avoided, since they often render taxation unequal and cause other troubles. But some must be divided, and this depends upon a petition by the majority. (Section 13.) But section 10 leaves all action under 13 and 16 in the Superintendent's discretion, "if he believes such change to be for the good of public schools." That is the universal touchstone of his duties. He must look at all sides. In a large district the majority is greatly on one side. Let them not wrong the minority in the new district by wrong boundaries.

Section 13 is really double. "Change" in 4th line means in one case "division," in another "rearrangement." The word "area" in last line is almost too double for analysis. This office has given the opinion that in division it means the whole original district; some think it means each part; and in case of rearrangement it means the area to be transferred, while some think it means both districts. Let each act upon his own views since appeals to this office cannot be taken upon these subjects.

When a district is divided this office holds uniformly that the surplus funds on hand must be divided between the districts,—all that came from apportionment in proportion to the number of children in each over five and under twenty-one years; and all that came from district tax in proportion to the assessed valuation of each part. Debts on the school house and property should be left to the district which retains the property; all debts for benefits both have enjoyed should be paid out of the common fund.

If a tax has been levied, but not collected before division, it becomes after division the same as if separately levied by each district for itself and should be paid to each accordingly. The language of sections 49, 67, 68 and 18 all imply this course. Under 49 and 18 the division is immediately recognized in apportionment, and this implies that it should be in other respects. The tax for the county general fund are levied at the same time, but as a county tax. The new district treasurer receives this. By 49 he shall also receive the moneys collected "for the district" upon the order of the director and clerk. These officers must give the written order. The words "for his district" are very general and may be said to mean the district to which the county treasurer should pay, which clearly is the district upon the property in which it is collected. No treasurer (collector) of county, city, township or other municipal subdivision can collect by his warrant any taxes outside of his boundaries as they exist when he collects, though they were much greater when the levy was made. So if the treasurer of the old district were the collector he would be restrained by his new district boundaries, though his warrant covered the entire old district. But by section 68 the county treasurer collects for the districts. But by 67 and 68, and all the law, it is purely a district tax in authority and levy, and the county treasurer is but the common agent or substitute for all district treasurers in the county, and collects by the same authority they would, and is limited by the levy and district bounds for each the same as the particular treasurer would be were he collector. This manner of collection is by a convenient central agency to accommodate all, but the principles of taxation are not changed. But some will say this renders null all the tax upon the part separated from the old district. It would be so in case of counties, or in districts if their treasurers were their own collectors, for no proper warrant would be in the hands of the new district officer. But districts being precincts of the county, and the law giving this general agency to county treasurers to collect, gives room for another principle. The tax was lawfully levied upon the new district as well as upon the old. The new district participated in the levy

and made it for itself as much as it was made for the old district. The county treasurer is their authorized agent to receive and pay over their taxes. He becomes immediately the agent with full power under the law for each new district as fully as he is for the old district or those in existence when this law was re-enacted February 22, 1879. The levy is good and the collection is as valid as if there had simply been a change in the incumbency of a collector's office and not in boundaries.

So the tax does not fail and the law does not do the wrong that some ask it to do. This office will rule upon every case arising in this way until clearly overruled by some court of competent jurisdiction; and it advises the proper civil actions in every case, if necessary, to enforce this ruling. The task is slight for the county tax list to be changed by the insertion of the proper district number, or for the treasurer to keep the funds otherwise duly separated. Even if a great trouble that would not change the necessity.

Section 16 authorizes special changes of boundaries between two or more districts already organized. The word "family" and phrase "head of family" are the same as employed in U. S. land laws, and are defined also in sections 2 and 19, chapter 38, Political Code, page 183. One person is a family, and if one of the families has one child of school age it will do. It is made to relieve wrongs, and should be liberally construed. In justice the law should allow a single family to be so changed. If six be transferred and five transferred back again it will be legal, if it does look like juggling.

Power of County Boards

These are very slight in school matters. Section 16 leaves the action therein dependent on their approval. Section 25 gives an appeal to them, but they cannot go outside the points stated in the appeal, and their decision is merely to correct the grievance. The appeal can only be taken by a resident of the district formed. It must be in writing and addressed, one copy to the county clerk for the board and one copy to the County Superintendent. It is no appeal if he be not fully informed. The statute fixes the County Superintendent's pay and section 8 does not authorize the board to reduce it. They can only inspect the form of the account and the rates charged to see if they are legal and correct it accordingly. The Superintendent alone is the judge of how many days he must work, and how many miles he must travel, on duty. If found legal in form and rate the board are bound to "audit and allow" it, otherwise an appeal to the district court is advised.

Reports by Superintendents

The promise of nearly every one is voluntarily made that these shall be better and more prompt. This pamphlet is intended to aid this. Section 21 enables you to secure reports. Work under that actively just before the annual meetings and get matters in shape for prompt reports after them. It is easier done then. We are likely to secure some direct money

aid from the nation, and we shall as a state soon have to apportion our own funds. Statistics are necessary to this. Let us be training ourselves now. At this moment requests come from our representatives, from senators, members and bureaus at Washington, for school statistics; while this office has not received any report of any kind from several of the larger counties since that for the school year ending March 31st, 1880! That was the census year and our report was very imperfect. Will Superintendents give this patricular attention this year? Let us know something definite and accurate about school houses, schools, school population and expenditures. Receipts for reports under the proviso to section 8 will be sent and dated the day the reports are received. The Territory suffers from the lack of statistics.

The superintendent must require full and correct reports and return imperfect ones for correction, treating a clearly inadequate report as no report.

Qualification for Office

The treasurer's bond is provided for in 47. It should be carefully enforced. On the back of it he must subscribe his oath of office. The clerk and director should receive certificates of election from the officers of the meeting that elects them. Upon the back of these they subscribe their oaths, and file them with the county clerk. Sections 15 and 32 require the officers to qualify. There are no directions and we turn to the first five sections of chapter 5, Political Code. Within that law the school district is a township or precinct under the county, solely for school purposes. They must be "qualified." That law tells how. Nothing can be plainer. There is too great a disregard of the general statutes by school officers, or a disposition to treat school districts as if they were not public corporations under law, and their officers were not public officers; that it is a mere neighborhood affair and need not be strictly treated, or money accounted for, or returns made.

District Boards

They should meet in session to transact business and make a clear record of it. The majority of the board has all the power of a full board. (Section 2131, Civil Code, page 507) If one opposes and the action is ordered by a majority his duty is to execute it the same as if he had favored it. When only two are present both must concur. The record should state the vote. The board should supply the school room with maps and Webster's Unabridged dictionary. This is indispensable to a good school.

When several families having children of school age require school under the act approved February 17th, 1881, page 30, school law, it is the duty of the board under that law to provide the school. It is no excuse that another district can collect tuition. That is not an equal alternative between which and a school a board has any right to be indifferent. The parents have a right to the school. It would be just as well in most cases if only the first section were in the act. Then the excuse would not be sought as it is. To send to another district is usually no privilege at all.

The right "to demand and require" a school is the object of the law, and the board is sworn to execute the law. It is believed a court would compel them to act. Make all contracts in writing and make all revocations, cancellations and changes of these in writing. A cancellation or revocation may be indorsed and thus signed. Make teacher's contracts in duplicate and give the teacher one. Enforce section 59; have the property taken care of. Under 60 the teacher must consent to admit non-resident pupils, but not to expel incorrigibles. The latter should be done firmly and certainly when necessary, for the benefit of the entire school. The board has put as many obligations as the teacher. They must pay promptly by the contract. If any discount is charged on warrants the district and not the teacher should lose it all. Be careful of your teachers. Employ the best. Put first-class teachers in your schools, with good wages, and give them fair aid and you will see a change for the better that will surprise many. Poor schools are of little value. Try the best you can get, once at least.

Who May Attend Schools

Section 63 is plain. There are two points. All pupils whose parents, or the person having the children regularly in charge, or when these are not then the guardian, are not "residents" of the district, are non-resident scholars under section 60, even though they live temporarily in the district. Some children live in families and may have neither parent nor guardian nor other means to determine their residence. These take their residence from the persons having them in charge. When a person over five and under 21 years of age is married they cease to be entitled to enter as pupils, and they must not be counted in the school census of the district. Marriage changes entirely the relation of a child. (See pages 248-9, Civil Code.) The board may, with the consent of the teacher, and not otherwise, admit non-resident scholars. It is not advisable to crowd the school. As our schools are, generally, every additional pupil increases the labor of the teacher and lessens the advantages of the pupils. The teacher's contract includes only resident and lawful pupils. If others be admitted it must be by additional contract, and if the school is large the tuition should go to the teacher.

District Bonds

These should never be issued until after sixty days from the organization of a district, to give time for appeals. Like a civil action in court the organization may be legally considered "pending" until time for appeals passes. If the appeal be actually taken then await its determination, before such responsible action.

Many ask questions the law answers plainly. Under section 5, page 28, a special tax is authorized to provide funds to pay interest and bonds; but this tax must be levied or voted. The same section forbids the levy of any part of the one per cent. tax authorized by paragraph 5th, section 29. The phrase "such district or districts" is defined in line four as "all districts so issuing bonds." But paragraph 8th of section 29 is not affected

by this law and can be used to pay debts in any fund, or its proceeds voted to any lawful purpose. So it can be used the same by a bonded as by an unbonded district. See full statement under "Powers of Meetings" in previous pages. All money received for bonds must be paid to the treasurer and he must charge them as receipts and pay it out only upon lawful warrants. The habit of paying money to a building committee, and having them expend it, is simply illegal. (Section 56.) The treasurer only must receive and pay out money. If he is wise he will protect himself. Committees may aid and advise but the legal acts must be done by the board, and the money kept solely by the treasurer. So of all funds.

The use of the school house is often desired for other than school purposes. Religious, social and even political associations may without offense be accommodated if the privilege be impartially granted. But the board should hold the proper persons responsible for care of the property and for damages suffered, and require payment for fuel and other costs of the district. Prudent and firm rules will cause no complaint, and if damage occur or disorderly meetings happen the cost should be collected and the offenders deprived of the privilege. Peace officers may exercise their authority in school meetings or other assemblies in a school house as well as elsewhere, and when meetings occur at the school house for worship or other public convenience they are under the protection of the law the same as if held in buildings of their own or in public places.

The Township System for Schools

This now receives the nearly unanimous support of the leading educators of the United States. It has received the unanimous endorsement of the National Association of Superintendents. In response to the inquiry: What is the best state system for public schools? an able committee reported and the association unanimously adopted the "Ideal System," which was simply the best form of the township system, with a full exhibit also of the state and county organization. It would not be practicable to name all who favor this plan, when nearly every one does. It has been ably urged upon the attention of various states, and the persistent and general evils of the district system pointed out by all. Nor are we without experience of this system practically. It was the original form of the public school system in New England. In an unfortunate moment, when about 1850 the west generally adopted free public schools, or new laws for them, the district system came into favor and spread widely. It has cost a vast amount of trouble and millions of money uselessly. Such states as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Indiana and others now show clearly the advantages of the township system. It would have been a happy thing if Dakota could have had this from the first. But it is not too late; it never can be. We can yet easily adjust and settle the affairs of the several districts so the township can assume all the responsibility.

For the vast area not yet organized the township system is best. It is not only best for a new country but immeasurably the best at all stages of settlement and development and as a permanent plan. It simplifies the

whole work, reduces greatly the number of officers, reduces expenses and limits the waste; makes all schools better and of equal terms, advantages and privileges; secures better instruction, lessens greatly official work and gives the time of Superintendents to the schools and not to the thousand petty matters for vexatious duty in which we now pay them; it harmonizes the entire system in cities, villages and country and enables the state to administer its great fund to the best possible advantage. The schools will cost less and the saving can go to better wages, more steady employment of the best teachers, and increased terms of schools. In no way is it less convenient and valuable than the district plan, but in every feature it is better, more economical and more responsible, and produces far better results.

The state will have its University, Normal schools, Agricultural college and schools for the education of deaf mutes and of the blind, and probably reform schools and industrial schools. These are responsibly connected with the state and must be equally open to all who are fitted for them. The state should have, besides its Superintendent, a board of education, made up from presidents and professors of these state schools to assist the Superintendent and share his responsibility. The County Superintendency is very important and cannot be dispensed with, and should be filled by the best trained and most successful teacher, or person equally fitted; and there should be a county board of education, made up of high school teachers and leading professional persons to aid him and share his responsibility. These boards would cost only their expenses.

The great body of common schools of the state should be so organized as to work in harmony under one general plan, and enable every person to prepare for admission from the lowest grade to the highest education the state can give by successive stages of study and qualification. The common schools can be supported by the grant of school lands if managed with wisdom and integrity, and the other state schools can each be fully endowed by the lands granted for that purpose. Thus all will be supported by the state and equally free and open to all as they may be qualified. The Normal schools, the Agricultural college, and, indeed, largely the University are for the sons and daughters of the great body of the people. To enable them to qualify for these privileges the common school system must be properly arranged, or they will be reserved for those from the favored cities and towns. Private liberality, local and Christian enterprise are providing other seats of learning that promise the most valuable assistance supplementary to our common schools.

The common schools include all as students between a certain age, five, six or seven, and twenty-one It is thought five is too low. But up to twenty-one they are a part of the basis of apportionment and pupils of the common schools. The common schools include all those for city, village and country, whether graded or ungraded, primary, grammar or high schools. These that participate as the beneficiaries of one common fund, disbursed by the state, should be organized and managed under equal general laws, securing equal privileges to all, and only modified in

certain details of application, to suit the different needs of town and country. These should all be under boards of education, or school boards, or trustees, whatever title the law applies, and divided in three classes:

1. The incorporated cities, towns and villages over 1,200 inhabitants (or some higher number) should have boards of education substantially like those now provided by special acts for Yankton, Sioux Falls, Fargo, Deadwood and others, and by general law in the laws of 1881.

2. The incorporated towns and villages of over 400 inhabitants should have smaller boards with the same general powers, suited to the places of this size.

3. The civil townships should have boards of three or more officers, with like general powers, but modified to apply practically to country schools. This part of the law we will briefly explain.

All counties, the old ones and others upon organization, are divided into civil townships of adequate size for from six to ten schools when fully settled, and with boundaries suited to general convenience for all purposes. These are organized at once, or in new counties when partly settled, in succession. They are organized for civil purposes as under our present law or a better one. For this purpose we no further speak here, except to commend the right township system as the best local government, the best example of it under the American system.

Separate from and independent of the organization for civil purposes, and whether so organized or not, they are organized as townships for school purposes,—school corporations, just like those in cities and villages which are related to but separate from the civil corporation. Here let me warn the reader from any misconception of the proposed system. Many in Dakota are from Iowa or Illinois which are supposed by them to have this township system, and they conjure up all the evils that exist there, and, thinking the same or something like it is proposed here, reject it at once. Iowa has no such system. They have no system, but a confusion of township, district, subdistrict, independent district and cities and towns until the last report of that state confesses they "have no system." But there is now a general demand in that state for the true township system. To return to our account.

The organization for school purposes is effected by the election at regular polls of a board of three (that is a more responsible board than a larger one), a director, clerk and treasurer. This board, like those now in our cities, and like the county board and others in their several places, has power to levy the school taxes; but the exercise of this power is strictly regulated and guarded by law. There is no more harm in this power in such a board than in others duly elected and governed by law; responding directly to the people, under bonds and required to settle with the county once if not twice yearly. This is the method in the cities and towns having boards of education now and the best schools we have. There is no complaint by any who favor good schools, and no trouble arises on account of taxes. The taxes are collected by other hands and the board is charged with and must account for every cent. No funds can be used

except for school purposes. With fewer boards the county clerk and treasurer have less trouble and the treasurer can keep the account of every township in any form required for the taxes of each year separately, a matter now impossible. Besides as our funds grow from a careful sale of lands the taxes will decrease, and those left will be more and more fully, if not entirely, levied by general law, as the two mill tax now is. Besides the township school boards will be able, with township assessors and clerks, to know thoroughly the population and assessment of the township, and the importance of their trust will enable them to far better administer school affairs and prevent any loss of moneys or inequalities of treatment. There will be no need of penalties except upon the officers. Money will be apportioned and schools maintained, and if officers fail in any duty they, and not the people of the townships and the schools, will be held to account. So in taxation, protection of local rights and equality in administration and advantages, the township system is better.

But let us see the practical workings of the law, the checks, regulations and system by which equality of advantage and superior schools are secured.

When a township is organized its school board comes into control of all school property; employs all teachers, makes repairs, orders text books and buys and furnishes them at cost. In a new township the board can build one school house at first and others in succession as needed. They can build them at double the usual distance apart at first and later when population increases place others between. Thus all are accommodated at the least practicable cost, and no one is taxed and then put into another district, but all are taxed equally for all. At first the board can issue bonds for school houses so as to postpone payment for all until the entire township is settled. And they can issue bonds at any time for new houses But the bonds can only be issued by vote of the people, or by a majority signed petition in place of election, and all bonds must be registered by the county. The credit of a well known township thus regulated will be far better than that of a district, and better terms can be made.

When there are three or more school houses but one member of the board can be elected from the patronizing territory of one school. The board must build an additional school house when petitioned by the parents and guardians of fifteen or more resident pupils. When there is one school house all belong to that. When two or more the people choose their school. When the school census is taken the names of the school children are written in one column and the name of the parent, guardian, master (if apprenticed) or person having them in charge, is written in another, and these are asked to which school they wish to belong. The school houses are numbered in series in each township, and they answer by naming the number of the one they prefer. These parents, guardians and persons in charge of school children who select a particular school are voters at that school meeting. These meet yearly, early in the autumn before school terms begin, and elect a moderator who presides and also certifies the proceedings to the school board of the township. The

meeting has only limited powers. Their proceedings are recommendations, or a sort of memorial to the board, in which they ask for the building of a new house, for repairs of importance, for furniture, appendages, maps, books, etc., and for any other proper thing, such as the sale of old house, removal to another site, etc. They can represent the kind of a school desired best suited to the age of most of the pupils; and they have the right of absolute veto upon the employment there of any one or more teachers they name. The proceedings of all meetings are sent to the board and they must grant all proper requests of all so far as the means at command permit, and they can do so equally and in justice to demands for new houses and to the wants of each.

The moderator so chosen serves for one year. In case of vacancy the board call a special meeting to elect another or appoint one upon a majority petition. In certain cases of neglect the board can appoint without consulting the voters. This moderator has useful powers. He is authorized to make all necessary current repairs, to purchase fuel for the school house and other incidental supplies, and do similar acts as needed, and the proper bills for these must be paid by the board. The teacher, employed by the board, has power to suspend an incorrigible pupil, but must in two days report to the moderator, who must in five days inquire and report the facts to the board, who then decide and order suspension or return. If not decided in a brief time the pupil has a right to return, as he has at the end of two or five days, if the teacher or moderator fails to report. At any time by proper showing to the board any pupil or all of a family can be transferred from one school to another, and part can attend one and part another. Thus more advanced pupils from a considerable region can be assembled at one school where there are few young pupils, thus leaving the other schools primary in character. Teachers suitable for each particular school are supplied.

The board must transact all business at meetings held once a month or oftener, when called, and due record must be made of every resolution, contract, order and vote. They can only employ qualified teachers, those bearing certificates from the county or state board or officers. All the schools must be of equal terms each year. They may build several houses under one contract. All must be substantially alike, or of same public cost. Private donations may, of course, aid any one. Building several they can do it more economically and upon better plan. A district builds just often enough to make all the usual mistakes. The board purchases furniture, appendages and incidental supplies for several at once and cheaper.

All the teachers in a township must meet one Saturday in each month at one of the school houses in an institute, conducted by the County Superintendent, by a member of the board or by a skilled teacher designated by it. Thus regular studies can be maintained by teachers and steady improvement be made, all profiting by the best experience and knowledge of each. When the Superintendent has during the week visited all the

schools, he meets the teachers the following Saturday and can then best correct errors and instruct all.

The board is authorized to subscribe for school journals and works on schools, and these circulate among all the teachers. The township can also establish a library for all its people, which the ordinary district cannot do.

Besides the concentration of more advanced pupils in certain schools, the board is authorized to open one or more schools exclusively for higher grades, thus grading all the schools. Part of the houses can have two rooms, and one of these is used for the intermediate or grammar school. And further than this they can establish a high school, or any two or more townships can join in this. Thus as population and wealth, and the income from the vested school fund increase, the schools can be advanced, the system developed, and all the benefits secured which are deemed advantages of city and town residence. The country population needs these as much, and the school fund will aid them equally. In no other way but by the township system can these results be reached, while there is not a single objection to it, unless it be equally to any system of free public schools whatever. In no other way can they have schools near home wherein their pupils can be prepared to enter the Normal schools, which have in the west been called the academies for the country people.

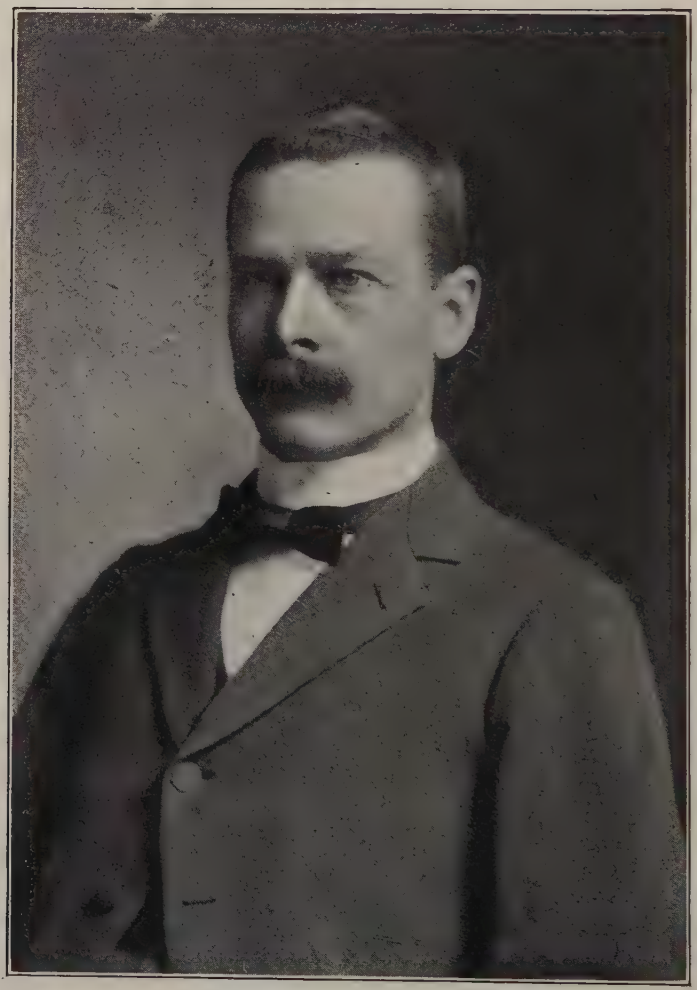
These advantages all arise from having one school district or corporation large enough to permit these combinations. Every one knows that primary instruction cannot be advantageously given in a school where there are numerous small classes in various higher studies which require so much time. By grading the schools even partially the primary schools are greatly improved. The system commends itself to all friends of good education, who want not only good schools at their homes but want them equally every where; who look with pride to the future of the state and wish education to be the basis of liberty and of law, the enemy of crime, the aid to thrift and enterprise.

We must have some change; a speedy relief, from the present evils. Can the district system be made really successful? Iowa, Wisconsin and many eastern states say—no. Our experience is the same. The change should come before all our domain is divided into districts. Some great improvement should come from the next Legislature. Its members represent the people and not this office. The improvement must spring from the people. It will otherwise probably never occur. May not all good citizens be expected to aid? Otherwise we shall have local and special laws for the places members represent and know need these reforms, and the country schools further neglected. This will aggravate present difficulties by isolating the best schools until we shall have as many separate school laws and systems as we have incorporated cities and towns, and one more for all the districts. This entirely separates our schools, renders it impossible to collect statistics, gives advantages and special revenues to the towns that are denied to the country, where the best districts are left in their present narrow limits, struggling under a poor law to

overcome difficulties, and are able but rarely to secure a good school. This plan proposes to organize all alike, giving to each the same revenues exactly, and bringing to each the best results possible.

A part of this work for our schools will ere long be the management of our school lands and the resulting funds. In this the country schools have the principal interest. If honestly managed the fund will soon largely relieve them from taxes. If neglect or fraud either governs for but a short time the fund will be largely lost. It admits no neglect. The damage cannot be repaired. Let it all be guarded from the very start. Compared with such issues there are no politics worth attention now. We should cordially support all who favor the highest integrity in the state on all these questions, and as earnestly oppose all who do not, whatever political shibboleth they may utter. —Wm. H. H. Beadle,

Ter. Supt. of Public Instruction.



CHARLES EDMUND DELAND

The Aborigines of South Dakota

BY CHARLES E. DeLAND

IN TWO PARTS

PART I.

EDITORIAL NOTES BY DOANE ROBINSON

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Charles Edmund DeLand is a descendent of a French Huguenot family which settled at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1684. A branch of the family emigrated to New York and Mr. DeLand was born in Kirkland township, Oneida county, January 6, 1854. He was educated at Whitestown seminary, in his native county. His youthful ambition aspired to a military career, but after passing the competitive examination for appointment to the Westpoint Military academy, and after having been certified by the examining committee as the winning contestant, he was refused the appointment by his congressman. He was afterwards appointed to the Naval academy at Annapolis, as a cadet of engineers, but failed upon the physical examination.

In 1875 he came west and located at Galesburg, Illinois, where he took up the study of law. He was admitted to practice in 1878 and engaged in his profession at Galesburg, and, being an expert stenographer, he, during much of the time, acted as court reporter until 1883, when he came to Pierre. Here he has won a high place in his profession, both as a practicing attorney and as a text writer. He is the author of DeLand's Trial Practice and Appellate Procedure; the Annotated Rules of the supreme courts of North and South Dakota and the Annotated Corporation Laws of South Dakota. He is also co-editor of the various publications of the corporation laws of the states and territories of the United States, by the National Incorporation company, of which he is president and general western counsel.

His tastes lie along lines of historical research and he is an authority upon most subjects relating to the history of the Dakotas and of the northwest. His editorial notes upon Major Wilson's "Old Fort Pierre and its Neighbors," published in Volume 1, of the Collections of this department, fairly prepare the reader to expect from him this laborious treatise upon the aborigines of South Dakota. [D. R.

EDITORIAL NOTE

In the treatment of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of South Dakota, it is the purpose of Mr. DeLand to draw together for easy comparative reference all that has been said of these people in the writings of the earlier explorers of the west and to elucidate the same by such notes and comments as seem pertinent, and further to supplement these earlier writings by the relation of his own observations of the remaining remnants of the tribes and of the village sites they occupied within the Dakota country.

The first paper, printed herewith, is devoted exclusively to the Arickarees, who are positively known to have for a long period occupied the South Dakota land; and a second paper, in contemplation, and for which he has gathered much material, is to be devoted to the Mandan, who presumably and traditionally, occupied the South Dakota region before the occupancy of the Rees, and is to be published in the next volume of the Collections of this department, in 1908. To the historian and anthropologist these papers commend themselves. To the student of the history and anthropology of the Missouri valley they will prove invaluable. [D. R.

ABORIGINES OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Part I

In assuming to treat of the Aricaras, or Rees, and the Mandans under the above heading, the writer does not wish to be understood as assuming that either of these tribes of Indians is as yet proven to have been the original occupant of what is now South Dakota or some part thereof, as against the Dakotas or Sioux. For, whatever may be said as to the Mandans, it is not certain that the Rees were here before the Dakotas.[1] But the immediate aim will be to give some account of the origin and some outline of the history of the Rees, and of the Mandans; the former as having been at least among the earliest dwellers within some portions of our borders in the recent centuries, while it is probably within bounds to observe of the Mandans that there is no authentic proof that they were ever actually located within those limits, and that tradition, some remote, some modern and direct, through the Sioux, forms the substance of the existing evidences pointing to their one-time inhabitancy of the Missouri and James river regions in this state, and of other states below us.

As to who were the remote dwellers in the upper Missouri country before any of the tribes or nations above referred to came upon the theatre of action, is unknown, and it remains for the fu-

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[1] I have not before heard the proposition that the Rees preceded the Dakotas in the occupancy of the Missouri valley, questioned. All of the traditions of the Sioux indicate that they but comparatively recently came to the Missouri and found the Rees here. The Yanktons told Lewis and Clark on August 27, 1804, that they formerly resided on the Mississippi and were a part of the people of the Spirit Lake (Medewakantons). The winter counts of the Tetons show that they first discovered the Black Hills in 1775. In 1840 Dr. Riggs visited the Tetons at Fort Pierre and published his observations in the Missionary Herald for January, 1841, in which he says: "The first band of Tetons to pass west of the Missouri was the Oglalas. The Tetons now speak of it as a thing which happened not long since. Their fathers, they say, used to sit in council with the chiefs of the Santee bands, in which

ture to reveal the historic truths which lie buried in that antiquity preceding their advent.

If, as is very probable, the Mandans ever did inhabit any part of South Dakota, it is believed that they were upon the James river and in the region of the Missouri before the Aricaras separated from the parent group of the Pawnees in what is now Nebraska and came to the Missouri river at or about the mouth of the Niobrara river, formerly known as the L'eau qui Court or Rapid river.

In Vol. 8 of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, commencing on page 303, is published a paper prepared by Captain Russell Blakeley of Minnesota, upon "The Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota," in the course of which paper the author quotes extensively from the authorized accounts of the earliest explorers of the Mississippi and, incidentally, the Missouri river regions. Among these authorities he quotes the substance of the relations of the voyage of Radisson to the Mississippi river, as published by the Prince Society (Boston, 1885) under the title "Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from the original manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With historical illustrations, and an Introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England."

Blakeley so far modifies the grotesque and at times almost unintelligible English of Radisson into a smoother run of the vernacular, without materially disturbing the character of the original narrative. We will quote those parts only which are regarded as bearing upon the Missouri river region, supposed to have been actually visited by Radisson in the neighborhood of 1658-9;

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name they include all of the bands of the Misissippi." I have myself talked with many Sioux, both Tetons and Santees, and they all agree in the view that not more than two centuries have elapsed since the Sioux were generally confined to the Minnesota country, their most advanced outposts being not further advanced than the Sisseton country about Big Stone Lake. I have no doubt that Radisson before 1660 referred to the Rees as being in about the South Dakota region, upon the Missouri river. (See note 2.) LeSueur's map of 1701 places them in the Missouri valley here, while the only Sioux he locates in South Dakota are about Big Stone Lake. I have failed to find a suggestion in either history or tradition to justify the belief that the Dakotas may have preceded the Rees on the Missouri in South Dakota.—D. R.

this for the purpose of enabling the reader to utilize the authorities indicated, as throwing light upon the status of the Pawnees on the Platte river at that time:

"We were four months in our voyage without doing anything but going from river to river. We met several sorts of people. We conversed with them, being long in alliance with them. By the persuasion of some of them we went into the great river that divides itself in two, where the Hurons with some of the Ottawas and the wild men that had wars with them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we were told. This nation have wars against those of the forked river. It is so called because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they give us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tell them that they have wars against a nation, against men that build great cabins, and have great beards, and have such knives as we have. Moreover, they showed a decad of beads and guilded pearls that they have had from that people, which made us believe they were Europeans. They showed us one of that nation that was taken the year before. We understood him not; he was much more tawny than they with whom we were. His arms and legs were turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted upon him. So they do with them that they take, and kill them with clubs, and do often eat them. They do not burn their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

"We were informed of that nation that live in the other river. These were men of extraordinary height and bigness, that made us believe they had no communication with them. They live only upon corn and citrulls (pumpkins), which are mighty big. They have fish in plenty throughout the year. They have fruit as big as the heart of an oriniak (elk), which grows on vast trees which are three armsful in compass. When they see little men they are afraid and cry out, which makes many come to help them. Their arrows are not of stone as ours are, but of fish-bones and other bones that they work greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I have seen them and could not but admire the curiosity of their work. They have great calumets of great stones, red and green. They make a store of tobacco. They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a

whole day. This I have not seen, therefore you may believe as you please. * * * Tending to those people, we went towards the south and came back by the north." (Id. p. 315.)

Commenting on this account wherein it refers to "the great river that divides itself in two," and the "forked river" which is "so called because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which we believe runs toward Mexico," Blakeley says:

"It is not presumption to say that the great river was the Missouri and that the fork or branch which runs towards Mexico was the Platte." He then observes of that part of the account of Radisson relating to the "men that build great cabins," etc., and to the "tawny" man, etc., that: "The great cabins were the houses of four and five stories described by Father de Nica and by Coronado in his report to the viceroy of Mexico, and were of the kind delineated by our late fellow citizen, Gen. J. H. Simpson, in his report of his expedition to the Navajo country (in the edition published by Lippincott, Grambo & Co., in 1852). The fruit was the nuts of pine trees, mentioned by Father de Nica, which grow in great abundance in the mountains of Mexico and California, growing upon trees that are from forty to one hundred and fifty feet high and of great dimensions. * * * The tawny prisoner was an African slave taken from the Spaniards with big beards and knives (swords). They found arrows and dishes of good workmanship, which excited the admiration of the voyagers, and learned of a drink that made them mad a whole day, which was an alcoholic distillation of pulque, a produce of the maguey plant. It is still a favorite beverage of Mexicans and Indians alike, after two hundred and fifty years' use, and is called mescal or arguardiente." (Id. pp. 329-330.)

The point we wish to make is, that the reference to the corn and pumpkins in connection with the "forked river" may be worth something as evidence of the character of the surroundings of the Pawnees on the Platte river in the middle of the seventeenth century; while the references to the prisoner and those from whom he was taken are not improbably descriptive of those Spaniards in Mexico with whom the Pawnees were more or less at war. Still, as the Otoes, etc., in the neighborhood of the Platte seem also to have been corn-raisers and agriculturists,

these evidences now under consideration leave it doubtful whether the Pawnees or some other tribes were those of whom Radisson speaks.[2]

The Aricaras originally formed one or more of the tribes of the Pawnees, and belong to the Caddoan family, of which family there were three groups. It is said of them (Ethno. Rep. 1885-6, p. 60): That the grouping of the Caddoan family is subdivided ethnologically into the northern, middle, and southern groups. The northern group comprises the Aricara or Ree, now confined to a small village (on the Fort Berthold reservation, North Dakota) which they share with the Mandans and Hidatsa tribes of the Siouan family. The Aricara are the remains of ten [3] different tribes of the "Pawnees," who had been driven from their country lower down the Missouri river (near the Ponka habitat in northern Nebraska) by the Dakota. In 1804 they were in three villages nearer their present location. The same authority affirms that according to Omaha traditions the Aricaras were their allies when these two tribes and several others were east of the Mississippi river.[4] (Id., quoting Dorsey in American Naturalist, Mch. 1886, p. 215). The middle group is defined by the same general authorities as follows: "This includes the four tribes or villages of Pawnees, the Grand, Republicans, Tappage, and Skidi." Dunbar is cited in the following language on this head: "The original hunting ground of the Pawnee extended from the Niobrara in Nebraska south to the Arkansas, but no defined boundaries can be fixed." * * * In modern times their villages have been on the Platte river west of Columbia, Nebraska. * * * The main (?) Pawnee or Tappage did not wander far from their

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[2] I think Mr. DeLand has failed to discriminate between the two forks of the Missouri mentioned in Radisson. The Indians who had the negro prisoner, it appears to me, were on the south fork of the Missouri, that is the Platte river. Those who lived "on the other river" and had the big pumpkins, were on the Missouri proper and were perhaps the Rees. In support of this view, we know that the Rees were great gardeners and that pumpkins and squashes were favorite vegetables with them. Then, too, the fear of these Indians for "little men" suggests the superstition which Lewis and Clark 150 years later found prevalent all along the Missouri regarding the supposed "little men" occupying Spirit Mound, of whom all the tribes were in mortal terror.—D. R.

[3] Dunbar says "seven tribes."—C. E. D.

[4] There is no good tradition, even, to support a theory that these tribes ever lived east of the Mississippi.—D. R.

habitat on the Platte. The Republican Pawnee separated from the Grand about the year 1796 and made a village on the large northwesterly branch of the Kansas river, to which they gave their name, afterwards they subdivided, and lived in different parts of the country on the waters of the Kansas river. In 1805 they rejoined the Grand Pawnee. The Skikdi (Panimaha, or Pawnee Loup), according to Omaha tradition, formerly dwelt east of the Mississippi river, where they were the allies of the Aricara, Omaha, Pawnee, etc. After their passage of the Missouri they were conquered by the Grand Pawnee, Tappage, and Republican tribes, with whom they have remained to this day. DeLisle gives twelve Panimaha villages on the Missouri river north of the Pani villages on the Kansas river." "Southern group: This includes the Caddo, Wichita, Kichai, and other tribes or villages which were formerly in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Indian territory.

"The Caddo and Kichai have undoubtedly been removed from their priscan habitat, but the Wichita, judging from the survival of local names (Washita river, Indian territory, Wichita Falls, Texas) and the statement of La Harpe,[5] are now in or near one of their early abodes. Dr. Sibley[6] locates the Caddo habitat thirty-five miles west of the main branch of Red river, being 120 miles by land from Natchitoches, and they formerly lived 375 miles higher up. Cornell's Atlas (1870) places Caddo Lake in the northwest corner of Louisiana, in Caddo county. It also gives both Washita and Witchita as the name of a tributary of Red river of Louisiana. This duplication of names seems to show that the Wichita migrated from northwestern Louisiana and southwestern Arkansas to the Indian territory. After comparing the statements of Dr. Sibley (as above) respecting the habitats of the Anadarko, Ioni, Nabadache, and Eyish with those of Schermerhorn respecting the Kado Hadatco,[7] of Le Page Du Pratz (1758) concerning the Natchitoches of Tonti[8] and La Harpe[9]

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[5] In 1719, fide Margry VI, 289: "The Ousita village is on the southwest branch of the Arkansas river."

[6] "In Lewis and Clark, Discov., 1806, p. 66."

[7] "Second Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. 2, p. 23."

[8] "1690, in French Hist. Coll. La., vol. 1, p. 72."

[9] "1719, in Margry, vol. 8, p. 264."

about the Yatasi, of La Harpe (as above) about the Wichita, and of Sibley concerning the Kichai, we are led to fix upon the following as the approximate boundaries of the habitat of the southern group of the Caddoan family: Beginning on the northwest with that part of Indian territory now occupied by the Wichita, Chickasaw, and Kiowa and Comanche reservations, and running along the southern border of the Choctaw reservation to the Arkansas line; thence due east to the headwaters of Washita or Wichita river, Polk county, Arkansas; thence through Arkansas and Louisiana along the western bank of that river to its mouth, thence southwest through Louisiana striking the Sabine river near Salem and Belgrade; thence southwest through Texas to Tawakonay creek, and along that stream to the Brazos river; thence following that stream to Palo Pinto, Texas; thence northwest to the mouth of the North Fork of the Red river; and thence to the beginning.

"Principal Tribes (a) Pawnee, Grand Pawnee, Tappas, Republican Pawnee, Skidi; (b) Aricara; (c) Wichita; (Ki-ci-tcac, Omaha pronounciation of the name of a Pawnee tribe, Ki-dhi-chash or Ki-ri-chash); (d) Kichai; (e) Caddo (Ka-do).

"Population: The present number of the Caddoan stock is 2,259, of whom 447 are on the Fort Berthold reservation, North Dakota, and the rest in the Indian territory, some on the Ponca, Pawnee, and Otoe reservation, the others on the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita reservation. Below is given the population of the tribes officially recognized, compiled chiefly from the Indian Report for 1889:

"Arikara		448
"Pawnee		824
"Wichita	176	
"Towakarehu	145	
"Waco	64	
		385
"Kichai		63
"Caddo		539
"Total		2,259"

(Ethno. Rep. 1885-6, pp. 60-63).

As indicating the latest tribes forming the Pawnee, the Pawnee cession to the United States of October 9, 1833, under which all their territory south of the Platte was ceded, recites the Indian parties thereto as being the Confederated Pawnees, i. e.,the Grand Pawnees, Pawnee Loups, Republican, and Pawnee Tappage, residing upon the Platte and Loup Fork. (Ethno. Rep. 1896-7, Pt. 2, p. 750.)

In J. V. Brower's,"Missouri River" (p. 58), it is related that Sieur Hubert in his report, in October, 1717, to the French minister of marine upon an alleged route up the Missouri river, represents that Bourgmont, a trader who had been for fifteen years trafficking on the Missouri, was responsible for the story that the Panis (Pawnees) and their kindred in the remote west were trading with other peoples living about the great lake. This far-away race was represented as small of stature and dressed like Europeans.

In a memorial prepared at Paris, 1718, outlining a plan to give Louisiana a dominating position in North America, etc. * * * In the summer and autumn of 1719 two adventurers, one La Harpe, had gone up the Mississippi in August and up the Missouri among the Osages. The other, DesTigne, had followed another branch and found the Panis at a point supposed to be where Fort Riley now stands. Here he planted the French standard forty leagues beyond the Osages. He reached the Padoncas, September 27, 1719.

It is also recorded (Ethno. Rep. 1893-4, pp. 190-1) that La Hontan claimed to have visited the Aricaras (Eokora) in 1689-90, when the Essanope (Assiniboin) were sixty leagues above the Lake-of-the-Woods. If this claim were supposed to indicate that LaHontan then saw the Aricaras in the region of the Upper Missouri river it would seem to be entirely inadmissible, since it was not until about fifty years thereafter that La Verendrye visited the Mandans near the mouth of Knife river (above Bismarck, N. D.), and at that time no mention is made by him of the Aricaras being in that vicinity. It is believed that there is no authentic evidence that LaHontan visited the Upper Missouri river region. He might, however, have gone as far up the Missouri as to have come in contact with the Aricaras, but if so it is not clear why he should mention in that connection the Assiniboins,

"sixty leagues above the Lake-of-the-Woods," a region some 700 miles north of where the Aricaras first settled on the Missouri river, and near where they probably were at that early date, at the mouth of the Niobrara.

On LeSeuer's map of 1701 (see S. Dak. Hist. Coll. Vol. 1, p. 49) the Aricaras are shown to be located upon both sides of the Missouri river some distance west of what seems to be intended to indicate the James river, the Panimahas being indicated thereon as located south of the Missouri and opposite to the mouth of the James; and to southward of what is doubtless the Platte river are located "ten or twelve villages" of the Panis (Pawnees).

On Lewis & Clarke's map of 1804 the Pancaras (Poncas) are located as being above the mouth of the "Quacourre" (Niobrara), the Pawnee Loups to the southeast; while the first Aricara settlement indicated on the map is that of an "old Ricara village" just south of the mouth of the Cheyenne river.

On Alexander McKenzie's map of 1793 is shown the site of the Aricaras just below the mouth of the Knife river and on the east side of the Missouri river, and they are there designated as "Pawnees;" and by that name they were known and referred to by nearly all of the early explorers of the Upper Missouri.

From the "Gazetteer of the Western Continent" (Boston, 1804), we glean the following concerning the Pawnees, Aricaras, and Mandans:

"Forty leagues up the River Platte you come to the nation of the Panis, composed of about 700 warriors in four neighboring villages, they hunt but little, and are ill provided with fire arms; they often make war on the Spaniards in the neighborhood of Sante Fe, from which they are not far distant." "At the distance of 450 leagues from the Mississippi, and on the right bank of the Missouri, dwell the Aricaras, to the number of 700 warriors, and sixty leagues above them, the Mandane nation, consisting of about 700 warriors likewise. These two nations are well disposed to the whites, but have been the victims of the Sioux, or Nandowessies, who being themselves well provided with fire arms, have taken advantage of the defenseless situation of the others, and have on all occasions murdered them without mercy." (Id. This book being a gazetteer, is not paged but the foregoing as well as the extract found below is taken from pages under the

heading "Lou" for "Louisiana"). It will be seen that the work here cited must have been compiled before Lewis and Clarke gave the world the benefit of their knowledge of these Indians; and it is evident from the following quotation from that work that the author or authors relied upon information gained from some of the very earliest trappers or fur-trading representatives who had already explored the upper Missouri; for the narrative proceeds: "No discoveries on the Missouri, beyond the Mandane nation, have been accurately detailed, though the traders have been informed that many navigable rivers discharge their waters into it, above it, and that there are many numerous nations settled on them. The Sioux, or Nandewessies, who frequent the country between the north bank of the Missouri and Mississippi, are a great impediment to trade and navigation. They endeavor to prevent all communication with the nations dwelling high up the Missouri, to deprive them of ammunition and arms, and thus keep them subservient to themselves. In the winter they are chiefly on the banks of the Missouri and massacre all who fall into their hands. There are a number of nations at a distance from the banks of the Missouri, to the north and south, concerning whom but little information has been received."

Edward E. Hale, who in 1854 published a book entitled "Kanzas and Nebraska" (Burton, Phillips, Sampson & Co) says of the Pawnees (p. 19):

"Further west than the Otoes and Omahas, on the Nebraska and Platte river, are the Pawnees, whose language it utterly unlike that of the Dakotas, and that of any other Indians known to us. They have occupied the neighborhood of this position at least since 1719. Another division of the Pawnees are the Ricaras, sometimes called the Black Pawnees."

As the parent family with which the Aricaras were identified, if indeed they did not spring therefrom, the Pawnees seem to demand consideration in the sense of some adequate historical account. No other authority upon that subject is, we believe, to be compared to Dunbar, from whose exhaustive monogram in Vol. 4 of the American Magazine of History we shall now draw very much at large.

Dunbar finds seven members of what he designates as the

Pawnee family, viz: The Pawnees, the Aricaras, the Caddos, the Huecos or Wacos, the Keechies, the Tawaconies, and the Pawnee Picts or Wichitas; of which the last five "may be designated as the southern or Red River branches." Of the Caddos he says that at the date of the Louisiana purchase they were living about forty miles northwest of where Shreveport now stands, that five years earlier they were upon Clear Lake in what is now Caddo parish, which spot they claimed was the place of their nativity "and their residence from time immemorial;" that soon after the annexation of Texas they were placed on a reserve on the Brasos river just below Fort Belknap; that Caddo fork of the Sabine river in Louisiana is named from them, and that they have a tradition "that they are the parent stock, from which all the southern branches have sprung, and to some extent this claim has been recognized." That the earliest ascertainable home of the Huecos was upon the upper Brasos river, that they claimed the reserve above mentioned as part of their territory, that from kinship and proximity they were specially intimate with the Wichitas, with whom a large portion of them took up their residence about 1830, north of the Red river, and from this intimacy of twenty years "contracted much of the roving character of the Wichitas." That very little is known of the early history of the Keechies and Tawaconies; that the home of the latter prior to their settlement upon Fort Belknap reserve was upon the upper Leon river; that the earliest known residence of the Keechies was upon the Trinity and upper Sabine rivers, that he does not learn that they ever settled upon said reserve, "but preferred an irresponsible life, and gradually wandered away across the Red river, and as early as 1850 were living upon the Canadian river, near Choteau's Landing." That the remaining band, the Wichitas, after their return from the north, occupied territory on both sides of the Red river, their first settlement being near the eastern extremity of the Wichita mountains, long. 99° 20′, lat. 34° 50′; that before 1805 they had for some reason moved southeast to the Red river, that in 1850 they were upon the headwaters of Rush creek, a tributary of the False Washita; that during much of the time "they are reputed to have lived in close intimacy with the Comanches. At all events they seem to have imbibed a marked fondness for the unsettled, roaming life of the latter;" that in per-

sonal appearance they are inferior, that they are "excellent horsemen, and have long been noted as inveterate marauders, especially given to horse-stealing." That in 1804 the relative numbers of these bands were estimated to be: The Caddos, 100 warriors; the Wichitas, 400. Just before that date the Caddos, and probably some of the others, had suffered severely from the smallpox. In 1820 they were estimated as follows: The Caddos, 300 warriors; the Huecos, 300; the Keechies, 200; the Tawaconies, 150; the Wichitas, 300. They were then living in a sort of tribal confederacy. At the head of this confederacy were the Caddos, whose first chief held a commission as colonel in the Spanish army. During the continuance of this confederacy, which was probably brief, the Wichitas are said to have removed to the vicinity of the Brasos river, and lived near or with the Huecos. It was no doubt on the return of the Wichitas to their old home beyond the Red river that the part of the Huecos already mentioned withdrew from their own band and accompanied them. (Mag. of Am. Hist. Vol. IV, pp. 241-3.) Dunbar adds, that while living upon the Brasos the Caddos, Huecos and Tawaconies are reputed to have been "intelligent, peaceful, quiet, industrious and disposed to adopt many of the usages of civilized life," but that a feud was engendered "between them and certain of the more lawless white settlers of the vicinity, which resulted towards the close of 1858 in the murder of several unoffending Indians by the latter;" that this resulted in their scattering out into the Choctaw country, where a remnant of the Caddos was, he states, already residing. The five bands are now all gathered upon a reserve secured for them in the Indian territory by the government. Their numbers by the census of 1876 were: the Caddos (including about 100 incorporated Delawares and Iowas), 580; the Huecos, 70; the Keechies, 85; the Tawaconies, 100; the Wichitas, 215." (Id. 243.)

Dunbar thus speaks of the habitations and relations of the southern Pawnees:

"In many respects, their method of building lodges, their equestrianism and certain social and tribal usages they quite resemble the Pawnees. Their connection, however, with the Pawnee family, not till recently if ever mentioned, is mainly a matter of vague conjecture. I find one record of the Caddos early in this

century speaking of the Pawnees as friends (if indeed this does not refer to the Wichitas, i. e., Pawnee Picts), but no allusion is made to any kinship. Gallatin in his essay (1835) classes them as entirely distinct. Catlin, who visited the Wichitas in 1833, is very emphatic in denying any relationship between them and the Pawnees, claiming that in stock, language and customs they are altogether different. Galatin mentions them as presumed, from similarity of name (Pawnee Picts), to be related to the Pawnees. On the other hand, the Wichitas and Pawnees, ever since the acqusition of their territory by the United States, have uniformly asserted their kinship, and maintained constant intercourse. Professor Turner, in Volume III of the Pacific Railroad Explorations (1853), gives brief vocabularies of the Hueco and Keechies as probably of Pawnee stock. Of the Caddos he gives only a few words, noting some close resemblances to the Pawnee, but expressing no opinion as to any relationship. In the report of the commissioner of Indian affairs for 1876 the fact of any kinship between any of the five bands and the Pawnees is utterly ignored, and the assertion is even hazarded that the southern branches themselves belong to three distinct stocks—the Caddos speaking one language, the Huecos, the Tawaconies and the Wichitas another, and the Keechies a third. This is certainly a late and unwarranted contradiction of a fact that has been recognized for nearly a century." (Id. 243-4.)

Speaking of the Aricara branch of the Pawnees, Dunbar proceeds with much more confidence. He says:

"Of the one northern branch, the Arikaras, our information is more satisfying. The reason of their separation from the Pawnees is not certainly known. There has, however, been an old tradition among the Pawnees that they drove them from the once common settlement on the Platte river. The exact date of the movement of the Arikaras northward from this region is also unknown; but we may safely conclude it to have been quite ancient from the fact that their migration up the Missouri river must have been before the occupying of the country along that stream by the powerful Dakota tribe one hundred and fifty years ago. This view is sustained by the remains of various villages built by them at different stages of their progress. The lower of these present the appearance of considerable antiquity. Lewis

and Clarke, in 1804, found the Arikaras about lat. 45° above the mouth of the Cheyenne river. Twenty years before they were reported to have been living below the Cheyenne on the Missouri. From this latter place they had moved up to the Mandans, with whom for a time they had lived in alliance; but later had withdrawn to where Lewis and Clarke found them. At that time they were very favorably disposed towards the United States, and remained so for some years. In 1820 they had become bitterly hostile. This radical change has usually been attributed to the intrigues of the Northwest Fur company, which through its factors was making strenuous effort to divert the traffic of this region from the Missouri Fur company. In 1823 the Arikaras made an attack upon some boats of the latter company, killed thirteen men and wounded others. In consequence of this act an expedition under Colonel Leavenworth, aided by the company and by 600 friendly Dakotas, was sent from Council Bluffs, Iowa,[10] against them. In August of that year, after a desultory action at their lower village, they were induced to sue for peace. Nine years after, Catlin, while ascending the Missouri, found them living at the mouth of the Cannonball river, still so hostile that individual intercourse could not safely be had with them. In 1833 they made a visit in a body to the Pawnees on the Platte, and continued there with the Ski-di band two years. To all appearance their intention was to take up their permanent abode with their old-time associates, at least so it was generally understood. But some of their usages and traits, especially their hostility to the whites, proved so undesirable to their kinsmen that they were finally sent away. On receiving this dismission they returned to their northern home, where they have since remained. They are now upon a reserve with the Mandans and Minnetarees near Fort Berthold, Dakota. Their present number is about 700." (Id. 244-5.) Dunbar wrote of the Pawnees in 1880.

It is seen that Dunbar refers to the Ski-di Pawnees as "the old-time associates" of the Aricaras.

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[10] The council bluffs from which Leavenworth proceeded upon this expedition were in Nebraska, at the present site of the city of Calhoun, sixteen miles north of Omaha. For the official correspondence of the Leavenworth expedition into South Dakota in 1823 see First South Dakota Historical Collections, page 181.

Dunbar throws further light upon the Aricaras as warriors and agriculturalists, as well as upon their supposed near resemblance to the Pawnees proper, when he proceeds:

"Like the Pawnees, they regard the Dakotas as their natural foes, and wars with them have been ceaseless. Scarcely any other evidence can be needed of their valor than the fact of their having sustained the unequal struggle for so many generations. Their visit to the Pawnees, already noticed, is explained by some on the ground that they were dispossessed and expelled by the Dakotas; but this is incorrect. The real cause of their attempted migration was in some degree the cessation of traffic with them in consequence of repeated aggressions by them upon the traders. But to this should be added their alleged reason, the partial or entire failure of their crops for several years. To a tribe as agricultural as they seem to have always been this was no trifling casualty.[11] In the late troubles with the Dakotas they furnished the government with a considerable number of scouts, who are reported to have done excellent service.

"Of all the branches thus far mentioned the Arikaras most nearly resemble the Pawnees. In personal appearance, in tribal organization and government, in many of their social usages, and in language they are unmistakably Pawnees. The latter claim that since their separation the Arikaras have degenerated, and with some reason, for in many particulars they are decidedly inferior. Lewis and Clarke state that their women were remarkably handsome. This fact was also noted by one who was with

[11] In 1892 and again in 1900 I visited the Cheyenne River Agency and spent several days each time in the company of Martin Charger, Swift Bird, White Swan and other old Sioux of the best and most reliable families of the Tetons. I carefully interrogated them relating to the conquest of the Rees by the Teton Sioux. They agreed upon the tradition that the Tetons found the Rees in strong positions in the neighborhood of Pierre. That they fought them for forty years, but were unable to dislodge them from their entrenched villages until they, the Sioux, had gotten possession of all the country surrounding the Ree villages and kept the buffalo so far away that the Rees could not get them and so were starved out and were compelled to move. Swift Bird, the half Indian son of Chapelle, the French trader, and who was born at the mouth of Chapelle creek in 1829, was particularly lucid in the particulars. His mother's father was prominent in the Ree war. He said the Tetons wanted possession of the range country out here because the buffalo grazed here all winter. He and all of the Sioux verified the statement of Lewis and Clark that the Rees did not give up the Pierre region until near the end of the eighteenth century.—D. R.

them during their last sujourn with the Pawnees; and in this excellence the tribe took great pride. Dr. Hayden, however, in his Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley, asserts that the Arikara women now show no traces of superiority." (Id. 245.)

Concerning the Pawnees proper, the "central branch" as designated by Dunbar, and regarding the derivation of their name, he says:

"The name Pawnee is most probably derived from pa-rik-i, a horn; and seems to have been once used by the Pawnees themselves to designate their peculiar scalp-lock. From the fact that this was the most noticeable feature in their costume, the name came naturally to be the denominative term of the tribe. The word in this use once probably embraced the Wichitas (i. e., Pawnee Picts) and the Arikaras. The latter is evidenced by the name Pa-da-ni, applied by the Dakotas to the Arikaras. Pa-da-ni is not a Dakota word,[12] but simply their pronunciation of Pa-ni (it will be observed that throughout this paper I use the common, but evidently incorrect form, Pawnee), and would scarcely have been applied by them to the Arikaras had not the latter, when they first met them, been known as Pa-ni. The name Arikara is derived, I am inclined to think, not from the Mandan, as is sometimes claimed, but from the Pawnee ur-ik-i, a horn; with a verbal or plural suffix, being thus simply a later and exact equivalent of Pa-ni itself." (Id. 245-6.)

The following account of Dutisne's visit to what are supposed to have been one tribe of the Pawnees is quoted from Dunbar, at page 247:

"Bernard de la Harpe, Journal Historique de l'Etablissment des Francais a la Louisiana, p. 168 et seq. 'M. de Bienville received, Dec. 29, a letter from Mr. Dutisne dated Kakaskia, Nov.

[12] While the Sioux have probably not for a long period been in close association with the Rees, the Omahas, a Siouan tribe, speaking the Sioux language, have been the close associates of both the Pawnees and the Arickaras. Dr. John P. Williamson, the best living authority upon the Siouan language, says that when the Sioux speak of the Pawnees they mean the Arickarees, but when they speak of the Pawnees of the Platte, they use a qualifying adjective, "Scili Pawnee." In this there is a fair suggestion that the Arickarees were in reality the parent tribe and that the Pawnees were an offshoot. The Rees call themselves "Tanish," the people; that is, the original people from whom all the other tribes sprung.—D. R.

22, 1719, with an account of his journey from that place by the river and by land to the villages of the Osages and Panionassas on the Missouri River.' Apparently on a second journey, 'he crossed the Mississippi and went to the Sabine twelve leagues from Kaskaskia and thirty from the Missouri. From the Sabine he passed on one hundred and twenty leagues to the Osages on a river of the same name; then forty leagues northwest from the Osages through a prairie country, crossing four streams, three branches of the Osages and one of the Arkansas. This branch of the Arkansas is twelve leagues east of the Panionassa village, which is situated on a hill surrounded by prairie and not far from a considerable stream. Southwest of the village is a wood which is of great utility to the Indians. The village contains 130 lodges and about 300 warriors. One league northwest on the same stream is another village of the same nation about as large. Together they have about 300 (?) horses which they esteem very highly and do not wish to part with. This nation is not civilized, but it would be easy to render it less savage by making it some presents. Mr. Dutisne planted the king's standard at the village, Sept. 27, 1719; but was near being tomahawked by the Panionassas at the instigation of the Osages, who represented that he was there for the purpose of making war and taking slaves.' The narrative adds that 'there are several Panis villages west and northwest of the Panionassas, but they are little known. From them the Osages steal horses.' The geographical data in this account are apparently somewhat confused, but the Panionassas visited were in all probability the Kit-ke-hak-i or Republican Pawnees of the Republican Fork of the Kansas river." (Id. 247-8.)

From Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane, Vol. 2, p. 251, Dunbar quotes to the effect that among other tribes living on or near the Missouri river are the Panis blancs, the Panis noirs, and the Panimahas, of which tribes he says: "The Panis noirs were probably the Wichitas, here from similarity of name placed erroneously with the Pawnees. The Panimahas were the Ski-di, or Loup band. In Vol. 3, p. 180, it is stated that Bourgmont while on his way to the Padoucas (from Kaskaskia) in October, 1724, was visited by some Panimahas." (Id. 248.)

Charlevoix in his journal (Vol. 3, p. 212) says, according to Dunbar: "It is to the Panis, a nation settled on the bank of the

Missouri and extending far away towards New Mexico, that it is pretended the calumet was given by the sun (of Nuttall, Travels into Arkansas Territory, p. 276); but these Indians have done as many others had done. They have wished to exalt by the marvelous a usage of which they were themselves the authors; and all that we can conclude from this tradition is that the Panis render to the sun a more ancient, or more marked worship than the other Indians of this part of the American continent, and were the first who conceived the idea of making the calumet a symbol of peace." At another place (Vol. 3, p. 410) Charlevoix is quoted by Dunbar as saying of the Arkansas river: "The river comes, it is said, from the country of certain Indians who are called Panis noirs; and I believe they are the same who are better known under the name Panis Ricaras. I have a slave of this nation with me." Of which Dunbar remarks: "In this passage the writer manifestly confounds the Arikaras of the northern Missouri with the Wichitas, or Pawnee Picts. (Id. 248.)

We also find in Dunbar's paper the following quoted from a pamphlet entitled "Notice sur l'etat actuelle de la mission de la Louisiane" (the date of which is not given): "A trustworthy merchant, who has recently ascended the Missouri to its source, told one of the missionaries that he found several tribes on that stream that had never seen a white man. He remaked, not without astonishment, that these Indians acknowledged only one god, to whom they offer daily the first mouthful of smoke from the pipe, and the first morsel of each meal. There are others, however, who adore the beautiful star (Belle Etoile). Even lately these latter were going to sacrifice to it a Spanish boy nine years old, whom they had captured; but he escaped and took refuge with Bishop Dubourg. The poor boy had been fattened for some time with the greatest care, to meet the signal honor of being immolated to their ferocious divinity." Dunbar's observation upon the foregoing is: "Though no name is given here, every statement made is specially applicable to the Pawnees." (Id. 249.)

DeLisle's various maps referring to the original territory of the Pawnees, with Dunbar's comments thereon, are thus dealt with by the latter on page 249 of his said monogram:

"Territory—Delisle in Carte du Mexique, 1703, has Panis and

Panionassas on two streams entering the Arkansas from the south. In Carte du Canada, 1703, he has River des Panis entering the Missouri from the south and Pani village on it; and further to the south Lac des Panis and Pani villages near it. The Pawnee region as given in these maps was evidently largely a matter of hearsay. In the first it would be natural to suppose that the Wichitas on the north Red river were meant. In the second the river entering the Missouri from the south is evidently the Platte. Possibly the villages on the lake were intended to represent the Kit-ke-hak-i band on the Republican. In Carte de la Louisiane, 1718, he has Paniassas at the mouths of two streams entering Arkansas; north on the Canses (Kansas) river twelve villages of the Panis; north of these on the Missouri twelve villages of the Panimahas; still further north, beyond the Aiouez and Aricara, the Panis with forty villages. On this map the Panimahas would seem to be the same as the Panimahas of the first map, the Panis on the Canses, the lake villages of the second; and the Panimahas, the Pawnees of the Platte. The Panis north of the Aricara must be the Arikaras themselves, extravagantly overestimated. [Unless, possibly this is a confusion such as is also found in Jeffrey's map, where Cris Panis Blancs (Crees) are represented as being located west of Lake Winnipeg.] The Pawnees themselves have no tradition of ever having occupied or claimed territory north of the Niobrara, though they sometimes hunted there. That region, before the westward movement of the Dakotas, was held by the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Kiowas."[13] (Id. 249-250.) The author then adds:

"The true Pawnee territory till as late as 1833 may be described as extending from the Niobrara south to the Arkansas. They frequently hunted considerably beyond the Arkansas; tradition says as far as the Canadian, and sometimes made considerable stays in that region. Irving (Tour on the Prairies) mentions seeing in 1832 the remains of a recent Pawnee village on the Cimarron. On the east they claimed to the Missouri, though in eastern Nebraska, by a sort of tacit permit, the Otoes, Poncas and Omahas along that stream occupied lands extending as far

[13] Dunbar evidently refers to the region west of the Missouri valley proper, for he says: "The Arickara Pawnees occupied the Missouri valley, north of the Niobrara, from a quite ancient time."—D. R.

west as the Elkhorn. In Kansas, also east of the Big Blue, they had ceased to exercise and direct control, as several remnants of tribes, the Wyandots, Delawares, Kickapoos, and Iowas had been settled there and were living under the guardianship of the United States. In 1833 the Pawnees, by treaty, finally relinquished their right to the lands thus occupied. (In 1848 the remains of a considerable village were plainly discernible near where Wolf river empties into the Missouri in northeastern Kansas. The Iowas, then occupying the region, assigned these remains, no doubt correctly, to the Pawnees. This fact would sufficiently indicate that their control of this locality was once real.) On the west their grounds were marked by no natural boundary, but may perhaps be described by a line drawn from the mouth of Snake river on the Niobrara southwest to the North Platte, thence south to the Arkansas. The boundaries here named are not imaginary. In designating them I have consulted Pawnee history. Messrs. Dunbar, Allis and Satterlee, who were laboring as missionaries with the Pawnees, accompanied the different bands on their several semi-annual hunts in 1835-6-7, and on those hunts the tribe roamed at will over a large part of the territory within these limits. This territory, comprising a large portion of the present states of Nebraska and Kansas, formed a tract which for their purposes was as fine as could be found west of the Mississippi. The region of the Platte and upper Kansas, with their numerous tributaries, was a favorable mean between the extreme north and warmer south; the climate was healthful, the soil of great fertility, and game, such as buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope, in abundance to more than supply their utmost need." (Id. 250.)

As to the origin of the Pawnees, Dunbar says: "The traditions of three of the bands, the Xau-i, Kit-ke-hak-i and Pit-a-hau-erat, coincide in stating that the Pawnees migrated to the Platte river region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest. The period of this migration is so remote that they have failed to retain any of its details, except in a very confused form. The language affords some evidence that their residence in the valley of the Platte has been of some duration. O-kut-ut and oku-kat signify strictly above and below (of a stream) respectively. Now their villages have usually been situated upon the banks of the Platte, the general course of which is from east

to west. Hence each of these words has acquired a new meaning, i. e., west and east. So, also, Kir-iku-ruks-tu, toward or with the Wichitas, has come to mean south. Such developments are perfectly natural in the history of a language, but require time. The Wichitas, I am told, have a tradition that the primitive home of themselves and the Pawnees was upon the Red river below the mouth of the Washita. This would place them in close proximity with the Caddos (cf. p. 1). The Wichitas also attempt to explain their own southern position by alleging that having had reason to be dissatisfied with the migration, or its results, they attempted to return to their old home. The Pawnees also state that the Wichitas accompanied them on the migration, but left them long ago and wandered away to the south, though silent as to the reason. This much may be claimed that the separation must have occurred long since, as is indicated particularly by the marked divergence of the Wichita dialect." (Id. 251.)

This tradition of a southern origin is regarded by Dunbar as receiving support from the fact that the Pawnees have been renowned among the northern tribes for their fondness for horses, to acquire which, by predatory attacks, they went south, sometimes to a great distance, and from the fact that they had a preference for the bois d'arc wood as material for bows, this material growing in the south. And he adds: "The Pawnee usually locates the Mississippi to the southeast, and the sea to the south. This is perfectly natural, if his present indistinct knowledge of them is the remnant of a more intimate acquaintance that he once possessed in the south." (Id. 252.)

Of the original inhabitants of the territory conquered by the Pawnees, Dunbar affirms that the three bands above named claim they were the Otoes, Poncas, Omahas, and Ski-di. "It is in the subjugating of these tribes that the Pawnee finds his heroic age. The tradition is that the Otoes and Omahas were entirely expelled from the country, but, after a long absence to the northward, returned, or rather were driven back by the Dakotas, and were allowed by sufferance to occupy lands adjacent to the Missouri, as the Poncas had continued to do since the first conquest. From that time they have remained wards of the Pawnees. This much at least is true; the Pawnee always spoke of the Otoes,

Poncas and Omahas as subjugated tribes; and when together in council, on war or hunting expedition, though generally acknowledging their prowess—especially that of the two former—he still treated them as dependents; and in times of impending danger from the common foe, the Dakotas, they uniformly looked to him for succor. There is an interesting document that may be mentioned in this connection. The Pawnee has a song, constituting the finest satirical production in the language, relating to an attempt that the Poncas are said to have once made to recover their independence. Their warriors in a body, so the account states, made a pretended visit of peace to the village of Xau-i, at that time the head band of the Pawnees. After lulling to rest, as they supposed, the suspicions of the Xau-i, according to a preconcerted plan, they made an attack upon them, but were signally discomfited. In commemoration of the victory then achieved, the Pawnees composed this song, and the presumption is that such a remarkable production would not have originated and maintained its position permanently in their minds without a good historic basis." (Id. 252-3.) The song as translated in a note to Dunbar's paper (page 280) is: 'Aha, you Ponca! It was (pretended) peace. Did you find what you was laughing at me about? You meant fight!'"

Of the origin of the Ski-di, Dunbar says:

"As regards the Ski-di, the traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe, that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family. The only statement they give as to the time of this conquest is that it was long ago. Of the exact spot where the event transpired they say nothing. They further claim that once the Ski-di attempted to reassert their independence, and to this end surprised and badly defeated the Pit-a-hau-e-rat band while it was out on a buffalo hunt. But the two other bands immediately rallied about the survivors of the rout, and having entrapped the Ski-di, inflicted upon them a severe retribution, and since then they have been content to remain quietly in their place as one of the four bands. All this the Ski-di deny. They, however, agree with the other bands in saying that there have been hostilities betwen the two parties. In 1835 old men were still

living who had borne part in a struggle of this kind, probably during the closing quarter of the last century.

"The historic basis of this may be somewhat as follows: In the migration of the Pawnee from the south, the Ski-di preceded the other bands, perhaps by nearly a century. With them were the Arikaras. These two bands together possessed themselves of the region of the Loup. When the other bands arrived they were regarded as intruders, and hence arose open hostilities. The result of the struggle was that the two bands were forced to admit the new comers and aid in reducing the surrounding territory. Subsequently the Arikaras seem to have wandered, or more probably to have been driven, from the confederacy and to have passed up the Missouri. Later the Ski-di, in consequence of some real or fancied provocation, attempted to retrieve their losses, but were sorely punished, and henceforth obliged to content themselves with a subordinate position in the tribe.

"The known facts upon which this interpretation is based are these: 1. The remains of the old Ski-di villages in the valley of the Loup are more numerous, and many of them much more ancient than those of the other bands. 2. The names of several of the Ski-di sub-bands are local and still retain their meaning; a fact that would seem to indicate that they were first bestowed in this locality. 3. Since the tribe has been known to the United States the Ski-di have always acknowledged the precedence of the other bands. Though they have been frequently remarked as more intelligent, as warriors they are inferior. 4. They claim to be more nearly related to the Arikaras than to the Pawnees proper. They also do not speak pure Pawnee. Their speech, while Pawnee, is dialectic, and forms an intermediate link between the pure Pawnee and the Arikara." (Id. 253-4.)

Of the population of the Pawnees Dunbar says: "This is a matter of the greatest uncertainty until 1834. I find an estimate of them in 1719 (attributed to Mr. Dutisne already mentioned), at about 25,000, probably of no special value. Lewis and Clarke, in 1805, estimated three bands, Xau-i, Kit-kehak-i and Ski-di, at 4,000. They speak of the tribe as formerly very numerous, but at that time broken and reduced. Major Pike, in 1806, estimated the entire tribe at 6,223. Major Long, in 1820, gives their number as 6,500. Thus far only three bands seem to have been

known. The authorities in either case were only hearsay, and the estimates are not above suspicion. In 1834 Major Dougherty, the Pawnee agent, and well versed in the affairs of the tribe, estimated them at 12,500. Messrs. Dunbar and Allis, while traveling with the tribe during the three years following, thought this very high, and placed them at 10,000. In 1833 the tribe suffered very severely from the smallpox, communicated to them by some Dakota women captured by the Ski-di early that year. During the prevalence of the epidemic great numbers of the children perished. The mortality among the adults, though great, was not so excessive. About a year and a half after this scourge Messrs. Dunbar and Allis made as careful a census of the tribe as circumstances would permit, and found them to be 6,787, exclusive of some detachments then absent. These would have probably raised the total to about 7,500. The conclusion at which they arrived was that their previous estimate may have been quite near the true number. In 1847 their number was not far from 8,400. In 1856 they diminished to 4,686; in 1861, to 3,416; in 1879, to 1,440." (Id. 254.)

Some idea of what it meant for the Pawnee tribes to first dominate the territory held by them for so long and then to retain it practically intact until lost by treaty arrangements, should be given in order to fairly comprehend the status of these Indians in the west and northwest. Dunbar says in this connection:

"It is not to be supposed, however, that they held altogether undisturbed possession of this territory. On the north they were incessantly harassed by various bands of the Dakotas, while upon the south the Osages, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas (the last three originally northern tribes) were equally relentless in their hostility. In fact the history of the Pawnees, as far back as we can acquire any knowledge of it, has been a ceaseless, uncompromising warfare against the several tribes that begirt them, and no more convincing evidence of their inherent energy and indomitable spirit could be furnished than their having up to that date (1833) maintained their right over this garden of the hunting grounds essentially intact. Their enemies were, it is true, making constant forays upon it and in some instances inflicting severe losses upon them; but in no case had they succeeded in wresting from the Pawnees and retaining any portion

of their territory. On the contrary, within the limits named, the Pawnee remained the proud master of the land. In 1833 the Pawnees surrendered to the United States their claim upon all the above described territory lying south of the Platte. In 1858 all their remaining territory was ceded, except a reserve thirty miles long and fifteen wide on the Loup fork of the Platte; its eastern limit beginning at Beaver creek. In 1874 they sold this tract and removed to a reserve secured for them by the government in the Indian territory, between the Arkansas and Cimarron at their junction." (Id. 251.)

And speaking of their decrease in number, he says:

"The causes of this continual decrease are several. The most constantly acting influence has been the deadly warfare with surrounding tribes. Probably not a year in this century has been without losses from this source, though only occasionally have they been marked with considerable disasters. In 1832 the Ski-di band suffered a severe defeat on the Arkansas from the Comanches. In 1847 a Dakota war party, numbering over 700, attacked a village occupied by 216 Pawnees and succeeded in killing 83. In 1854 a party of 113 were cut off by an overwhelming body of Cheyennes and Kiowas and killed almost to a man. In 1873 a hunting party of about 400, 213 of whom were men, on the Republican, while in the act of killing a herd of buffalo, were attacked by nearly 600 Dakota warriors, and 86 were killed. But the usual policy of their enemies has been to cut off individuals or small scattered parties, while engaged in the chase or in tilling isolated corn patches. Losses of this kind, trifling when taken singly, have in the aggregate borne heavily on the tribe. It would seem that such losses, annually recurring, should have taught them to be on their guard. But let it be remembered that the Dakotas, Crows, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Comanches, Osages and Kansas, have faithfully aided each other, though undesignedly in the main, in their crusade of extermination against the Pawnee. It has been in the most emphatic sense, a struggle of the one against the many. With the possible exception of the Dakotas, there is much of reason to believe that the animosity of these tribes has been exacerbated by the galling tradition of disastrous defeats which Pawnee prowess had inflicted upon

themselves in past generations. To them the last seventy years have been a carnival of revenge."[14] (Id. 254-5.)

Dunbar continues in this connection: "One important fact should be noted in this connection. The treaty of 1833 contains no direct provision that the United States should protect the Pawnees from the Dakotas on the north, and the Comanches and other tribes on the south. But unfortunately the Pawnees distinctly understood that this was the case, i. e., that so long as they did not molest other tribes, such tribes should not be allowed to trouble them. Accordingly, for several years, they scrupulously refrained from any aggressive hostilities, though meantime suffering severely from their various enemies. It was only after a final declaration from the government in 1848 that it had no intention to protect them that they at last attempted to reassert their prestage. Thus, during this period, while they stood in need of the utmost vigilance, the general influence of the government was to lull them into fancied security and center upon them the intensified efforts of their hereditary foes." (Id.)

To the foregoing Dunbar adds the following among the causes of the decline of the Pawnees: "Another cause has been the locality of the Pawnees, directly in the pathway of transcontinental travel during the last half century. This great highway has lain along the Platte valley directly through their territory. Special diseases, as cholera, syphilis, and certain infantile epidemics have in this way been freely communicated to them. Modified ailments of a syphilitic nature have been quite prevalent, and have no doubt done much towards undermining their native vigor. It is claimed by some that not a member of the tribe for a generation or more has been entirely free from scrofulous taint, but this is an exaggeration. In addition to these the Indians' great terror, the smallpox, should be mentioned. Lewis and Clarke state that the Missouri tribes had suffered from a visitation of it just before their expedition. About 1825 the Pawnees suffered terribly from it; again in 1838, and also in 1852. There

[14] I think Dunbar has not quite understood the Indian war policy. The redmen rarely went to war for the conquest of territory; it may be said they never did so unless impelled to it by some pressing necessity. See Indian Warfare in Minnesota, by Rev. S. W. Pond, 3 Minnesota Historical Collections 129, et seq. Also Little Crow's answer to Col. Forsythe, 3 Minnesota 140, et seq.—D. R.

have been lighter visitations from it on several other occasions." (Id. 255-6.)

From the abundant resources collated in Dunbar's paper we learn concerning the history of the Pawnees since the Louisiana purchase:

"Lieutenant Pike in 1806 found the Kit-ke-hak-i band somewhat under Spanish influence. A short time before his arrival an expedition from Santa Fe had visited them, intending to form a treaty with the whole tribe, but for some reason returned without fully accomplishing its purpose. The intercourse between the Pawnees and the Spaniards thus revealed seems to have been of long standing. Salmeron refers to them as known to the Spaniards as early as 1626. There is also mention in old writers of an expedition to them from Santa Fe in 1722; but it did not reach its destination. So far as I can ascertain the continuance of this intercourse in the early part of this century was in consequence mainly of frequent incursion of the Pawnees into the province of New Mexico for the purpose of stealing horses. These raids were a source of great detriment to the people of that province. Till quite recently horses or ponies bearing the Spanish brands were common in the tribe and were frequently traded in considerable numbers to the Arikaras. The Spaniards not succeeding in protecting their property by force had recourse to repeated negotiations, hoping, apparently, in this way to conciliate the friendship of the Pawnees and thus avoid losses. In 1824 a treaty to this end was formed, and is mentioned as occasion of great rejoicing to the people of New Mexico. They thought themselves relieved from a long-continued anxiety and annoyance. The treaty, however, seems to have produced little if any amelioration; for in 1834 emissaries thence again visited the Pawnees, but with no satisfactory results. On the other hand, their relations with the United States have always been friendly. Instances might be catalogued, no doubt in considerable number, in which they have committed outrages. But if against these should be set a list of irresponsible whites their offenses would be probably sufficiently balanced." He then recounts the terrible revenge taken by the Pawnees who, because of the wanton shooting of a poor Indian woman who was in a camp of west-bound pioneers begging, by a white bravado, flayed him alive, the

stream on which this was done being still known as Raw Hide creek, named from the horrible occurrence; and proceeds: "During the last fifteen years a battallion of Pawnee scouts, under Major Frank North, have been employed a large portion of the time by the government against the hostile Dakotas, and in every campaign have won high encomiums for their intrepidity and soldierly efficiency." (Id. 256-7.)

The Pawnee villages in 1834 were, according to Dunbar, located: "The Xau-i, on the south side of the Platte, twenty miles above the mouth of the Loup. The Kit-ke-hak-i village was eighteen miles northwest on the north side of the Loup; the Pit-a-hau-e-rat eleven miles above it on the same side. Five miles above the last was the Ski-di village. The sites of these villages were changed from time to time, as convenience or other special consideration might prompt, the average continuance in one place being not over eight or ten years. The Xau-i and Ski-di villages were never moved to any considerable distance from the locations named. The Ski-di village, it is worthy of note, has always been situated to the west of the others, and they have a superstitious belief that this relative position must never be altered. Hence the term tu-ra-wit-u, eastern villages, applied by them to the other bands. The Pit-a-hau-e-rat village, for a considerable portion of the time, both before and since the date named, was upon the Elkhorn, some distance east. The Kit-ke-hak-i, as already shown, from their first discovery till Pike's visit, were settled on the Republican. This has given rise to the theory that in the northward movement of the tribe they stopped here, while the rest continued on. But there is reason for believing that before occupying this region they resided with the rest of the tribe on the Platte. They have the same tradition as the Xau-i and Pit-a-hau-e-rat concerning the conquest of that country. There has been a tradition also that after the conquest they moved south for the strategic purpose of keeping the Kansas and Osages from the hunting grounds of the upper Kansas river. Their associations with the other bands during the time of the separation were always intimate; their interests and motives were one and their speech identical. The exact date of their return to the Platte is not known; but in 1835 men of the band, apparently not

more than thirty-five years of age, stated that it occurred while they were children; probably about 1812." (Id. 257-8.)

During most of the years 1834-47 the elder Dunbar, Mr. Allis and Dr. Satterlee visited among and did effective missionary work with the Pawnees, and they were induced about 1837-8 to "desire to enter upon a more regular and fixed mode of living, and a spot on Plum creek, a small tributary of the Loup, was selected as the site of "the mission and government establishment;" which design was on account of disturbances postponed until 1844, when the establishment buildings were begun "and a considerable number of the Xau-i and some of the other bands induced to fix their residence in the vicinity. The tribe all displayed a very friendly disposition, and so far as they were concerned the effort to advance their condition toward civilization was progressing most favorably. But, unfortunately, the entire enterprise had awakened the jealous suspicions and in the end aroused the most persistent hostility on the part of the Oglala and Brule Dakotas. Each year they invaded the region in full force, usually taking advantage of the absence of most of the Pawnees on their hunts, killing where they could, and destroying corn patches and all other property that they might discover. These continued depredations finally compelled the abandonment of the mission and the farm in 1847, and the Pawnees forthwith reverted to their former life." (Id. 258-9.)

The tribal emblem of the Pawnees is thus described and its origin indicated by Dunbar:

"The tribal mark of the Pawnees in their pictographic or historic painting was the scalp-lock dressed to stand nearly erect, or curved slightly backwards, somewhat like a horn. This, in order that it should retain its position, was filled with vermillion or other pigment, and sometimes lengthened by means of a tuft of horsehair skillfully appended so as to form a trail back over the shoulders. This usage was undoubtedly the origin of the name Pawnee. In the sign language of the tribe and the other Indians of the plains the Pawnee is designated by holding up the two forefingers of the right hand, the symbol of the ears of the prairie wolf. The precise origin of this practice is a matter of some uncertainty. They claimed that the wolf was adopted of choice as the tribal emblem, because of its intelligence, vigilance

and well known powers of endurance. Their enemies, on the other hand, interpreted it as a stigma upon the tribe because of their alleged prowling cowardice. The emblem probably originated from the name of the Ski-di band. They being in advance of the other bands in the northern migration, became known to the tribes about them as the wolves; and as the other bands arrived the sign was naturally made to include them also, and in this enlarged use was at length accepted by the Pawnees themselves. The Ski-di, however, insist that their name has no etymological connection whatever with the Ski-rik-i, a wolf. Their explanation is that the Loup, i. e., Wolf river, was long ago so designated from the great abundance of wolves in its vicinity. (Wolf river is not an infrequent designation of streams with Indians as Wolf river in Kansas, also in Wisconsin.) From the fact of their location upon it they became known as Wolf (river) Indians. Finally to most of the Pawnees themselves the real distinction between Ski-di, i. e., Ski-ri, and Ski-rik-i was lost. This is unusually close Indian reasoning, but not altogether conclusive." (Id. 259-260.)

Of the English equivalents of the Pawnee tribal name Dunbar says:

"The tribe, as already indicated, consisted of four bands: Xau-i, or Grand; Kit-ke-hak-i, or Republican; Pit-a-hau-e-rat, or Tappage; Ski-di, or Loup. The English names given are all of French origination. The first was applied to the Xau-i as being the head band, and also the most numerous. The exact origin of Republican, as applied to the second band, I never learned. There has been a tradition that it was first suggested by the semi-republican system of government observed among them when first known, but this feature was no more marked with them than among the other bands. It is also said to have been applied to them because of their having formerly resided upon the Republican river, but vice versa the stream was in all probability so named from the band (cf. the Kansas river from the Kansas Indians, the Osage from the Osages, etc.) Tapage (also Tappage and Tappahs) is of unknown origin. In the treaty of 1819 they were designated as the Noisy Pawnees, which I presume was then the supposed meaning of the name Pit-a-hau-e-rat. In the treaty it is spelled Pit-av-rate. Tapage is the French sub-

stitute for Noisy. Forty-five years ago they were known as the Smoky Hill Pawnees, from having once resided on that stream in western Kansas. In the summer hunt of 1836 they pointed out to Mr. Dunbar some of their old villages. The name Loup is already sufficiently explained." (Id. 260.) In the same connection he says these bands were all further divided into sub-bands and families, each of which had its appropriate mark or token, as an animal, a bird, etc. That the office of chief was hereditary, but authority could be gained "only by acknowledged personal accomplishments."

As throwing further side-light upon the reputation of the Pawnees as vagrants, etc., we find Dunbar ascribing to the Pawnee chiefs the practice of providing in a sense for the destitute in their bands, who in turn were, in consideration therefor, used by the chiefs as servants. "These parasites were usually among the most worthless of the tribe. While under the chief's eye they were tolerable, but in his absence their nature instantly reappeared. Any stranger who had occasion to visit the tribe was sure on his departure to be waylaid by them, and, if not too strongly guarded, to be under some specious plea subjected to heavy tribute; and in case of refusal grossly insulted and perhaps injured. In such doings their dependence on the chief was used by them as a cloak for most arrant villainies. It is no doubt to this class of persons almost entirely due that the Pawnees have acquired so generally among the whites who have been in casual contact with them an unenviable notoriety as a tribe of vagrants and thieves." (Id. 261.)

The following account from Dunbar, of the custom of the Pawnees in the holding of councils, shows how nearly those formalities resembled the northern offshoot, the Aricaras, as narrated by the earliest explorers:

"Councils of a band or tribe could be called by the head chief on his own motion, or at the prompting of another. If the matter to be brought under deliberation was of great consequence, or involved any thing of secrecy, the council was appointed in a lodge, or at a place removed from immediate observation, and no one not personally entitled was admitted. In other cases any convenient place, indoors or out, that might be named, and those not strictly privileged to sit in the council could, if disposed, at-

tend as spectators. The right to participate in tribal or band councils was a much coveted dignity. The call and time of assembling were duly published by the herald or crier of the chief. This functionary was one of the most conspicuous in a village. Quite often his voice was heard first in the morning proclaiming the order of the day. If during the day the chief wished to communicate to the band any important news or special order, it was made known through this dignitary, who for hours perhaps would promenade the village, or stand upon the top of some convenient lodge, announcing in set tone and phrase the intelligence. While making a proclamation he frequently took occasion to intersperse or append numerous advices and monitory appeals of his own, some of which he addressed to the young men, others to the old men, etc. He naturally, therefore, came to be regarded as a sort of preceptor in general duties. Each chief had his own herald. The council on assembling, after the usual preliminary of smoking, was opened by the head chief, or by some one designated by him. After his will had thus been made known, the discussion was thrown open to all present as members, but great scrupulousness was observed that there should be no infraction of their rules of precedence and decorum. Rank, seniority and personal prestige were all carefully considered in determining the order in which each one should speak. The speaker addressed the council as a-ti-us (fathers), the word being repeated at the beginning of nearly every sentence. The members of the audience, on the other hand, felt perfectly free to accompany any speaker's remarks with expressions of approval, 'lau!' or dissent, 'ugh!' though the latter was more usually indicated by silence. After the discussion of the matter in question was closed, the opinion of the council was gathered, not by any formal vote, but from the general tenor of the addresses that had been delivered in the course of the debate. The result was then made public through the herald." (Id. 261-2.)

Of the Pawnee lodges the following details given by Dunbar are instructive, while showing a background upon which the Aricaras faithfully built in constructing their own:

"These were of two patterns, so utterly unlike in appearance and construction that it would scarcely seem possible that they should both be the work of the same tribe. There was the ordi-

nary skin lodge used while on their hunts. The frame consisted of from twelve to twenty smoothly dressed poles, sixteen feet long. After a good set of these poles had once been secured, they were carried on all their travels, just as any other necessary furniture. When a lodge was to be pitched, three of these poles were tied together near the top, and set up like a tripod. The cord with which these three poles were tied was sufficiently long for the ends to hang to the ground. The other poles, save one, were successively set up, the top of each resting against the first three, while the lower ends formed a circle, from twelve to seventeen feet in diameter. The tops were then bound together securely by means of the pendant cord. One edge of the covering was now made fast to the remaining pole, by means of which it was raised up and carried round the framework so as to envelop it completely. The two edges of the cover were closed together by wooden pins or keys, except three feet at the extreme top, left open for a smoke-hole, and an equal space at the bottom for an entrance. The spare pole was attached to one edge of the cover at the top, so that the smoke-hole might be closed or opened at will. The skin of a bear or some other animal was fixed to the outside of the lodge, immediately above the entrance, so as to hang down over the latter as a sort of door. Inside the fireplace occupied the center of the lodge. About it were spread mats, which served as seats by day and couches by night. All furniture not in actual use was packed on the outside next to the lodge walls. The covering of the lodge was one continuous piece, made up of buffalo skins nicely fitted together. In tanning, these skins were dressed so thin that sufficient light was transmitted into the interior even when the lodge was tightly closed. When new they were quite white, and a village of them presented an attractive appearance. Sometimes they were variously painted, according to the requirements of Pawnee fancy.

"The other was the large stationary lodge found only in their permanent villages. The construction was as follows: The sod was carefully removed from the area to be occupied by the lodge. In the centre an excavation, three feet in diameter and five inches deep, was made for a fireplace. Lieutenant Pike states that the entire area was excavated to a depth of four feet. This

is a mistake.[15] The accumulation of loose soil immediately about the lodge, during the process of construction and subsequently, did, however, sometimes produce an apparent depression inside. The soil taken from the fireplace was carefully placed in a small ridge immediately about its edge. The entire area as thus prepared was then repeatedly beaten with mallets, or billets of wood prepared for the purpose, in order to render it compact and smooth. About the fireplace, at a distance of eight feet from the centre, a circle of six or eight strong posts, forked and rising twelve feet above the surface, was set firmly in the ground. Outside of this circle, at a distance of nine feet, was set another circle of posts similar, but standing only seven feet high, and the same distance from each other. In the forks of the posts of the inner circle strong poles were laid, reaching from one to another. Similar posts were likewise laid on the posts of the outer circle. Two feet outside of this circle a small ditch, two inches deep and three wide, was now dug. In this ditch, at intervals of four inches, were set poles, two or three inches in diameter, and of sufficient length to just reach the poles on the posts of the outer circle. These inclined poles formed the framework of the walls of the lodge. Poles, of like size and at equal intervals, were now laid from the lower cross poles to the upper, but reaching so far beyond the latter that between the upper extremities of these poles a circular orifice, about two feet in diameter, was left as a skylight and smoke-hole. These poles formed the support of the roof. Willow withes were then bound transversely with bark to these poles at intervals of about an inch. At this stage the lodge had some resemblance to an immense basket, inverted. A layer of hay was now placed upon the framework, and the whole built over with sods, the interstices in the sodwork being carefully filled with loose soil. The thickness of the earth upon the roof was about nine inches, on the walls considerably more. The external appearance of a lodge as thus finished was not unlike a large charcoal pit. The entrance was through a passage twelve feet long and seven feet wide. The sides of this passage, which always faced the east (as did also the entrance of a skin lodge), were

[15] We shall see that the Arickarees did excavate to that depth in many instances, in constructing their lodges on the upper Missouri.—C. E. D.

constructed exactly as the walls of the lodge; the top was flat and heavily covered with turf. Over its inner extremity, where it opened into the lodge, was hung a skin as a sort of closure. The lower part of this was free, so that it might be easily thrown up by those passing in and out. Inside, till a person became accustomed to the dim light, all seemed obscure. Near the fireplace was a forked stake, set in an inclining position, to answer as a crane in cooking. The ground about the fire was overspread with mats, upon which the occupants might sit. Next to the wall was a row of beds, extending entirely around the lodge (except at the entrance), each bed occupying the interval between two posts of the outer circle. The beds were raised a few inches from the ground upon a platform of rods, over which a mat was spread, and upon this the bedding of buffalo robes and other skins. Partitions made of willow withes, bound closely together with bark, were set up between the ends of adjacent beds and immediately in front of each bed a mat or skin was sometimes suspended to the poles of the roof as a sort of curtain, to be rolled up or let down at pleasure. Furniture, as arms, clothing, provisions, saddles, etc., not in use was hung upon different parts of the framework, or variously bestowed about the interior.

"Several families usually lived in one of these lodges. Though each family had its particular part of the dwelling and the furniture of each was kept separate, anything like privacy in conversation or life was impossible. What one did, all knew. Whenever a member of any one of the families cooked, a portion of the food was given to each occupant without distinction of family. They were also very accommodating, borrowing and lending freely almost any article they had.

"The dimensions given in the preceding description are those of an average lodge. The actual proportions of one taken as of ordinary size were: Diameter, 39 feet; wall, 7½ feet high; extreme height of roof, 15½ feet; length of entrance, 13 feet; width, 7 feet. Some of these figures might be considerably larger or smaller. One lodge measured was only 23 feet in diameter; another was 56 feet. Among the remains of an old Ski-di village on the Loup one of the lodges seems to have been 200 feet in diameter. The tradition is that it was a medicine lodge.

"As may be readily inferred, the building of one of these fixed lodges was an undertaking involving much labor. The timber quite frequently was procurable only at a distance, and with their facilities its adjustment was a tedious process. And yet, after all the outlay necessary in its construction, it was occupied a comparatively small part of the year, probably not over four months. The remaining eight months they were absent on their semi-annual hunts. Still these fixed residences were of great benefit to them. They preserved alive the idea of home, and were undoutedly one cause of the tribe's retaining a sort of fixity and regularity in their yearly life which otherwise might have been relinquished long ago. On sanitary grounds their brief yearly continuance in these dwellings was no doubt fortunate. The ventilation in them was very defective, and continuous occupation would in all probability have been a fertile source of wasting disease.

"This large lodge was also used among the other branches of the Pawnee family, though in the south its construction was somewhat modified. Catlin represents the Arikara lodges as conical, with no projecting entrance. This is a mistake. Their lodges were essentially the same as those of the Pawnees. Among the southern branches the framework was similar, but instead of a covering of turf they were heavily thatched with straw or grass. Marcy, in his Exploration of the Red River, gives a cut of a Wichita village in which the lodges are represented as conical. This pattern was in use, but the other was the more common." (Id. 272-6.)

Abundant evidence exists of the antecedents of the Aricaras as agriculturalists, and that the Pawnees as well as the Rees raised corn in no small way is shown by Dunbar, who states:

"Gallatin is quoted as asserting that the Pawnees did not raise sufficient corn to whiten their broth. What his authority was I do not know, but the whole statement is incorrect. The Pawnees have often been remarked as cultivating corn much more extensively than any of the adjacent tribes. The same is also true of their kinsman, the Arikaras, though they, unlike the Pawnees, made it an article of barter to neighboring Indians. Each family among the Pawnees had its own corn patch, containing from one to (in some cases) three acres. One of the most noticeable fea-

tures about their permanent villages was these scattered corn patches, usually along the contiguous water courses, though sometimes as much as four or five miles distant. Where not protected by the bank of a stream or other natural defense, they were enclosed by a sort of fence formed of bushes and branches of trees skillfully woven together. Many of the patches were provided with lookouts, or small platforms elevated on a framework of poles, upon which one or more persons were stationed much of the time to prevent birds or animals from injuring the growing grain. In the spring, as soon as the frost was out of the ground, these patches were cleared up and planted. The corn was hoed twice, the last time about the middle of June. Immediately thereafter they started on the summer hunt and remained away till about the first of September, when the young corn had attained sufficient maturity for drying. This (roasting-ear time) was a specially busy season. After supplying a good supply of fuel, fires were built about the patches, and the squaws and children were occupied from early morning till nightfall in gathering, roasting, shelling and drying the corn. The corn after picking was thrown in armfuls into the fire and roasted, still in the husk. The husks were then removed, the kernels cut from the cob with the sharpened edge of a clam shell and spread upon outstretched blankets or skins till dried by the rays of the sun. It was then stored away in skin bags for future use. The work of drying usually continued as long as any corn was to be found in fit condition. Whatever corn was not dried was allowed to ripen till October, when it was gathered and cached.

"The corn patches at the drying season present a very picturesque surrounding. In one direction squaws are coming in staggering under immense burdens of wood and leading lines of ponies equally heavily loaded. In another the store of wood is already provided, the fires brightly burning, in them corn roasting, and near by other corn drying, while children passing busily to and fro are bringing loads of ears from the patch. The atmosphere is saturated with the pleasant odor of the roasting and drying corn. When roasted in this way the corn seems to retain a fineness of flavor which is quite lost when cooked after our method.

"Besides corn they also cultivated pumpkins and squashes in

considerable quantities. When drying the corn these were collected, cut in long thin strips, hung upon poles till dried and then stored away with the corn." (Id. 276-7.)

In the way of manufactures, the Pawnees, it is said by Dunbar: "Stone implements, as axes, arrowheads, hammers and scrapers, are found about the older village sites, and indicate that they once made use of such tools." The usual implements of war and the chase were made by them. "The name ti-rak-is, bow, seems to indicate that bows were once made of bone, the ribs of the buffalo or other large animal, skillfully fitted and wrapped throughout with sinew. Forty years ago bows of this kind, and also of elkhorn, were occasionally found in use." When finished ordinary wooden bows were sometimes wrapped with sinew, from the back of the buffalo. The arrow of dogwood, whose head was of hoop-iron inserted and bound in with sinew, the back end of the shaft furnished with a triple row of feathers attached by means of glue and sinew, with three grooves cut along the shaft between the head and the feathers, was among their handiwork. "Various reasons were assigned for this channeling. Some claimed that it caused the arrow to adhere more firmly in the wound; others that it was simply designed to facilitate the flow of blood." The make of arrows by individual Indians were distinguishable, and this fact sometimes decided who was entitled to a slain buffalo. The Pawnees never followed the practice of making two kinds of arrows, one for war and one for hunting. (Id. 278.) "The manufacture of all other articles of use was left entirely to the women. They made rude pottery of sand and a certain kind of clay, which after being properly burned was quite serviceable. They wove mats of rushes, and baskets of osier and bark. With the aid of fire they shaped mortars and bowls from blocks of wood. They also made dippers and spoons of the same material, though the latter were more usually made of buffalo horn. Combs, or rather hair brushes, were made from the awns and stiff fibers of a species of coarse grass (stipa Juncea). From a species of sweet scented grass, necklaces, some of them very beautiful, were braided. The fragrance of these was very pleasant, and seemed to last for a long time. Canoes were rarely made or used by the Pawnees. One of the processes in which the women of this tribe especially excelled was the dress-

ing of buffalo hides. * * * Ropes were also braided from the mane of the buffalo taken from robes in tanning, and were considered very valuable. In making moccasins and clothing generally Pawnee women did not produce as fine work as was to be found with other tribes." (Id. 279.)

Dunbar is also authority for the statement: "Popguns, similar to those used by white children, and whistles of wood or bone were usual playthings. With girls dolls of different patterns were common. It might naturally be surmised that such articles were originally borrowed, at least in idea, from the whites, but this was certainly not the case." (Id.)

Major Amos Stoddard, the first governor of the upper half of the Louisiana territory, published in 1812 his "Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana." He says: "The Pawnees pursue no other game than the buffalo, of which they kill an immense number. They, however, attend to agriculture and raise more than double the quantity of corn and vegetables than is necessary for their own consumption, and furnish their neighbors with the surplus in exchange for peltries, so that their trade, which is now engrossed by the Spaniards, is deemed of considerable value. (Id. p. 46.)

Stoddard was here speaking of the Pawnees on the Red river, and in a note to the text he says: "Speaking of Pawnees and Ietaus (Comanches) on Red river: These are a different people from those of the same name on the River Platte." (P. 455.)

In J. V. Brower's "Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi," Vol 2 (St. Paul, 1899), is published in full a remarkable paper by Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, entitled "Coronado's March to Quivira," of which paper Brower says: "His paper, which I consider the most valuable and exhaustive ever written on this subject, of absorbing interest, is inserted in full, and the fact that his studies have yielded results ending exactly where the archeologic discoveries began, * * * inagurates a community of conclusions destined to invite the tests of scrutiny, since all personal designs have been studiously eliminated, that the facts of history, without distortion, may be perpetuated."

We shall quote somewhat copiously from the Hodge paper, to the end of bringing into this study enough of the facts and con-

clusions involved to indicate the really tangible connection which seems to have been established through the history of the Coronado expedition, between the people of "Quivira" and the Aricara Indian, in other words, as tending strongly to show the identity of the inhabitants of the villages called "Quivira" by the Spaniards of that expedition with the Black Pawnees or Wichitas, for one thing, and the identity of the tribes or villages understood by Coronado and his historians of that expedition to have been located immediately to the northward of and in close proximity to "Quivira" and called in those records "Harahey" (Tareque, Parike, Arike), with the Aricaras, for another.

Before making extracts from the Hodge paper, however, it should be stated that the conclusions arrived at by Hodge, Bandelier, Brower and others, after an exhaustive study of the Spanish chronicles of the Coronado expedition, are to the effect that, in whatever direction or directions and to whatever localities that party may have traveled after leaving the "edge of the wilderness" in what was the New Mexico country of later days, they reached and crossed the Arkansas river in southern Kansas, at a point substantially north of Humboldt county and about where that stream takes a northeasterly turn; that they followed its northern bank to the Great Bend, then passed northwardly or northeastwardly to the Kansas river, and found the villages designated in that history as "Quivira" scattered along from the Great Bend on the Arkansas, or in that neighborhood, to the neighborhood of and along the Kansas river in northeastern Kansas; and they reached the Quivira villages about the middle or latter part of July 1541; that they had as assistant guide an Indian named Xabe, or Ysopete, who was reliable and who had insisted that another Indian known as the "Turk" was leading the expedition too far eastward. Those natives being of the tribe of "Harahey," according to their own account. The Turk, having been instrumental in luring the party on to eastward, or rather southeastward of the localities in question by falsely representing that gold and other precious metals in fabulous quantities were possessed by the people towards whom he was guiding them, in consequence of which representations he was dubbed by Coronado, "The Turk," and who was strangled at one of those villages for his perfidy, and after Coronado had discovered in those

localities the absence rather than the presence of wealth of the character indicated; that the "Elliott village site" and various other similar prehistoric Indian remains in Kansas are regarded by those authorities as the habitat of the people of "Quivira," who were visited by Coronado; and that "Harahey" was none other than the province or villages of the Aricaras, or of the strictly Pawnee tribes as largely including the Aricaras. The facts as they are regarded by Brower in his "Quivira" (being Vol. 1 of said series, and published in 1898) are in large part adopted by Hodge, whose paper was probably inspired by reading that of Brower and subsequent correspondence between those eminent investigators.

Hodge says: "On the day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul the Spaniards reached a river which was found to be thirty leagues, or six or seven days' travel, below the first village of Quivira. Ysopete, the native guide, recognized the stream, 'and said that was it' (meaning, evidently, that it was 'Quivira' river). The river was crossed at the point where it was reached, and they went down the stream on the northern side, the direction turning toward the northeast, and after marching three days they found, says Jaramillo, 'some Indians who were going hunting, killing the cows to take the meat to their village, which was about three or four days still farther away from us.' The Indians here met understood the language of Ysopete, and it was here the Turk was 'made an example of.' * * *

"As the distance from the southern bend of the Arkansas northeastward to the town of Great Bend is about eighty miles, or thirty leagues, the distance given by the Relacion del Suceso, it is evident that the southerly bend of the river must have been the point crossed by the Spaniards, and that Great Bend or its vicinity is the site of the first village of the province of Quivira. About midway between, or probably a little more toward the southwest, between Kinsley and Larned, was doubtless where the Spaniards "made an example of" the Turk and the place where the first natives of Quivira were seen.

"The black lands of central Kansas made favorable impression on the Spaniards, for Jaramillo says, 'some satisfaction was experienced here on seeing the good appearance of the earth, and it is certainly such among the cows and from there on.' Coronado

(page 585) also speaks of the lands of the Quivira as being 'fat and black,' as well as 'the best I have ever seen for producing all the products of Spain.'

"Coronado went for twenty-five leagues through the Quivira settlements, according to the Relacion del Suceso (page 585), but as to the direction we are left to surmise that the explorations were continued toward the northeastern, or to where the leader 'obtained an account of what was beyond.'

"From the point on the Arkansas at which the first Quivira Indians were seen, Coronado dispatched 'a letter to the governor of Harahey and Quivira, having understood that he was a Christian from the lost army of Florida, because what the Indian had said of their manner of government and their general character had made us believe this.' As hitherto stated, the Spaniards went on to the first settlement, and, if Jaramillo is correctly interpreted, there were on various streams in Quivira six or seven villages quite a distance apart, among which they traveled for four or five days, 'since it was understood to be uninhabited between one stream and the other.' It would appear from this that Coronado, after leaving the village at or near Great Bend, continued in a northeasterly course, and either followed down the Smoky Hill, or crossed that stream and also the Saline, Solomon, and Republican forks, reaching Kansas river not far from Junction City. That one of these routes was followed seems to be shown by Jaramillo's further statement, after speaking indefinitely of streams with no settlements between, that 'here there was a river, with more water and more inhabitants than the others. Being asked if there was anything beyond,' continues Jaramillo, 'they said that there was nothing more of Quivira, but that there was Harahey, and that it was the same sort of place,' etc.

"As Coronado had evidently received no response to his letter to the 'lord' of Harahey, he sent to summon him, and the lordly chief appeared with about 200 men, 'all naked, with bows, and some sort of things on their heads.' After learning what they could about the province, the Spaniards decided to take their departure for Tiguex [16] and the army; so after strangling the Turk for another attempt at treachery, the force retraced their steps for

[16] A station on the Rio Grande, from which Coronado departed.

two or three days, where they provided themselves with fruit and corn for the return journey. It was at this place, and not at the farthest point reached, according to Jaramillo, that the Spaniards erected the cross and parted company with their faithful guide, Ysopete. This place was probably but a few miles from the present Salina.

"It would appear that Harahey was not explored by Coronado's party, the Spaniards being contented with the visit from the natives of that province. The identification of its people by means of ethnologic data will later be given, but meanwhile it is desirable to present a clue afforded by Jaramillo (page 588) and the author of the Relacion del Suceso (page 576) that Harale, Harahey, etc., or rather its people, were related to those of Quivira. In the accounts cited it is stated that the Turk and Ysopete were both natives of the former province, since there is little doubt that Harahey, Harale, Arae, Arche, Arahei, and Arache are different forms of one name. It has already been shown by Jaramillo that Ysopete was able to make verbal communication with the first Quivira Indians met by Coronado, and that he thus restored their confidence when they exhibited signs of fear at the approach of the Spaniards. It is true that the Relacion del Suceso speaks of Arae and Tareque as villages, but this was a common method among the Spaniards of designating tribes.

"Special interest attaches to the identification of the Harahey and Tareque people, inasmuch as, if they were the Arikara and Pawnee, as has been suggested by Dr. George Bird Grinnell, they were consequently Caddoan, and therefore pertained to the same stock as the Quivira Indians, as we will later see. From the best information obtainable, it is found that the Arikaras are a direct and comparatively recent offshoot from the Pawnees, the traditional reason for their separation being that the Pawnees drove them from the once common settlement on Platte river. 'The exact date of the movement of the Arikaras northward from this region,' says Dunbar, is unknown, 'but we may safely conclude it to have been quite ancient from the fact that their migration up the Missouri river must have been before the occupying of the country along that stream by the powerful Dakota tribe one hundred and fifty years ago. * * * In personal appearance, in tribal organization and government, in many of their so-

cial ways, and in language they [the Arikaras] are unmistakably Pawnee.'

"From this information it would seem that the Arikara were still a part of the Pawnee as early as 1540, and in the absence of more definite knowledge we must regard the suggestion of identification made by Dr. Grinnell as a suggestion only. There seems to be no question, however, that the Pawnees were near neighbors of the Quiviras in the middle of the fifteenth [sixteenth?] century, and were therefore known to the Quivira tribe, but not necessarily by the name which the Pawnees applied to themselves. Now, the Quivira were undoubtedly the Wichitas, as abundant evidence will show. The Wichita name for the Pawnees is Awahi, in which we have a close resemblance to Arahei and Harahey. Indeed, the similarity is so great that I am inclined to regard the terms as identical and to recognize the name of the province of Arahei, Arache, Harahey, etc., as corrupted Spanish forms of the Wichita-Quivira name for the Pawnees, who are still well known to the Pueblo tribes, among whose ancestors the Turk and Ysopete, natives of 'Arahei,' had lived.

"It has been asserted that the inhabitants of the mysterious province of Quivira were the Wichita Indians of Caddoan stock, and in support of this we have mainly the frequent and definite statements of the chroniclers of the expedition in regard to the houses of grass or straw occupied by the natives of Quivira—a variety of structure built and occupied only by Wichita Indians since any of the tribes of the plains have been known. * * *

"Of the language of the natives of Quivira almost nothing is gleaned from the narratives. In addition to their names for outlying provinces (one of which, Arahei, it is believed, has been satisfactorily identified) and the name of the chief of Quivira, 'Tatarrax' (pronounced Ta-ta-rash, a name characteristic of Wichita in sound, although unknown in meaning), only a single word has been handed down to us. This was the word 'acochis,' which, the Turk said, was the Quivira name for gold; but it is extremely improbable if at that time the Indians knew what gold really meant. I am informed by Dr. A. S. Gaschet that the Wichita name for 'metal,' also 'money' (which in most Indian language is termed merely 'metal'), is he-kwi-chis, or ha-kwit-sis, which is practically identical with acochis.

"Although the Wichitas have for a long period inhabited a section southward of the area here identified as that of Quivira, there is substantial traditionary as well as documentary evidence that at an early period the tribe inhabited a territory northward of that in which they have been known to reside for several generations. The name Wichita, it is said, is derived from the Osage language and means 'moving about,' having reference to the shifting of their settlements from place to place. It must not be assumed, however, that the Wichitas were nomads in the true sense of the term, for they raised corn and other crops and gained the remainder of their subsistence by hunting the buffalo." Here follows a reference by Hodge to and quotations from Dunbar relative to the traditions of the three Pawnee bands to the effect that they came to the Platte from the south, which relations of Dunbar are quoted in connection with Dunbar's account of the Pawnees, as incorporated into this paper, and then resumes the narrative as follows:

"Further light on the traditional habitat of the Wichitas is given by Dr. Grinnell, who refers to the statements of a Pawnee Indian who has lived for seven seasons among the Wichitas, to the effect that the latter tribe and the Tonkaways of Texas lived together for a time, but on account of the man-eating propensities of the latter the Wichitas drove them off south and soon afterward moved up across the Arkansas river and into southern Kansas, since which time the Wichitas and Tonkaways have never lived together. Dr. Grinnell states also that the Wichitas knew nothing of the Arikaras until recently, and were greatly surprised to learn that far to the north there was another tribe which spoke their language. This would seem to be further indication that the Arikaras separated from the Pawnees after the Wichitas migrated southward, and subsequent to the middle of the sixteenth century, as there is no reasonable doubt that Quivira was the home of the Wichitas in Coronado's time. This fact fixes an approximate date for the separation of the Wichitas from the Pawnees, an event noted by the oldest traditions of migration current among the latter tribe.

"As late as 1742 it was reported [citing Margry, Decouvertes, VI, p. 474] that Fabry 'saw come to his camp a party of thirty-five Osages, who were going to move against the Mentos, whom

these savages also called Pawnees, who were formerly on the Arkansas river, above its forks and twenty-five leagues below the Black Pawnees [Wichitas], whence they withdrew to the River Saint Andre [Canadian], where one still sees their old village, and four or five years ago [they withdrew to] near the Kadodakious [Caddos], where they are at the present time.' This locality on the Arkansas was considerably below the Great Bend; yet it indicates that, at the time noted, the Wichitas were above some of the Pawnees at least. * * *

"Sufficient data have been given to show that the Quivira-Wichitas shifted their settlements from time to time as necessity demanded, and that more than one time their settlements were on and north of the Arkansas river, where their territory bordered on that of the Pawnees. Here they were doubtless found by Coronado in the summer of 1541. The statements by the narrators that Quivira was in latitude 40° should not surprise us. It has already been shown that the latitude of Cibola was overestimated two degrees by the Spaniards. Espejo in 1583 made a similar error in establishing the latitude of 'Quires' or Keres, which he placed at 37° 30', and Niza, as already pointed out, was three and one half degree too far north in his estimate of the latitude of the port 'Port of Chichilticalli' at the head of the Gulf of California. Ignoring Niza, whose estimate was merely guesswork, as he did not visit the gulf, we find that the common error in determining latitude in the sixteenth century was about two degrees, and that instead of being in the fortieth degree, Quivira more likely was not much farther north than latitude 38°, which is almost precisely the latitude of the first Quivira settlements seen as here determined, thus according with Coronado's statement that 'where I reached it it is in the fortieth degree.' The Relacion del Suceso makes a curious error in its statement of latitude, 'Quivira is in the fortieth degree and the river in the thirty-sixth,' it says (page 578). But how could the river (meaning, of course, Quivira river, or the St. Peter and St. Paul river of Jaramillo) have been in latitude 36° when, according to the previous assertion of the author of the Relacion quoted, the 'settlement' of Quivira was only thirty leagues from where the river was first seen? The latitude given was manifestly the result of a slip of the pen.

"Nothing is found in the narratives to show positively that either Coronado or any member of his force went beyond the boundaries of the present Kansas during their stay of twenty-five days in the province of Quivira, but that the leader did send 'captains and men in many directions' to find whether there was anything in the country that could prove of service to the king, is well known. These subordinate expeditions, however, did not find the gold of which they were in quest, only 'little villages, and in many of these they do not plant anything and do not have any houses except of sticks and skins, and they wander around with the cows.'

"Castanedo, who did not accompany Coronado to Quivira, but returned to Tiguez with the army, intimates that 'according to the reliable accounts that were obtained,' the Missouri was reached, since he says that the river of Espiritu Santo (the Mississippi-Missouri), which De Soto discovered, flows through a country called Arache (Arahei or Harahey), but the sources were not visited, thus indicating that the river may have been seen by one of the numerous parties that Coronado dispatched in various directions.

"Regarding the name Quivira there is not much to offer. After what has been shown, one would expect to find the origin of the term in the native name of the Wichitas. Their tribal designation, according to different authorities, is Ki-di-ku-rus or Ki-ri-ku-rus, and Ki-ri-ki-rish or Ki-ti-ki-ish; but these forms are widely different from Quivira, only the first syllable being the same. The name of a Wichita clan or division is Ki-ri-ec-ki-tsu, but this bears no closer similarity to Quivira than does the native name of the tribe. The closest resemblance is found in the form 'Quirasquiras,' used by La Harpe in 1719, as synonymous with 'Toayas' (Tawehash) and 'Ousita' (the French form of Wichita). As 'Quirasquiras' is doubtless a corrupted form of Kirikirish, it is not impossible that, after all, 'Quivira' may have had its origin in the name by which the Wichitas designate their own tribe. Dr. Shea's suggestion that the name may have had its origin in the Arabic term quebir, 'great,' having been communicated to the Spaniards of Mexico by Estevan, the negro companion of Cabaza de Vaca, and later of Niza, cannot be given much weight. The name Quivira was not known to Coronado before he reached the

present New Mexico, and the reports of Vaca and Niza are perfectly silent in regard to it." (Brower's Harahey, pp. 67-73.)

We will now quote somewhat from a few of the notes subjoined to the Hodge paper.

Referring to the meaning of the words "Harahey" and "Tareque" (page 68), a note (presumably by Brower) says: "Dr. Grinnell suggests that the names may be derived from the Pani or Pawnee name Parike, which means a 'horn', the term by which the Pawnees call themselves, and Arike (+ ra= 'horns' or 'horned'), from which the Arikaras derive their name. As Dr. Grinnell also states, the substitution of a T for a P would not have been an unusual mistake either of the Spaniards who heard the name or of the copyist. In a personal letter this eminent authority informs me that the Pawnees have a definite tradition that they received a visit from the Spaniards long before they knew anything of the whites from the east."

As further explanatory of the word "Awahi," found on page 69 of Hodge's paper in Brower's "Harahey," we find the following note:

"Gatchet, Wichita and Caddo MS., 1884. The same name is applied to the Pawnees by the cognate Caddos, and in recent times was adopted as a designation for the Pawnees, also by the Tonkawas. La Harpe (1719), in Margry, Dec. VI, p. 310, says: 'By the Missouri river it is possible to reach the Panimahas [Skidi division of the Pawnee], whom other nations call Ahuaches.'"

Touching the fact of the ancient separation of the Wichitas from the Pawnees, where referred to by Hodge at page 71 of Brower, this note is found: "See Grinnell, op. cit., p. 226: 'The Wichitas accompanied them [the Pawnees] on their journey [from the southward to the Republican and Platte rivers], but turned aside when they had reached southern Kansas, and went south again. All the traditions agree that up to the date of the journey which brought the Pawnees to their homes on the Solomon, Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, the Wichitas were considered a part of the Pawnee tribe.' After going southward (evidently after the middle of the sixteenth century), the two tribes lost sight of each other."

The most definite information found in the Hodge paper as to where on the route of the Coronado expedition the "Turk" was

found, though not as to where he belonged, is met at page 59, from which we quote:

"The Spaniards had reached the last pueblo on the way across to the buffalo plains after having visited every pueblo Indian province in what is now New Mexico and Arizona. But the most promising of all the provinces, however, was yet to be seen, for the 'Turk,' a captive or 'slave' from a village called 'Harale', some 300 leagues eastward from Pecos river, toward 'Florida,' gave such glowing accounts of the wealth of the regions beyond, that, had they been true, would have been the richest thing that had been found in the Indies.'" And Hodge adds in the same connection that "the 'Turk' was evidently bent on losing the Spaniards on the plains by guiding the army in a roundabout way, and that he actually succeeded, there can be no doubt." This point is doubly significant as showing not only that the Coronado expedition was in fact taken by the "Turk" far to the eastward and probably towards "Florida" by design in order to keep them out of the country of his tribe of "Harahey," but also that what that native may have said to Coronado indicating that his tribal village was "300 leagues eastward" and "towards Florida" could not be taken seriously in view of his evident treachery as a guide.

Subjoined to that part of Hodge's paper referring to the fact that the Coronado accounts "stated that the Turk and Ysopete were both natives of the former province," meaning "Harale, Harahey, etc.," is this note:

"Relacion del Suceso (p. 576); 'The Indian who gave the news [of Quivira] and the account came from a village called Harale, 300 leagues east of this river' (the Cicuye). Jaramillo (p. 588): 'The Indian who guided us from here was the one that had given us the news about Quivira and Arache (or Arahei) and about its being a very rich country with much gold and other things, and he and the other one were from that country I mentioned, to which we were going, and we found these two Indians in the flat-roof villages."

The "flat-roof villages" refers of course to the pueblos of the now Arizona country, where the Coronado expedition came across these two natives.

Brower appends an editorial note at the end of the Hodge paper, from which we quote: "The Wichita village, after Catlin,

Ree Village site at Buffalo Pasture near Pierre, abandoned 1797

is referred to (North American Indians, Vol. II, page 70) as a 'Pawnee village on the bank of the Red river * * * containing some five or six hundred wigwams, all made of long prairie grass, thatched over poles which are fastened in the ground and bent in at the top; giving to them, in distance, the appearance of straw beehives.'

"That was the view at the great Elliott village site on McDowell creek in 1541. In a letter Mr. Hodge says: '* * * Pawnee Picts is the name given, by the French. They were the 'Tattooed Pawnees' as distinguished from the Pawnee proper. The latter used earthen lodges only, not grass lodges, which were common only to the Wichita, Waco, and Tawakoni.'

"In other words, the Wichita of the present time were known as the Pawnee Picts at an earlier period." (Id pp. 73-4.)

We will now quote, in almost its entirety, the "Conclusion," written by J. V. Brower in his "Harahey," concerning the location of Quivira and its supposed close neighbor, the Harahey of the Pawnees, as showing his apparent conviction that those subjects of endless fable in the lore of Spanish exploration are now proven, by most recent investigation, to be located in central or central-eastern Kansas, or northeastern Kansas; that the Quiviras (Wichitas) were located south of the Pawnees, and that their arts were of an inferior character as shown by the more artistic and delicate workmanship, and the far greater variety of the potshards, war utensils, etc., found in what he believes were the Pawnee villages of Coronado's time, when compared with the arrow-heads, tomahawks, etc., of the Wichitas:

"The land of Kansas, long before the name was ever written or heard of, was discovered by Francisco Vásquez Coronado, about the 25th or 26th day of June, 1541, at a point on its southern border not farther east than the present county of Comanche, while under the guidance of Ysopete, an honest Indian, and with the assistance of a compass needle pointing about 3° west of due north. He was accompanied by Captain Jaramillo and twenty-eight or thirty men, while in search of a limited province widely known among the tribes of the plains as Quivira.

"On the 29th day of June they reached and crossed a broad, rather shallow river, which has been designated by three well understood names: the River of Saints Peter and Paul, for honor

to the day upon which it was discovered; Quivira river, because near its Great Bend the Indian settlements of that ancient province were first encoutered; Arkansas river, perpetuating the name of Indians of the bended bow, in the region about its lower course.

"When Coronado crossed the river, his Indian guide recognized the place, when they met a small party of Indians hunting buffalo, perhaps not far from the mouth of Pawnee Fork. Quite evidently, as has been shown by Mr. Hodge, this was the place where the 'Turk' was strangled, undoubtedly within the limits of the present Pawnee county. Proceeding down the river northeast, the first Indian village was observed about eighty miles from the point where, on the 29th of June, the river had been crossed. There is an ancient village site on the old Santa Fe trail not more than one-half mile northeast from the mouth of Walnut creek, in a rich agricultural region, and it is not far east from there that the old trail diverges away from Arkansas river toward Cow creek, where at quite a distance is another ancient village site, near Lyons, about which the lands are rich agricultural properties. At another considerable distance the Udden village site on Paint creek is located not far south of the Smoky hills, which appear like a low range of mountains in the distance. These great hills characterize the region, and they influence the course and suggest the name of its principal stream.

"Now it is a fact well worthy very careful consideration that the ancient village sites in this locality are widely separated from each other, are unimportant, and there are no indications that any considerable number of Indians occupied them. Hence, such a locality could not be fairly selected as indicating any substantial characteristics equaling all the Spanish descriptions of Quivira. It is necessary to go farther beyond and discover a place, if such exists, where resided a greater number of people along small streams without much water, near springs, and a larger river not far beyond, in a productive region bearing fruit, nuts, and berries of various kinds.

"Coming to the end of a class of village sites where a numerous people used no cooking utensils, built no earthen huts, used no canoes, were without art, enlightenment, or pride, only barbarians of the lowest order, uncultured and uncivilized, it is then

necessary to discover immediately near, another class of village sites identified by larger numbers of earthen huts gone into decay, where a numerous population in permanent villages maintained habitations and practiced arts to an extent which unqualifiedly characterized them as a distinctly different class of men, incomparable with the barbarians resident at the adjoining province to the westward.

"These exact discoveries have been accomplished in Kansas.

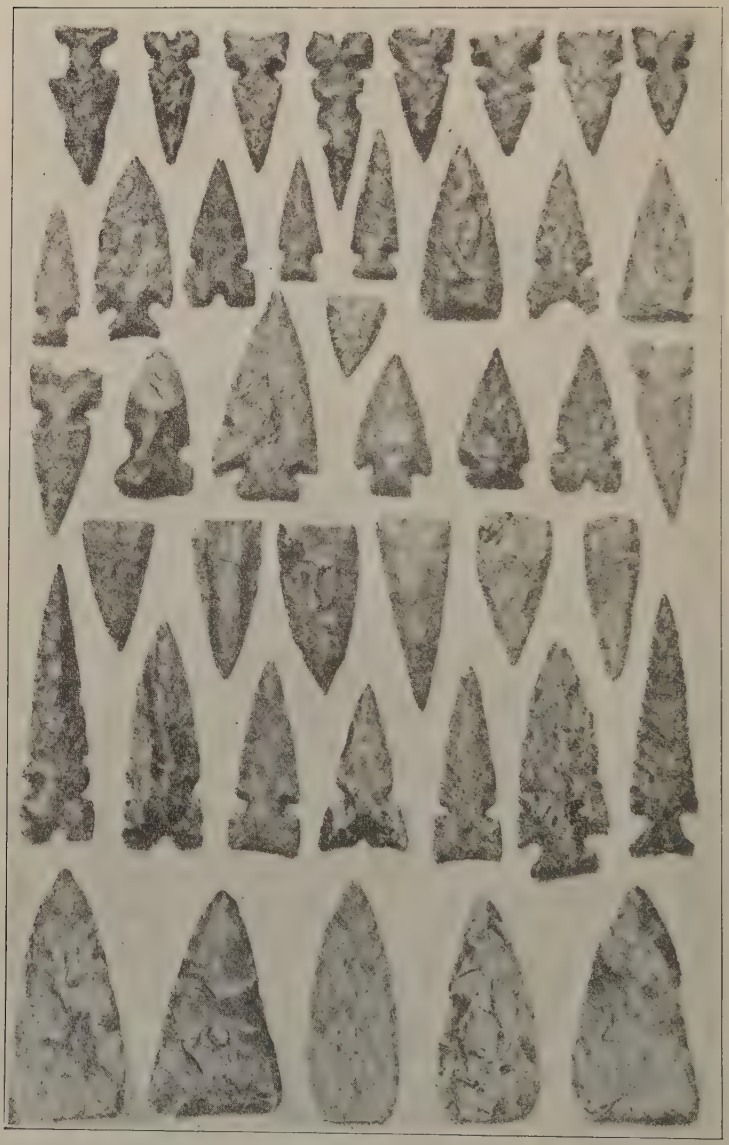
"No word of criticism or shadow of doubt can change, modify, or silence the force of ascertained facts.

"It is therefore with the greatest possible confidence, yielding to my associates the credit amply their reward, that the results of these studies, complicated by the lapse of time and the accumulated dust of departed ages, are now briefly stated in closing paragraphs.

"Indications point with almost an absolute and unerring certainty that the Wichita Indians, living in straw-hut villages, when first heard of in 1541, were known as the Quivira nation, and that their habitat was south of Kansas river, from McDowell creek southwestward, and that their largest and most important village was at the Elliott village site, in the region of the Kansas chert beds. They were involved in trouble at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and fled to Santa Fe, seeking aid from the Spaniards, and their later habitat was southward and southwestward from the location where they were first discovered. There are some indications that they hastily evacuated their villages at Quivira, whence they abandoned large quantities of weapons and implements.

"The Pawnees, occupying earthen huts and moulding large numbers of clay vessels, were, in 1541, resident at numerous villages along the Kansas and Big Blue rivers and at Mill creek valley, and they were then known as the Guas of the province of Harahey. At an unknown date they retired from the chert beds up the Republican river. There are convincing indications that the Guas Indians penetrated to many parts of central Kansas, and that their occupancy there dates from a very ancient period.

"Coronado, arriving at or near Great Bend, Kansas, the first week in July, 1541, in my opinion thence followed his guides from creek to creek and from village to village (it being understood



Arrows of the Southern Pawnees, from Collection of Jacob V. Brown

that they were quite a distance apart), direct to the springs at Reckon Branch and to the Wichita villages at the chert beds in Geary county, where he received a visit from 200 Pawnees, with their hair dressed at the top of their heads. He heard of, and his troops probably saw, the Kansas river and about twenty-five villages of straw-huts. He retired westward three or four days' march to the settlements up Smoky Hill river, where corn and fruit were prepared for the return journey and a cross of wood erected. While thus engaged some of his followers may have penetrated to Big creek in Ellis county, said by Mr. Richey to be the site of a Spanish flag cut on stone. He was then guided by Indians along a trail by a shorter return route, southwest to his army in the valley of the Rio Grande. It would seem reasonable to presume that Coronado and his followers were the first Europeans to traverse the Santa Fe trail, since, on their return journey, they were guided along an overland Indian route of travel apparently unknown to Vaca. It would appear that the cross of wood was erected westwardly from Reckon springs several days' march, and that Friar Padilla met his death on the prairie not a great distance from the Smoky hills." (Id. pp. 127-9.)

Under the head "Objects of Spanish Origin," in "Harahey," Brower has collected various evidences of the finding of numerous equipments of a military character of undoubted Spanish origin in Kansas and southern Nebraska. And while he is careful to keep in mind the known expedition of De Soto up the Mississippi, and of later excursions inland by Spaniards from the southwest towards the Missouri river and who "may have penetrated to localities more remote than did Coronado," he suggests that where De Soto, or his successor in military power at his death, Moscoso, went after crossing the Mississippi is shrouded in doubt; and concludes that circumstances of that character naturally create some doubt "as to the exact identity of any particular object of Spanish origin which has been or which may be found north of Texas, about the region of the Great Plains, in Kansas or elsewhere."

He then refers to the fact, well authenticated, that "there had been deposited with the state historical society at Lincoln, Nebraska, by the Hon. J. Sterling Morton, a pair of Bagdad stirrups

of Spanish origin," the depositor of which objects, in a letter to Brower dated February 28, 1898, says:

"The Bagdad stirrups about which you write were exhumed on the bank of the Republican river in the state of Nebraska. * * * The time of this exhumation was in the spring of 1872;" and inclosing a drawing of the stirrups. (See cut of the stirrups in "Harahey," p. 76.)

Brower further states: "Near the Elliott village site, situated on McDowell creek, in Geary county, Kansas, there was exhumed a few years ago, at an old Indian grave, a pair of silver buckles. These buckles were recovered by a young man living in the neighborhood, and in a conversation with the writer, he described the locality of the old grave at the summit of the hill, and the particulars of the exhumation." (Id. p. 76.) He conservatively adds: "Similar to all other like objects of supposed Spanish origin, which have been found in that region of country, the identity of these buckles is in doubt, and, notwithstanding the fact that they were recovered within the limits of the identified province of Quivira, by a reputable resident, the circumstance is not plausibly urged as a proof, for no one can surely define them as indisputable proof."

Brower proceeds: "Professor J. A. Udden of Bethany college, McPherson county, Kansas, discovered, in 1881, while exploring the so-called Paint Creek mounds at the Udden village site, an object made of steel rings or links, which he has designated as a 'piece of chain mail.'" And an engraving of this very interesting relic is found at page 77 of "Harahey." Brower further says of it: "The object illustrated was lost or stolen some years since. On the back of the card photograph is printed the following inscription: 'The piece of chain mail of which there is a slightly enlarged photograph on this card, was taken from a group of mounds in McPherson county, Kansas, in 1884. These mounds have been quite thoroughly explored by Bethany college, and other contents indicate that they were constructed more recently than the mounds of the Ohio valley. The relic is made of hard steel and is so much rusted as to render it one solid piece. It is probably of Spanish origin. (Signed) J. A. Udden, Lindsburg, Kan., March 3, 1888."

The old inscription on a rock in Kansas is thus referred to by Brower:

"At a spring near the summit of a hill on Gypsum creek, above Roxbury, Kansas, near the Tarnstrom village site, is an old and weathered inscription upon a rock, said to be of Spanish origin. I did not have an opportunity to examine the inscription. Now comes Mr. W. E. Richey of Harveyville, Kansas, an intelligent gentleman of ability and learning, with information of especial interest. Under date of January 2, 1899, Mr. Richey wrote: 'I had read that Colonal Phillips and a companion had seen the Spanish flag cut on stone in Kansas. I asked Colonel Phillips about it myself, to be sure of it. He said it was a fact; that, although the elements had somewhat worn the rock, the flag was plainly visible, and that it was on a rock on Big creek, in Ellis county. Colonel Phillips commanded a Kansas regiment, was in congress for many years from this state, and being entirely trustworthy, you can rely on this as an established fact. Jaramillo says, '* * * We turned back, it may have been two or three days, where we provided ourselves with picked fruit and dried corn for our return. The general raised a cross at this place, at the foot of which he made some letters with a chisel. * * * My conclusion is that when Coronado left the villages, after twenty-five days, he went up Smoky Hill river as far as Big creek to or near the point where the flag was cut as described, and thence returned via the Great Bend and the old Santa Fe trail, to Mexico.'" (Id. pp. 77-8.)

Brower instances another case of discovery of the handiwork of civilized man in some ancient remains in Kansas, as follows:

"Mr. W. J. Griffing, exploring the ancient burial places at Blue river valley, discovered, near the mouth of Cannahan creek, in Pottawattamie county, 'some old-fashioned glass beads, blue and white in color, and a short coil of brass wire, showing contact with whites.' These beads were in immediate position with calcined human remains and flint implements, at the extreme lowest portion of the mound. Dr. H. A. Brons of Philadelphia, formerly engaged in active paleontological field work and research, in Kansas, under the late Professor B. F. Mudge, secured at some point in the western portion of Kansas, a number of very old and rudely made porcelain beads, of a dull brown color, but they have not

been identified with any certainty. They are, however, incomparable with any of the old glass beads used for Indian ornamentation." (Id. p. 78.)

He then concludes: "It will be strange indeed if all these representations, carefully formulated on the best obtainable evidence, and as carefully considered, shall prove abortive. Several of the discoveries mentioned are important, and, as evidence of Coronado's presence in Kansas, they are probably as conclusive as will ever be found." (Id.)

Upon the subject of the arts of the Quiviras in comparison with those of the "Harahey" or Pawnee tribes, Brower is emphatic in his assertions to the effect that the difference between the character of the chert and other knives, arrow-heads, tomahawks, etc., of the Quiviras or Wichitas and that of the Pawnees, is so marked as to leave no room for doubt in favor of the superiority of the Pawnees. He says of the alleged Quivira handiwork:

"The Quivira village sites were traced by the supply of rude tomahawks and knives, and the absence of the slightest particle of proof that any clay vessel was made or used, or that the burial of the dead was in ashes, under rocks covered with earth, or that a single one of the villages was at navigable water, or that any earthen huts were constructed, or that the form of chert implements and the style of chipping and flaking was in any important particular comparable with the implements of Harahey, constituted the basis upon which classified village sites were identified." (Id. p. 94.)

As illustrative of the Wichita fragments, etc., found in Kansas, and in connection with this comparative study of the Pawnee civilization, the following is quoted from "Harahey," at page 96:

"As the Elliott site is the largest and principal village site in the entire region explored, particular attention was extended toward every detail employed in a very careful and systematic examination.

"Mr. L. R. Elliott and John, Ernst, and Otto Garenson have valuably aided, in numerous ways, the explorations of this important site.

"It is one mile in length, extends to three cultivated farms, and is situated upon Sec. 1, T. 12 S., R. 7 E., Geary county, Kansas.

"About 4,000 chipped implements, of rude outlines and various forms, have been gathered at this site, and a fair estimate of the quantity of coarse chert spalls scattered over the fields would reasonably fix the number at more than 50,000. Quivira tomahawks, knives, drills, spear-heads, arrow-points, blades, hammerstones, metates, pemmicon-pounders, marrow-extractors, rude scrapers, and rude leaf-shaped implements constitute the principal portion of the collections recovered at this site.

"Mrs. Margaret Short found there a grooved catlinite hammer, and Mr. Garenson two or three grooved hammers and one grooved club-head of limestone. All the other implements of chert found there were chipped. Not a single implement of stone was ground.

"With Mr. Elliott's assistance, I observed about 250 hammerstones made of chert cores, chipped on the sides and battered on the edges. Presumably these were used to break animal bones, crack nuts, pound pemmicon, and for general work about the village.

"All of the chipped implements indicate a low stage of culture; only a rude art.

"It is a significant fact that not a clay vessel, or the shards of one, or a grooved stone axe, or a ground celt, a cosmic symbol or a ceremonial stone, a pictograph or a boulder outline figure, a perforated ornament or a catlinite pipe have been observed at or near the Elliott village site.

"With Mr. Elliott's assistance, I have been unable to satisfactorily ascertain correctly the facts relating to the burial of the dead. There are a few low mounds of earth along the bluffs, but there are no remains therein, no rock covers the deposit, and no ashes, bones, ornaments, or beads can be found.

"The valley lands at the Elliott village site are very rich agricultural properties, and plums, grapes, blackwalnuts, and acorns abound in a natural abundance. The chert deposits are inexhaustible and of an excellent quality."

After referring to other Wichita village sites in the same vicinity, as being of the same class as that of the Elliott site, Brower says:

"This brought the explorations to a sudden ending of village sites where the Quivira implements were made and used, and

Arrows and Bead of Clam Shell, from Collection of Mrs. M. A. Lange, Pierre. Found near Pierre

every possible care has been exercised to correctly ascertain the domestic habits of the people who maintained these upland villages at the Kansas chert beds. No evidences whatever have been found at the Elliott village site indicating the use of cooking vessels or the construction of earthen huts, and what is true of that site applies with equal force to the group of sites extending southwestward to the surface indications of decomposing yellowish chert, west of Lyons creek, and at all of them the Quivira tomahawk and chert knife were made and used to the exclusion of that class of chipped implements associated with clay vessels and earthen huts in Kansas valley. The fact that scattering specimens of the Quivira tomahawk and chert knife have been found at certain points in Mill Creek valley where the decayed and abandoned earthen huts of Harahey are still visible as artificially constructed heaps of earth, can best be understood and comprehended by the close proximity to the Elliott village site, possible traffic between tribes, or the results of conquest." (Id. p. 97.)

Proceeding to the consideration of Harahey, in this connection, Brower says:

"Arriving at the end of Quivira, its identity must be corroborated by the existence of another class of ancient habitations precipitated into decay, next and immediately beyond, either north, northeast, or east of the last village site of the Quivira settlements, computing from Great Bend to McDowell creek.

"This corroboration is an absolute necessity, if the historic statements of Coronado and of Captain Jaramillo are to be interpreted literally; and, adopting that view, the village sites of the Guas Indians, of the province of Harahey, must necessarily be discovered within a very short distance beyond the end of Quivira at the utmost bivouac of the Spanish cavalry.

"There, at the end of Quivira, overlooking the picturesque valley of Kansas river, we descended from the village sites of the upland nomads, where the gut of the buffalo full of blood, worn like a necklace, not for ornament but for nourishment, satisfied the hunger and quenched the thirst of the wild tribe whose chert implements and weapons show no higher civilization, a cruder art than formerly existed at the village sites of the earliest identified man in the basin of the Mississippi.

"In a semi-circle encompassing the northeastern limit of the province of Quivira, from the head of Mill creek to Blue River valley and the mouths of Lyons creek, there lived and prospered an ancient people, on both sides of Kansas river, who were experts in the art of making and using clay vessels, and at the sites of more than eighty old villages and camping grounds occupied by those people most frequently located at or near navigable waters, innumerable thousands of potshards, and occasionally a whole clay vessel, have been found and examined.

"Co-extensive with these evidences of ancient culture and promiscously intermingled therewith, chert arrow-points, serrated spearheads, scrapers, catlinite pipes, grooved axes and hammers, metates, peculiar tomahawks (see plate VI), perforated ornaments, leaf-shaped blades, unique Harahey knives (see plate VII), arrowshaft grinders, various beads, cores, and agricultural implements were found in abundance, and an ample collection has been gathered and brought to St. Paul to facilitate and simplify these complicated studies and determinations.

"The principal portion of the implements were made of Kansas chert; some are of Sioux quartzite, a few of jasper, an occasional bone knife or implement has been found, and catlinite for pipes was in common use.

"As a general rule, the chipping and flaking shown upon the face of very many of the chert implements, indicate undeniably the existence of a more advanced stage of culture, a higher art, than could have possibly existed at the neighboring village sites on the uplands of Quivira, as determined by a critical comparison of the different classes of chert implements found at each of these ancient provinces (see collection at national museum, Washington, D. C., in charge of Dr. Thomas Wilson, curator, etc., consisting of a series of Quivira and Harahey implements, separately catalogued).

"Stone implements, clay vessels, ornaments, and other indications, including the location of the neighboring village sites on the opposite sides of Kansas and Big Blue rivers, have been found in such position along those streams that it is fairly presumable canoes were in common use. I might add that both rivers mentioned carry volumes of water with a swiftness of currents sufficient to make fording places rare and dangerous, unless perhaps

in times of drought, and after the waters of Republican, Smoky Hill, and Big Blue rivers are united in the Kansas river, the stream thence assumes the character of a formidable water course, convincingly a larger river beyond the creeks which issue from the land of Quivira. * * * Adopting as a reasonable conclusion that there can be no longer any doubt that the village sites of Quivira are identified, it is not difficult to ascertain where the settlements of Harahey began, but as to where they ended is a question which I do not attempt to solve, for the reason that the old village sites where pottery and earthen huts were in common use extend up the Republican, Smoky Hill, and Blue rivers, and down the Kansas, indiscriminately, distinguished by similar characteristics, and when it is contemplated that Coronado passed through villages, while traversing Quivira, at which different languages were spoken, it seems reasonable and probable that he must have come in contact, at such places as the Udden village where clay vessels and earthen huts were in common use, with a people identifiable as of the same linguistic stock as the Guas Indians (Pawnes) of Harahey, separated, however, by such a distance that they would necessarily owe allegiance to a local tribal compact under similar auspices. Hence I commence, conservatively, the description of Harahey at the mouth of Lyons creek, Geary county, where the Henderson, Jones, Morris, and Manning villages were, apparently, neighboring settlements, distinctly separate by characteristics, art, and custom from the Quivira villages at or near Reckon branch.

"Captain Robert Henderson, in Volume I of this series ['Quivira'], has amply described the discoveries, at Logan grove, of prepared clay, potshards, chert implements, tumuli, and remains of the dead, identified as of ancient origin. I explored the region, secured a considerable collection of bone, stone, chert, and clay objects, but failed to find anywhere about the mouths of Lyons creek, at any of the village sites there situated, a single specimen comparable with the Quivira knife or tomahawk, in form or rude chipping. Nevertheless the unique and peculiar Harahey knife, places of burial covered with stones and earth, and hundreds of potshards were observed to such an extent that there is no doubt whatever concerning the identity of these distinguishing evidences which characterize the people who made

From Collection of Chas. E. DeLand

and used them as a race of men exercising a higher culture, a finer art, than the inhabitants of the prairie region above the valley south from the mouth of Lyons creek.

"The village sites, the pottery, and the tumuli observed above the mouth of Republican river, by Mr. Griffing and others, indicate that the same conditions characterize that locality, but whether or not the Harahey villages extended up that stream a considerable distance can only be determined by continued observations supplementary to those of Mr. Griffing and Professor Mudge.

"Opposite Fort Riley there is a large tract of bottom lands several miles in length, and Kansas river flows along the north side of those flats, which could not have been a safe place for an Indian village in stormy seasons, but down the valley, at and near the mouth of Clark creek, there are two village sites, one of which is situated at the lower termination of Humboldt valley, identified as a settlement of Harahey. At this site was found a cache, the contents being a clay vessel half filled with chert arrow-points, but they were carelessly destroyed.

"I joined Mr. L. R. Elliott in an archeological examination of the locality near the mouth of McDowell creek. We discovered two village sites there, at one of which is situated the debris of an ancient kiln. The mounds of this region were observed by Mr. Griffing, in a group on a high bluff overlooking Kansas valley, similarly to the group he explored on the bluff above Spring Branch village site opposite the mouth of Big Blue river, in Riley county, which is immediately below Blue Mont, a rugged elevation where was observed and explored the largest mound of the region.

"A distinguishing characteristic of the Harahey people was the preparation of bird-bone and shell beads, quantities of which have been recovered from the ashes beneath explored mounds, in contact with the remains of the dead. Nearly all of the bone beads were decorated; some of them show the action of fire similar to the calcined human bones in contact with them. The shell beads were invariably made by perforating the valves of clams. Another ornament was made in the form of a bird, from catlinite, which material was also freely used for pipes. Metates were made and used, and the upper or grinding stone has been quite

commonly found, as have also arrowshaft grinders, so-called, made of sandstone. One tallow-stone was observed with a deep-seated perforation on the convex extremity. The exquisitely chipped and serrated arrowpoints of Kansas chert with from one to seven notches, in some instances triangular, and the concavo-convex scrapers, always contemporaneous with them as a necessary implement in preparing and mounting bows and arrows, are so very numerous at the village sites of Harahey, that it is impossible not to intelligently consider the statement made by Captain Jaramillo when he said: 'The general sent to summon the lord of those parts and the other Indians who they said resided in Harahey, and he came with about 200 men, all naked, with bows.' (Citing Brower's "Memoirs," in "Quivira," p. xxiv.)

"The unique and peculiar Harahey knife, neither oval nor leaf-shaped, but flat and generally with four beveled cutting blades, and the Harahey chert tomahawk, neither battered, ground, nor grooved, but chipped and hafted, form a distinguishing feature of the Harahey settlements. A convincing fact, leading to the expressed determination that there were two nations of men resident at the Kansas chert beds, is developed in the unsuccessful endeavor to discover a Quivira tomahawk or knife on the north side of the Kansas valley. They were never made or used there, but on the south side of Kansas valley, at the upland village sites of Quivira, large numbers of them have been found, while, on the other hand, the classified chert objects so numerously made and used on the north side of the valley, are absolutely distinct in form, as may be readily noticed by a study of the different forms illustrated.

"I was so impressed by the developments, of unusual interest, indicating the existence of two stages of ancient culture near the Kansas chert beds, that a series of the chipped implements of each nation was submitted for inspection to the authorities of the United States national museum at Washington. Dr. Thomas Wilson has replied quite fully, and that portion of his last communication which relates particularly to the Quivira and Harahey implements is available to indicate some of the difficulties encountered:" (Here follows the communication referred to, dated February 3, 1899, signed "Thomas Wilson, curator, division of prehistoric archeology," and containing the following:)

"'I do not know what your discoveries of new implements and different stages of culture in the same neighborhood is going to develop, but it is surely remarkable and opens up a new vista which should be pusued and explored to the very end. I conclude that you are the only individual qualified to make this investigation, and I think the responsibility of pursuing it will rest with you.'

"Eminent archologists, appealed to for assistance and advice in the preparation of these papers, are unable to definitely conclude new questions which have arisen during the continuance of these explorations in Kansas, and the fact that some of the rude implements found there indicate no higher culture than existed probably 50,000 years ago in the Somme valley, France, places a responsibility upon me which I have been cautious to assume, on account of the wide diversity of opinions in archelogic matters relating particularly to American anthropology." (Id. pp. 99-110.)

Brower now comes to the point of a comparison of the arrowpoints found in "Harahey" village sites, with those found in the Upper Missouri valley in South Dakota and North Dakota:

"I am constrained to add at this time a reference to results distinguishing a comparison of the beautifully chipped small arrowpoints found in the region of Kansas valley with identical forms collected at and above Fort Pierre, along the Missouri river, the ancient habitat of the Arikaras, and observations of his excellency John Lind, governor of Minnesota, in 1880, by Mr. Edmond Louis De Lestry, opposite the mouth of Grand river, and by Dr. D. W. Robinson, at the city of Pierre, South Dakota, have been available. Exquisite points found at the early Arikara region on the Missouri are the same in form as those observed in Riley county, Kansas, where Wild Cat valley has been explored as far as the Romig village site, and the Blue River valley to the Nudson village site.

"Mr. A. O. Hollingsworth gathered a fine collection of implements at and above Stockdale, in Blue River valley, which has been available for illustration. The concavo-convex Harahey chert scraper, quite extraordinary quantities of which have been discovered by Mr. Hollingsworth, Mr. Griffing, and Mr. C. W. Kimball, are dissimilar to the rude and bulky Quivira scraper. Mr. Kimball found so many of the Harahey scrapers near one of

the decayed earthen lodges at the Griffing village site on Wild Cat creek, that he called the place a tanyard. It was a workshop where perhaps thousands of chert implements were made near the bank of the creek.

"Mr. Hollingsworth explored an ancient place of burial at the crest of the bluffs overlooking the Nudson village site. When, on March 31, 1898, with Mr. Elliott, this interesting tumulus was re-examined, and a cross section sketch of it was made, the ashes, calcined and natural human bones and teeth seemed to indicate that it was a place of ancient sacrifice, where the remains of the distinguished dead were deposited with the ashes of subjects submitted or offered, as a religious tribal custom at an elevation overlooking the river and valley.

"Mr. Griffing has expressed the opinion that these indications may best be described as the result of ceremonial cremation, but the remains, beads, deposits, and numerous human teeth disinterred from the Harahey mounds, show plainly that only a portion of them were subjected to the action of fire, and the entire accumulation of each place of interment, rounded over similar to an ash heap, on the original surface, was covered with rock and earth; an imperishable monument, withstanding the ravages of time. * * *

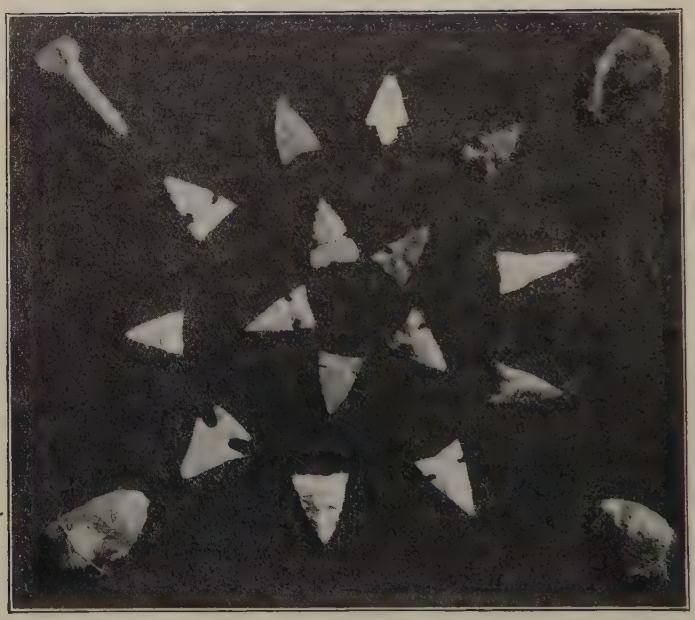
"There is some differences in form between a peculiar triangular point observed at the Disney village site and the small arrow-points discovered at neighboring sites, but I have arrived at the conclusion that this difference can best be explained by the differing accomplishments of the several artificers, one an expert, the other a novice, and the exquisitely serated stemmed point as compared with the chipped Disney triangle, suggests the aptness of the men who made them. Likewise the thick and rude clay pots used at the Brous village site, when compared with the decorated and chevroned vessels made at Stockdale, apparently of the same age, can be accounted for as the results of morbid ambitious inclinations which influenced the persons who moulded them." (Id. pp. 111-113.)

Both the "Quivira" and the "Harahey" of Brower, are replete with the finest photographic illustrations of all the manifold varieties of implements found in the series of Wichita or Quivira village sites in Kansas and those of the Pawnees or Harahevs. His

Vol. 1, or "Quivira," is practically dedicated to an exhaustive detailed account of the different explorations and investigations made by the persons who have sacrificed time and labored for the public in those regions, and to the illustration, in the most modern and effective manner, of the very interesting results of those researches; thus placing the public under special and deep obligations to those willing laborers in vineyards which produce harvests for the vast granary of history. His Vol. II, or "Harahey" treats in similar manner the results of the discoveries at the surface and of the delvings into the ruins of the earthen huts and the burial mounds in the numerous villages of the forefathers of the present Aricaras, while illustrating, upon the same scale of excellence, the handiwork of those whose history is seen to form so important and so fascinating a connecting link between the Quixotic adventures of Coronado and the persistent and somewhat abused dwellers on the Upper Missouri known as the Rees, Rickarees, Ricarees, Richaras, Rikaras, Aricaras, etc.

And the illustrations in Brower of the arrowheads and scrapers in particular of the "Harahey" tribes of Kansas in the sixteenth century, are so precisely like those found in all the Aricara villages of South and North Dakota, as to put beyond all controversy, to any student or close observer of the photographs of the former in comparison with specimens of the latter, the identity in civilization of the two modern extremes of the Rees thus compared. (See photographs from "Harahey," of arrowheads from the Kansas chert beds.) We say modern, deliberately; for all these evidences still leave the really ancient history and origin of the Rees or Haraheys in that oblivion from which none of the remote dwellers upon the American continent have so far been rescued.

We have gone thus extensively into the subject of Coronado's expedition for two purposes: First, to submit what seem to be the most modern and therefore most reliable evidences of the real location of "Quivira" as being south of the Missouri river and as far west as Kansas, and the ancient habitat of the Aricaras. Second, as thereby furnishing very probable proofs that the actual guides of Coronado in the Ysopete, who was the real guide and respected as such, and in the "Turk," who for his seemingly deliberate purpose and his success in diverting for a time that party



Arrows, Thumb Scrapers and Stone Needle, from Collection of Mrs. M. A. Lange, Pierre

from its real quest, was "strangled" on the outskirts of his habitat in Harale or Tareque (Harahey), were Aricaras. This latter point, if and when sustained to the entire satisfaction of historical criticism, cannot but be of great importance in connection with the origin of the aborigines of South Dakota. It is believed that the space devoted to that study in this paper will be warranted by the event.

The earliest official account relating to the Pawnees, emanating from the United States government, is that given by Major Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who in 1806 traveled through a portion of the Pawnee country and visited the Republican Pawnees, and whose extended accounts and journal entries concerning those Indians are highly instructive. The following extracts are taken from the reprint (W. H. Lawrence & Co., Denver, 1889) of the original London edition (1811) of Pike's expedition. The work is entitled "Exploratory Travels Through the Western Territories of North America." The party had several Pawnee guides and scouts with them. They were approaching the chief Pawnee village, and had sent forward a Dr. Robinson in advance, with several Pawnees.

On September 22, 1806, this entry is found in Pike's journal:

"We marched again at three o'clock, and continued our route for twelve miles, to the first branch of the Republican fork. Met a Pawnee hunter, who informed us that the chief had left the village the day after the doctor had arrived, with fifty or sixty horses and many people, and had taken his course to the northward of our route, consequently we had missed each other. He likewise informed me that the Ietans (Comanches) had recently killed six Pawnees; the Kansas had stolen some horses; and that a party of three hundred Spaniards had lately been as far as the Saline, but for what purpose was unknown. Distance advanced, twenty-one miles."

September 23rd: "Marched early, and passed a large fork of the Kansas river, which I supposed to be the one generally called Solomon's fork. One of our horses fell into the water, and wetted his load. Halted at ten o'clock on a branch of this fork. We marched again at half past one o'clock, and encamped at sundown, on a dry river course where we had great difficulty to find water. We were overtaken by a Pawnee, who encamped with us.

He offered his horse for our use. Distance traveled, twenty-one miles."

September 24th: "We could not find our horses until late, when we marched. Before noon met Frank (who had accompanied Dr. Robinson to the village), and three other Pawnees, who informed us that the chief and his party had only arrived at the village yesterday, and had dispatched them out in search of us. Before three o'clock we were joined by several Pawnees; one of them wore a scarlet coat, with a small medal of General Washington, and a Spanish medal also. We encamped at sunset, on a middle-sized branch, and were joined by several Pawnees in the evening, who brought us some buffalo meat. Here we saw some mules, horses, bridles, and blankets, which they had obtained of the Spaniards. Few only had breech cloths, most being wrapped in buffalo robes; otherwise quite naked. Distance advanced, eighteen miles."

September 25th: "We marched at a good hour, and in about eight miles struck a very large road, along which the Spanish troops had returned; and on which we could yet discover the grass beaten down, in the direction they had taken.

"When we arrived within about three miles of the village, we were requested to remain, as the ceremony of receiving the Osage into the towns was to be performed here. There was a small circular spot, clear of grass, before which the Osages sat down. We were a small distance in advance of the Indians. The Pawnees then advanced within a mile of us, and halted; divided into two troops, and came on each flank at full charge, making all the gestures and performing the maneuvers of a real war charge. They then encircled us around, and the chief advanced in the centre and gave us his hand. His name was Characterick. He was accompanied by his two sons, and a chief by the name of Iskatepe. The Osage were still seated; but the Belle Oiseau then rose, and came forward with a pipe, and presented it to the chief, who took a whiff or two from it. We then proceeded on; the chief, Lieutenant Wilkinson, and myself, in front; my sergeant, on a white horse, next, with the colors; then our horses and baggage, escorted by our men; with the Pawnees on each side, running races, etc. When we arrived on the hill above the town, we were again halted, and the Osage seated themselves in a row, when

each Pawnee, who intended so to do, presented a horse, and gave a pipe to smoke to the Osage to whom he made a present. In this manner were eight horses given. Lieutenant Wilkinson then proceeded on with the party to the river above the town, and encamped. As the chief had invited us to his lodge to eat, we thought it proper for one of us to go. At the lodge he gave me many particulars, which were interesting to us, relative to the late visit of the Spaniards.

"I went up to our camp in the evening, having a young Pawnee with me loaded with corn for my men. Distance advanced, twelve miles.

"From the eastern branch of the Kansas river (by our route), to the Pawnee republic, on the Republican fork, the prairies are low, the grass high, the country abounding with salines, and the earth appearing to be impregnated with nitrous and common salts. The immediate borders of the Republican fork near the village consist of high ridges, but this is an exception to the general face of the country. All the territory between the forks of the Kansas river, for a distance of one hundred and sixty miles, may be called prairie, notwithstanding the borders of woodland which ornament the banks of those streams, but are no more than a line traced on a sheet of paper when compared to the immense tract of meadow country. For some distance from the Osage villages, you only find deer, then elk, then cabrie, and finally, buffalo. But it is worthy of remark, that although the male buffaloes were in great abundance, yet in all our route from the Osage to the Pawnees, we never saw one female. I acknowledged myself at a loss to determine, whether this is to be attributed to the decided preference the savages give to the meat of the female, and that consequently they are almost exterminated in the hunting grounds of the nations, or to some physical causes, for I afterwards discovered the females with young in such immense herds, as gave me no reason to believe they yielded to the males in numbers.

"The Pawnees are a numerous nation of Indians, residing on the rivers Plate and Kansas. They are divided into three distinct nations, two of them being now at war; but their manners, language, customs, and improvements, are in the same degree of advancement. On the La Plate reside the Grand Pawnee village,

and the Pawnee Loups on one of its branches, with whom the Pawnee Republicans are at war. Their language is guttural, and approaches nearer that of the Sioux than the Osage; their figure is slim, and their high cheek bones clearly indicate their Asiatic origin; but their emigration south, and the ease with which they live on the buffalo plains, have probably been the cause of a degeneracy of manners; for they are neither so brave nor so honest as their more northern neighbors. Their government is the same as that of the Osage, an hereditary aristocracy; the father handing his dignity of chieftain down to his son; but their power is extremely limited, notwithstanding the long life they have to establish their authority and influence; they merely recommend and give council in the great assemblage of the nation. They are not so cleanly, neither do they carry their internal police so far, as the Osage; but out of the bounds of the village, it appeared to me that they exceeded them, as I have frequently seen two young soldiers come out to my camp and by the strokes of long whips instantly disperse a hundred persons, who were assembled there to trade with my men. In regard to the cultivation of the soil, they are about equal to the Osage, raising a sufficiency of corn and pumpkins to afford a little thickening to their soup during the year. Their pumpkins they cut into thin slices, and dry in the sun, which reduces them to a small size, and not more than a tenth of their original weight. With respect to raising horses, the Pawnees are far superior to the Osage, having vast numbers of excellent cattle, which they are daily increasing by their attention to their breeding mares, which they never use for labour; and in addition, they frequently purchase some from the Spaniards." (Id. pp. 180-4.)

As to the construction of the Pawnee lodges, Pike says:

"Their houses are a perfect circle, excepting where the door is placed, from whence there is a projection of about fifteen feet, the whole being constructed after the following manner: There is first an excavation of a circular form, made in the ground, of about four feet deep and sixty in diameter, where there is a row of posts, about five feet high, with crotchets at the top, set firmly in all round, and horizontal poles from one to another; there is then a row of posts forming a circle of about ten feet in width in the diameter of the others, and ten feet in height. The crotchets

of these are so directed that horizontal poles are also laid from one to another, long poles are then laid slanting from the lower poles over the upper, and meeting nearly at the top, leaving only a small aperature for the smoke of the fire, which is made on the ground in the middle of the lodge. A number of small poles are then put up around the circle, so as to form the wall, and wicker-work ran through the whole. The roof is thatched with grass and earth, thrown up against the wall, until a bank is made to the eaves; the thatch is also covered with earth, one or two feet thick, and rendered so tight as entirely to exclude any storm whatsoever, and make the lodge extremely warm. The entrance is about six feet wide, with walls on each side, and roofed like our houses in shape, but of the same materials as the main building. Inside there are numerous little apartments, constructed of wicker-work, against the wall, with small doors, having a great appearance of neatness; in these the members of the family sleep, and have their little deposits.

"Their towns are by no means so much crowded as the Osage, giving much more space; but they have the same practice of introducing all the horses into the village at night which makes it extremely crowded, they keeping guard with them during the day. They are extremely addicted to gaming, and have for that purpose a smooth piece of ground cleared out on each side of the village, for about one hundred and fifty yards in length, at which they play the following games: One is played by two players at a time, and in the following manner: they have a large hoop, of about four feet diameter, in the center of which is a small leather ring attached to leather thongs, which are extended to the hoop, so as to keep it in its central position; they also have a pole, of about six feet in length; the player holding this in one hand rolls the hoop from him, and immediately slides the pole after it, and the nearer the head of the pole lies to the small ring within the hoop, when they both fall, the greater is the cast. But I could not ascertain their mode of counting sufficiently to decide when the game was won. Another game is played with a small stick, with several hooks, and a hoop about four inches diameter, which is rolled along the ground, and the forked stick darted after it, when the value of the cast is estimated by the hook on which the ring is caught; this game is gained at a hundred. The third

game alluded to is that of La Plate, described by various travelers, and is played by the women, children, and old men, who, like grasshoppers, crawl out to the circus, to bask in the sun probably covered only with an old buffalo robe.

"The Pawnees, like the Osage, quit their villages in the winter, making concealments under ground of their corn, in which it keeps perfectly sound until spring. The only nations with whom the Pawnees are now at war are the Ietans [Comanches], Utahs, and Kyaways; the two latter of whom reside in the mountains of north Mexico; the former generally inhabiting the borders of the upper Red river, Arkansas, and Rio Del Norte. The war has been carried on by those nations for years, without any decisive action being fought, although they frequently march with two or three hundred men. The Pawnees have much the advantage of their enemies in point of arms, having at least one-half fire-arms, whilst their opponents have only bows, arrows, lances, shields, and slings. The Pawnees always march to war on foot, their enemies are all cavalry. This nation may be considered as the one equidistant between the Spanish population and that of our settlements of Louisiana, but are at present decidedly under Spanish influence, and should a war commence tomorrow, would all be in their interests. This circumstance does not arise from their local situation, because they are all situated on the navigable waters of the Missouri; nor from their interests, because from the Spaniards they obtain nothing, except horses and a few coarse blankets from west Mexico, whilst from us they receive all their supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing; but all these articles in very small quantities, not more than half having a blanket, many being without breech cloths to cover their nakedness. But the grand principle by which the Spaniards keep them in their influence is fear, frequently chastising their small parties on their frontiers. To this may be added, their sending out the detachment of six hundred horsemen, which had visited them just before our arrival. This has made such an impression that they may safely calculate on them in case of war. This detachment took some of the Pawnees to Chihuahua, at the time I entered the provinces. But by withholding their supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing, one or two years, bringing on their backs the Osage and Kansas, they would be in great dis-

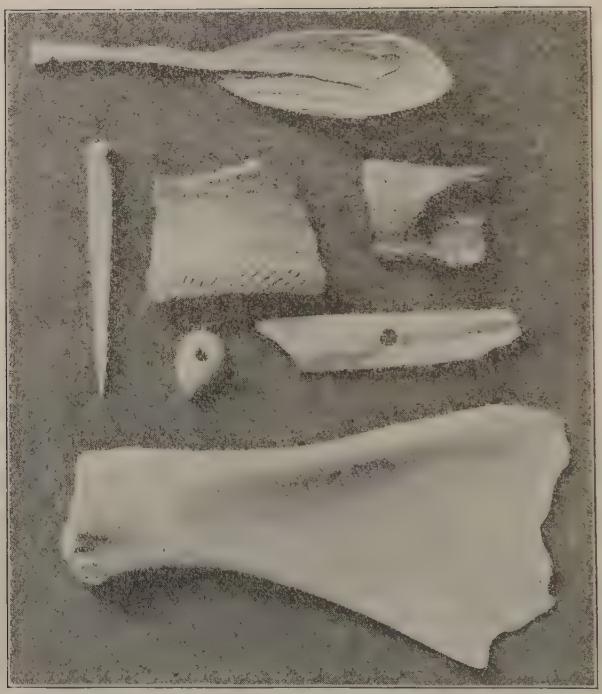
tress, and feel the necessity of a good understanding with the United States.

"If there should ever be factories established for their accommodation, they should be at the entrance of the La Plate and Kansas rivers, as those waters are of so uncertain navigation, being navigable only in freshets, that it would be folly to attempt any permanent establishments high up; and to make those establishments useful to the Pawnees, we must pre-suppose our influence sufficient to guarantee to them peace, and a safe passage through the nations of the Kansas, Otoes, and Missouries; the first on the Kansas river, the two latter on the River Plate." (Id. pp. 184-7.)

Had such a policy as is here outlined by Pike to his government been carried out, the remarks of Dunbar concerning the non-fulfillment of the obligations of the United States towards those Indians would not have been justified, as apparently they are, as part of the history of the Pawnees.

On September 26th Pike's party, finding the encampment ineligible, "moved down the prairie hill, about three-quaters of a mile nearer the village. We pitched our camp upon a beautiful eminence, from whence we had a view of the town, and all transacting in it." (Id. p. 187.) The interpreter was sent to the town to trade for provisions. On the 27th: "Baroney arrived from the village about one o'clock, with Charaterick and three other chiefs, to all of whom we gave a dinner. I then made an appropriate present to each. After which Lieutenant Wilkinson and myself accompanied them to town, where we remained a few hours, and afterwards returned." After holding a council on the 28th with the "Kansas and Osages" at the Pawnee village, the journal under date of the 29th proceeds: "Held our grand council with the Pawnees; at which were present not less than four hundred warriors. The circumstances of which were extremely interesting." (Id. p. 188.) On the 30th a journal entry indicates "that the chief appeared to wish to throw obstacles in our way." And on October 1st, the following very significant narrative appears in Pike's journal:

"Paid a visit to town, and had a very long conversation with the chief, who urged everything in his power to induce us to turn back. He finally very candidly told us that the Spaniards wished



Bone Hoe, Two Gauges for Sizing Arrow Shafts, Bone Needle, Horn Spoon and Pottery Sherds, found in Ree Towns near Pierre. From Collection in State Historical Museum

to have gone further into our country, but he had induced them to give up the idea; that they had listened to him, and he wished us to do the same; that he had promised the Spaniards to act as he now did, and that we must proceed no further, or he must stop us by force of arms. My reply was 'That I had been sent out by our great father to explore the western country, to visit all his red children, to make peace between them, and turn them from shedding blood; that he had seen how I had caused the Osage and Kansas to meet to smoke the pipe of peace together, and take each other by the hand like brothers; that as yet my road had been smooth with a blue sky over our heads. I had not seen any blood in our paths. But that he must know that the young warriors of his great American father were not women, to be turned back by words; that I should therefore proceed, and if he thought proper to stop me, he might attempt it, but we were men, well armed, and would sell our lives at a dear rate to his nation; that we knew our great father would send other young warriors there to gather our bones, and revenge our deaths on his people, when our spirits would rejoice in hearing our exploits sung in the war-songs of our chiefs.' I then left his lodge and returned to camp, in considerable perturbation of mind." On the next day this entry: "We received advice from our Kansas, that the chief had given publicity to his idea of stopping us by force of arms; this caused me some serious reflections, and was productive of many singular expressions from my brave lads; which called for my esteem at the same time that they excited my laughter.

"I attempted to trade for horses, but could not succeed. In the night we were alarmed by some savages coming near our camp in full speed; but they retreated equally expeditiously, on being hailed with fierceness by our sentinels. This created some degree of indignation in my little band, as we had noticed that all the day had passed without any traders presenting themselves, which appeared as if all intercourses were interdicted! Wrote to the secretary of war, the general, etc." On the 3rd: "The intercourse again commenced. Traded for some horses." On the 4th: "Two French traders arrived at the village in order to procure horses, to transport their goods from the Missouri to the village; they gave us information that Captains Lewis and Clark, with all their people, had descended the river to St. Louis; this

diffused general joy throughout our party. Our trade for horses did not proceed this day." On the 5th: "Buying horses, preparing to march, and finishing my letters." On the 6th: "Marched off my express, purchased horses, and prepared to resume my journey on the morrow." (Id pp. 189-90.)

On October 7th, after recording the loss of two horses just purchased from the Pawnees, one of which the Indians brought in, the journal proceeds:

"Struck our tents and commenced loading our horses; finding there was no probability of our obtaining the other that was missing, we marced at two o'clock p. m., and as the chief had threatened to stop us by force of arms, we had made every arrangement to make him pay as dearly for the attempt as possible. The party was kept compact, and marched on by a road round the village, in order that if attacked the savages might not have their houses to retreat to for cover. I had given orders not to fire until within five or six paces, and then to charge with bayonet and sabre; when I believe it would have cost them at least one hundred men to have exterminated us (which would have been necessary). The village appeared to have been all in motion. I galloped up to the lodge of the chief, attended by my interpreter and one soldier; but soon saw there was no serious attempt to be made, although many young men were walking about with their bows, arrows, guns and lances. After speaking to the chief with apparent indifference, I told him that I calculated on his justice in obtaining the horse, and that I should leave a man until the next day at twelve o'clock to bring it after me. We then joined the party and pursued our route. When I was once on the summit of the hill which overlooks the village, my mind felt as if relieved from a heavy burthen. Yet all the evil I wished the Pawnees was, that I might be the instrument in the hands of our government to open their ears and eyes, and with a strong hand, to convince them of our power. Our party now consisted of two officers, one doctor, eighteen soldiers, one interpreter, three Osage men and one woman, making twenty-five warriors. We marched out and encamped on a small branch. Distance advanced, seven miles, along the same route by which we had come in." On October 8th: "I conceived it best to send Baroney back to the village with a present, to be offered for our horse; the chief having sug-

gested the propriety of the measure. On his way he met his son and Sparks with the horse. Marched at ten o'clock, and at four came to the place where the Spanish troops had encamped the first night after they had left the village of the Pawnees. Their camp was circular, and having only small fires round the circle for the purpose of cooking. We counted fifty-nine fires; so that allowing six men to each, the party must have comprised three hundred and fifty-four persons. We encamped on a large branch of the second fork of the Kansas river. Distance advanced, eighteen miles." On the 9th: "Marched at eight o'clock, being detained until that time by our horses being at a great distance. At eleven o'clock we found the forks of the Spanish and Pawnee roads, and when we halted at twelve o'clock, we were overtaken by the second chief (Iskatappe) and the American chief, with one-third of the village. They presented us with a piece of bear meat." The loss of Dr. Robinson's dirk (taken by a Pawnee) is referred to, search for it demanded, when it was returned, etc., then presented to the chief, "that he might now see it was not the value of the article, but the act, we took into consideration; we than galloped off. After proceeding about a mile we discovered a herd of elk, which we pursued; they took back in sight of the Pawnees, who immediately mounted fifty or sixty young men and joined in the pursuit; then, for the first time in my life, I saw animals slaughtered by the true savages with their original weapons, bows and arrows. They buried the arrow up to the plume in the animal. We took a piece of meat and followed our party; overtook them, and encamped within the Grand or Solomon's fork, which we had crossed lower down, on the 23rd September, on our route to the Pawnees. This had been the Spanish camping ground." On the 10th the journal indicates that the party were "overtaken by the Pawnee chief, whose party we had left the day before, who informed us the hunting party had taken another road, and that he had come to bid us goodbye." (Id. pp. 191-3.)

At the point in Pike's journal where he refers to having been given interesting particulars by the Pawnee chief relative to the "late visit of the Spaniards" is appended the following valuable note by Pike concerning that expedition, and which we regard as having such bearing upon the Pawnee nation, as well as upon the

international relations between the United States and the Spanish government over the subject of territory and sovereignty over the Indians, as to warrant its reproduction here:

"I will here attempt to give some memoranda of this expedition, which was the most important ever sent out of the province of New Mexico; and in fact the only one directed to the northeastward, except that mentioned by the Abbe Raynal, in his History of the Indies, to the Pawnees.

"In the year 1806 our affairs with Spain began to wear a very serious aspect, and the troops of the two governments almost came to actual hostilities on the frontiers of Texas and the Orleans territory; at this time, when matters bore every appearance of coming to a crisis, I was fitting out for my expedition from St. Louis, when some of the Spanish emissaries in that country transmitted the information to Major Merior, and the Spanish council at that place, who immediately forwarded the information to Captain Sebastian Roderiques, the then commandant of Nacogdoches, who forwarded it to Colonel Cordero, by whom it was transmitted to the seat of government. This information was personally communicated to me, as an instance of the rapid means they possessed of conveying intelligence relative to the occurrences transacting on our frontiers. The expedition was then determined on; and had three objects in view; first, to descend the Red river, in order if they met our expedition to intercept and turn it back; or should Major Sparks and Mr. Freeman have missed the party from Nacogdoches, under the command of Captain Viana, to oblige them to return, and not penetrate further into the country, or make them prisoners of war. Secondly, to explore and examine all the internal parts of the country, from the frontiers of the province of New Mexico to the Missouri, between the La Plate and Kansas rivers.

"Thirdly, to visit the Ietans [Comanches], Pawnee republic, Grand Pawnees, Pawnees Mahaws, and Kanses. To the head chief of each of these nations, the commanding officer bore flags, a commission, grand medal, four mules; and with all of them he had to renew the chains of ancient amity, which was said to have existed between their father, his most catholic majesty, and his children, the red people.

Portion of Ree Pot found near Pierre. From Collection of Dr. Delorme W. Robinson

"The commanding officers also bore positive orders to oblige all parties or persons in the above specified countries, either to retire from them into the acknowledged territories of the United States, or to make prisoners of them, and conduct them into the province of New Mexico.

"Lieutenant Don Facundo Malgares, the officer selected from the five internal provinces to command this expedition, was an European, and his uncle was at the time one of the royal judges of the kingdom of New Spain. He had distinguished himself in several long expeditions against the Apaches and other Indian nations, with whom the Spaniards were at war. Added to these circumstances, he was a man of immense fortune, and generous in its disposal, almost to profusion; possessed a liberal education, a high sense of honor, and a disposition formed for military enterprise.

"This officer marched from the province of Biscay, with one hundred dragoons of the regular service, and at Santa Fe, the place where the expedition was fitted out, he was joined by five hundred of the mounted militia of that province, and completely equipped with ammunition, etc., for six months; each man leading with him (by order) two horses and one mule. The whole number of their beasts was two thousands and seventy-five. They descended the Red river two hundred and thirty-three leagues. Met the grand bands of the Ietans, held councils with them; then struck off to the northeast, and crossed the country to the Arkansaw, where Lieutenant Malgares left two hundred and forty of his men, with the lame and tired horses, whilst he proceeded on with the rest to the Pawnee republic. Here he was met by the chiefs and warriors of the Grand Pawnees; held councils with the two nations, and presented them the flags, medals, etc., which were designed for them. He did not proceed on to the execution of his mission with the Pawnees, Mahaws, and Kanses, as he represented to me, from the poverty of their horses, and the discontent of his own men; but as I conceive from the suspicion and discontent which began to arise between the Spaniards and the Indians. The former wishing to revenge the death of Villeneuve and his party, whilst the latter possessed all the suspicions of conscious villainy, deserving punishment.

"Malgares took with him all the traders he found there from

our country, some of whom being sent to Natchitoches, were in abject poverty at that place on my arrival, and applied to me for means to return to St. Louis. Lieutenant Malgares returned to Santa Fe in October, when his militia was disbanded; but he remained in the vicinity of that place until we were brought in, when with his dragoons he became our escort to the seat of government." (Id. pp. 181-3.)

In giving some account of the resources and the aborigines of what was then known as the province of Cogquilla, New Mexico, Pike refers to the "Lee Panis," as follows: "The Apaches cover their northwest frontier. The Lee Panis are a nation who rove from the Rio Grande to some distance into the province of Texas. Their former residence was on the Rio Grande, near the seashore. They are at present divided into three bands of three hundred, three hundred and fifty, and one hundred men each; are at war with the Ietans and Apaches, and at peace with the Spaniards. They have fair hair, and are generally handsome; and are armed with bows, arrows, and lances; they pursue the wild horses, of which they take numbers and sell them to the Spaniards." (Id. p. 328.)

Major Stephen H. Long, the official report of whose expedition in 1819-20 was published under the title of "Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains (Phila. 1823), caused a detachment under Mr. T. Say to visit the Konza (Kansas) Indians on the Kansas river, and the party then went northward by way of the Blue earth (a small branch of the Kansas from the northwest) to the Pawnee villages. On August 24th, the first day out, the journal shows the following thrilling experience with the Pawnees:

"Mr. Dougherty and one of the Indians went in quest of game, and having supplied the two remaining Indians with a pipe and tobacco, we were partaking of some refreshment, when one of the party suddenly drew our attention to an extensive cloud of dust which arose from the plain, and which we soon perceived but partially concealed a body of Indians, who had already approached within a quarte of a mile and were now running with great swiftness. Our Indian followers now displayed all their activity; the chief seized his gun, and ran towards the advancing multitude to obtain his horse, which he mounted and rode off at full speed,

whilst his companion disappeared in the bushes in an instant. This was a sufficient intimation that a hostile party was before us, and a timely admonition of the approach of danger. Our men were therefore drawn up in a line, and all prepared themselves for a defence in case of extremity.

"The advancing party were armed, decorated and painted for battle, but they manifested, as they rushed up to us, the most pacific deportment shaking us by the hand, putting their arms about our necks, and raising their hands with the palm towards us, in token of peace. We were not, however, disposed to rely upon these assurances of friendship, being fully aware of the difficulties which their partizans would have to surmount, in checking the inconsiderate prowess of the younger warriors. We now observed some of them seizing our horses, which were staked at some distance; they mounted them and rode swiftly in the direction that the chief had taken, but they soon returned. It soon became necessary to protect our baggage by arranging ourselves around it; still however, in despite of our vigilance many of our small articles were stolen. They begged for whiskey, and tobacco, and a small portion of the latter was given them. Amidst the confusion arising from the incessant and rapid movements of the Indians, we observed an individual bearing off a small package of very fine pounded meat; I immediately pointed out the circumstance to the partizan, and directed him to recover it and punish the thief; he complied by wresting the meat from the grasp of the latter, and from that of several others who had been contending for portions of it, placed it beneath his feet, and defended it with his lance; but Chabonneau, to whom the meat belonged, declaring that he had given it to them, they were permitted to retain it. A tent which had been pitched for me in consideration of my illness, and in which my blanket, pistols, together with some small articles had been deposited, was plundered of its contents; it was finally cut down and would have been taken away, had we not made an effort to preserve it. During the whole transaction those warriors, who stood at a short distance, intently watched our movements, as if they were led to believe, from the attitude we assumed, that we would attempt to repel them, even with our inadequate force. No sudden action or motion of any one of the party escaped them, and individuals were

frequently observed to draw their arrows, to test the elasticity of the bows. At a critical juncture, a tall and graceful Indian cocked his gun fiercely, and put his war whistle to his mouth, but the signal was not blown. Amongst numerous incidents that occurred during the half hour that we were surrounded by them, an individual attempted to seize a knapsack belonging to one of the soldiers, and immediately under his observation; the latter placed his foot upon the knapsack to detain it, and at the same time prepared his gun as if to shoot the offender, who leaped backward with great agility, and with an ejaculation of pleasure, drew his arrow to the head. The whole party precipitately retreated just as Mr. Dougherty returned from hunting; being briefly informed of the nature of their visit, he called aloud to the fugitives in their own language, but they passed on without heeding him, taking our horses with them. I had by a rough estimate fixed their number at one hundred and forty; they were chiefly armed with the bow and arrow and lance, with the usual accompaniments of tomahawks, war-clubs and knives, together with a few guns. Fortunately no personal indignity was offered us, yet we could not repress a sensation of much mortification, at the prospect of a frustation of our enterprise, which now seemed inevitable, and of extreme vexation at the irreparable loss of our horses, which no exertions of ours could have saved; an appeal to arms, except in the last extremity, would have been the height of imprudence, conquest being hopeless and escape almost impossible.

"Soon after their departure, Mr. Jessup and Chabonneau set out for the village to procure assistance, for the purpose of removing our camp to that place, from which we recommenced our journey at a moment so unpropitious, whilst we busied ourselves in removing the baggage to a situation amongst the neighboring bushes, which appeared favorable for concealment, and for defence, in case of a night attack, which was confidently anticipated. Several alarms occurred during the night, and on the return of day we observed thirty mounted Indians riding swiftly toward us. The chief, who left us so precipitately the preceding evening, on his arrival at the village, hastily assembled a little band of warriors for the purpose of returning immediately to our assistance, and it was he and his party that we had now the pleasure to greet. They expressed great satisfaction, when they learned that we

were all uninjured. After saluting us cordially, they pursued the trail of the Pawnees for some distance, and from the footsteps in the grass, and other appearances, to be duly appreciated only by the eye of an Indian, they estimated the number of the Pawnees at 130. On their return they restored to us some bacon and other articles, which had been carried off by the fugitives, and rejected as not at all to their taste. We were now supplied with a conveyance for ourselves and our baggage, and were conducted back to the village.

"The Indians who committed this robbery were a war party of the Republican Pawnees, and were about one hundred and forty in number. Their nation was at war with the Konzas." (Id. Vol. 1, pp. 132-135.)

Long's expedition, having established its winter headquaters for 1819-20 "on the west bank of the Missouri, about half a mile above Fort Lisa, five miles below Council Bluff, and three miles above the mouth of Boyer's river," where the party encamped September 19, 1819, the following journal entries indicate the steps taken to bring the Pawnees into a realizing sense of the fact that the federal authorities were at their door:

"Immediately after our arrival, an interpreter had been sent across the country to intercept the traders, then on their way to the Pawnees, with considerable quantities of merchandize. It was thought proper to suspend all intercourse with those Indians, until an adjustment of the difficulties should take place. In addition to the outrage committed on Mr. Say's party, they had made prisoners of two white hunters from the Arkansa, a father and son, who had been found hunting in the Indian territories. These men had been liberated through the interference of some of the members of the Missouri fur company, and had recently arrived at Fort Lisa. During their captivity, they had been treated with such severity by the Pawnees that they had often entreated an end might be put to their lives." (Id. pp. 147-150.)

On October 9th, the record in Long's journal contains the following:

"October 9th—Messengers, who had been sent yesterday for the Pawnees, returned, having met with them on the Elk Horn creek, twenty-five miles distant, on their way hither. They arrived about noon, seventy in number, consisting of individuals of

each of the three tribes called Grand Pawnees, Pawnee Republicans and Pawnee Loups, or Pawnemahas, and halted at some distance from our camp. As we approached them we observed the majority of them standing in a forest of young willow trees, holding their mules by the bridles, and looking dubiously around. The chief of the principal band, Long Hair, was haranguing them in a loud voice, 'Take off your saddles; why do you stand peeping and trembling in the bushes; you ought to have trembled when the whites were seen near the Konza village, etc.' We saluted the principal men in the usual manner, of shaking by the hand, though not with much cordiality. Major O'Fallon then said: 'Pawnees, encamp here and smoke your pipes in security; you have conducted yourselves badly but the whites will not harm the red-skins when they have them thus in their power; we fight in the plains, and scorn to injure men seated peaceably by their fires. Think well of what you will have to say to me in council to-morrow.' These assurances appeared to annul their present apprehensions, and they proceeded to encamp." (Id pp. 159-160.)

On the same day the journal shows the first formal contact of the Long expedition with the Pawnees, at the winter quarters of that party:

"In the evening, accompanied by several gentlemen of the party, we visited the camp of the Pawnees, whom we found sitting round their fires smoking their pipes in silence. Some were employed in making bows, having found plenty of hickory, and hop horn beam wood here, which are not to be procured in the vicinity of their villages. Their mules were tied to trees, feeding on the bark of the cottonwood. The three tribes were seated around different fires. We sat down in the group of Grand Pawnees and smoked with their chief Tar-ra-re-ca-wa-o or Long Hair. This is an hereditary chief, of a lofty and rather haughty mein; his mouth is, perhaps through habit, drawn down a little at the corners. He has the appearance and character of an intrepid man, although not distinguished as a warrior, having, during his life, killed but a single man, who was a Spaniard. He is, however, artful and politic, and has performed some laudable actions. The following anecdote may serve in part to illustrate the more aimable traits of his character: Dorion, a Mestizo, on a

trading expedition, had accumulated a considerable quantity of peltry at the Pawnee Republican village, when it was situated on the Republican fork of the Konza river. As he had no horses to transport his merchandise, he requested the chief of that village to assist him in conveying it to the Grand Pawnees on the Platte, as he intended to descend that river to trade with the Otoes, on his way to St. Louis; the chief directly ordered horses to be brought, the furs were packed upon them and they departed on their journey; but owing to some alleged misconduct on the part of Dorion, the chief, when half way, ordered the goods to be taken from the horses and to be left on the plain. He then, with his followers, returned to his village. The trader, after bewailing his unfortunate condition, at length resolved to go to the Grand Pawnee village, and solicit the aid of Long Hair. Having arrived at the residence of the chief he related to him in what manner he had been used by the Republican chief, and concluded by requesting assistance to bring in his goods. Long Hair, without reply, ascended to the top of his lodge and called out to his people to bring him one hundred horses. Taking the best of these, and a sufficient number of attendants, he accompanied Dorion, and assisted him in transporting all his peltries, and did not cease with his good offices until he had aided him in building a skin canoe, and had packed all the the merchandise aboard, although previously told by Dorion that he had nothing to reward him with, having as he said, traded everything away, though at the same moment he had a number of Indian goods concealed in his packs of buffalo robes. After all was completed, 'Now,' said the chief, 'Dorion, I know that you are a bad man; I have no doubt but you have a quantity of such goods as we want, concealed in those packs, and could reward me if you were liberal enough; but I ask nothing. You have a forked tongue. You have abused me to the whites, by calling me a rascal, saying I have robbed the traders, etc.; but go, I will not harm you; tell the Red Head (Governor Clark) that I am a rascal, robber, etc. I am content.'" (Id. pp. 160-1.) It is believed that there is in this "anecdote" a suggestion of bottom facts which underly the reputation given in many instances by whites in their pioneer dealings with the Indians, to the latter, and which sources of repute have gained permanent respect beyond their deserts. It is the white man who

tells the story of the Indians in the great majority of instances; and in too many cases the personal interests of the narrator, entering into the transaction which he narrates, gives a false color to the Indians' part therein. In the nature of things it is extremely doubtful whether truth in completeness can ever be made known to the public regarding Indian character.

The narrative in Long's journal proceeds:

"At another fire, surrounded by his particular band, sat the Knife Chief, La-che-le-cha-ru, principal chief of the Pawneemehas. He is a large, portly man, with a very prepossessing countenance; the hair on the sides of his head is gray; he has a deep scar on the right side, from a wound which was inflicted by a female prisoner, of the Padouca nation, whom he had adopted and taken into his family. * * * The individuals of this band live in great harmony amongst themselves, owing probably to their having but two chiefs, who are unrivalled. The second chief is a Mestizo. Against this band we have no accusation; they have always demeaned themselves well towards the American whites.

"In a third group were collected the representatives of the Pawnee Republicans. This nation or clan stands accused of whipping, robbing, and otherwise abusing a white American and his son, whom they found trapping beaver on the Arkansa river this season; of killing two American citizens, two years since, who were also trapping beaver on the same river; and of robbing our party of sundry articles and horses near the Konza village, whilst under the protection of the flag of our country, of the nature of which they had been instructed and perfectly well understood. These outrages, and many others, they had committed on lands, to which they do not pretend to have any claim, situated far from their own territories, and in the immediate vicinity of nations with whom they then were, and still are, at war.[17]

"On the following day the Pawnees were summoned to council, and in a short time they appeared marching leisurely in a narrow pathway, in Indian file, led by the grand chief; near this pathway the musical band was stationed, and when Long Hair arrived opposite, they struck up, suddenly and loudly, a martial air. We

[17] "It was a party of the Grand Pawnees that robbed and ill-treated Lieutenant Pike and his party when traversing their country within their range." (Note to Long.)

wished to observed the effect which instruments, that he had never seen or heard before, would produce on this distinguished man, and therefore eyed him closely, and were not disappointed to observe that he did not deign to look upon them, or to manifest by any motion whatever, that he was sensible of their presence. The Indians arranged themselves on the benches prepared for them, and the cessation of the music was succeeded by stillness, which was suddenly interrupted by loud explosions from our howitzers, that startled many of us, but did not appear to attract the notice of the Pawnees.

"Major O'Fallon rose and addressed them in a very austere tone and manner, stating the offenses they had committed against the white people, and admonishing them to a reformation in their conduct, and to restore the articles they had stolen from us; this was chiefly directed against the Pawnees Republicans; the Loups were applauded for their uniformly good deportment.

"The council terminated after much of the property taken from us near the Konza village was restored, and a promise given that the offenders should be punished by whipping." (Id. pp. 162-3.)

On June 6, 1820, Long's party started out from their winter quarters for the Pawnee villages, traveling a little south of west, crossed the Elkhorn river, and continued along "the north side of the valley of the Platte, at the distance of four or five miles from the river;" thence to the Wolf river or Loup folk of the Platte. On June 11, after having camped the night before "at a small creek eleven miles distant from the village of the Grand Pawnees," the journal shows:

"On the following morning, having arranged the party according to rank, and given the necessary instructions for the preservation of order, we proceeded forward and in a short time came in sight of the first of the Pawnee villages. The trace on which we had traveled since we left the Missouri, had the appearance of being more and more frequented as we approached the Pawnee towns; and here, instead of a single footway, it consisted of more than twenty parallel paths, of similar size and appearance. At a few miles distant from the village, we met a party of eight or ten squaws with hoes and other instruments of agriculture, on their way to the corn plantations. They were accompanied by one

young Indian, but in what capacity, whether as assistant, protector, or master, we were not informed. After a ride of about three hours, we arrived before the village, and despatched a messenger to inform the chief of our approach.

"Answer was returned that he was engaged with his chiefs and warriors at a medicine feast, and could not, therefore, come out to meet us. We were soon surrounded by a crowd of women and children, who gazed at us with some expressions of astonishment, but as no one appeared to welcome us to the village, arrangements were made for sending on the horses and baggage to a suitable place for encampment, while Major Long, with several gentlemen, who wished to accompany him, entered the village.

"The party which accompanied Major Long, after groping about for some time, and traversing a considerable part of the village, arrived at the lodge of the principal chief. Here we were again informed that Tarrarecawaho, with all the principal men of the village, were engaged at a medicine feast.

"Notwithstanding his absence, some mats were spread for us upon the ground, in the back part of the lodge. Upon these we sat down, and after waiting some time, were presented with a large wooden dish of hominy, or boiled maize. In this was a single spoon of the horn of a bison, large enough to hold half a pint, which, being used alternately by each of the party, soon emptied the dish of its contents." (Id. pp. 435-6.)

The lodge in which the party were taking this repast is thus described:

"The interior of this capacious dwelling was dimly lighted from a hole at the top through which the sun's rays, in a defined column, fell aslant upon the earthen floor. Immediately under this hole, which is both window and chimney, is a small depression in the center of the floor, where the fire is made; but the upper parts of the lodge are constantly filled with smoke; adding much to the air of gloominess and obscurity, which prevail within. The furniture of Long Hair's lodge consisted of mats, ingeniously woven of grass or rushes, bison robes, wooden dishes, and one or two small brass kettles. In the part of the lodge immediately opposite the entrance, we observed a rude niche in the wall, which was occupied by a bison skull. It appeared to have been exposed to the

weather, until the flesh and peristeum had decayed, and the bones had become white.

"In this lodge we saw a number of squaws of different ages, but all as we supposed the wives of Long Hair. This chief, who is somewhat of a Turk in his domestic establishment, has eleven wives, nine of whom are quiet occupants of the same lodge. He has but ten children." (Id pp. 436-7.)

The narrative proceeds: "Our visit to this village seemed to excite no great degree of attention. Among the crowd, who surrounded us before we entered the village, we observed several young squaws rather gaily dressed, being wrapped in clean and new blankets, and having their heads ornamented with wreaths of gnaphalium and the silvery leaves of the prosalea canescens. On the tops of the lodge we also saw some display of finery, which we supposed to have been made on account of our visit. Flags were hoisted, shields, and bows, and quivers were suspended in conspicuous places, scalps were hung out; in short, the people appeared to have exposed whatever they possessed, in the exhibition of which they could find any gratification of their vanity. Aside from these, we received no distinguished marks of attention from the Grand Pawnees.

"After spending an hour or two at their village, we retired to our camp about a mile distant. Here we were shortly afterwards visited by Long Hair, the malicious chief, and several others. They had with them a young Spaniard, who interpreted Pawnee and French, by whose means we were able to communicate freely with them. They offered some apology, for not receiving us at their village, saying they could not have left their medicine feast, if the village had been on fire. We caused our intended route to be explained to them, with the objects we had in view, in undertaking so long a journey. To this they answered, that our undertaking was attended with great difficulty and danger, that the country about the head of the Platte was filled with powerful and ferocious Indians, who would lose no opportunity to attack and injure us, that in some parts of our route, we must suffer from want of water, in others there was no game. In short, said the grand chief, 'You must have long hearts to undertake such a journey with so weak a force; hearts that would reach from the earth to the heavens.' These representations would, it is prob-

able, have had some effect upon our spirits, had we not supposed they were made entirely for that purpose. The Pawnees undoubtedly hoped to alarm our fears to such a degree that we should be induced to relinquish our purposed journey, their design being to deter us from passing through their hunting grounds, and perhaps hoping by these means to possess themselves of a larger share of the articles we had provided for Indian presents.

"Finding our determination was not to be shaken, they advised us to ascend the Loup fork, instead of taking the route by the Platte, which we had mentioned. This advice, and the statement by which it was accompanied, that there were no bisons on the Platte, we suspected of originating from the same motive, which had induced them to make the representation above mentioned; it was not, therefore, allowed in any manner to influence our determination.

"After collecting from them what information we could obtain, relative to the country to the west, we endeavored to dismiss them with some presents. They were not, however, easily to be satisfied; they importuned us for tobacco, and other articles, which the limited nature of our supplies would not allow us to give, as we expected soon to meet with Indians whose good will it would be more important for us to purchase.

"Our camp was something more than a mile from the village. The intervening space, as well as the plain for a great extent on all sides, was covered with great numbers of horses, intermixed with men, women, and children. The men having no serious business, pass much of their time in the open air, either on horseback, or engaged at some game of hazard.

"The Pawnees are expert horsemen, and delight in the exhibition of feats of skill and adroitness. Many of their horses are branded, but this is the case with such only as are taken in their predatory excursions against the Spaniards of New Mexico, or the southwestern Indians; the branded horses all come originally from the Spaniards. It does not appear that the Indians have any distinctive method of affixing distinct marks to their animals. Each Indian has usually but a very limited number of horses, which are as well known, and as universally acknowledged to be his, as the children or other members of the family. Some of the

finest horses which we observed were ornamented with gaudy trappings, and furniture of Spanish manufacture." (Id. pp. 437-9.)

Concerning the small-pox pest and the endeavor of the Long expedition to stay its further ravages among the Pawnees, the journal entry shows:

"We spent some time in attempting to explain to the chiefs the nature and effects of the vaccine disease, and in endeavoring to persuade them to influence some of their people to submit to inoculation; but in this we were unsuccessful. It is now several years since the ravages of the small-pox have been experienced among them, and it is probable they feel an undue degree of security against its future visitations. We were, however, by no means confident that they comprehended what we said on the subject of vaccination; if they did it is not probable their confidence in us was sufficient to induce them to receive it as truth. All we were able to effect was to persuade the young Spanish interpreter to allow us to make use of his arm, to show the Indians that the proposed operation was by no means a formidable one. With the same intention, the operation was performed upon Major Long's arm, and that of Mr. H. Dougherty.

"We were not very solicitous to make the experiment among them, our virus, as before remarked, being unfit for use. We were accordingly afraid of impairing their confidence in the remedy." (Id. p. 439.)

Regarding the domestic industrial polity of the Pawnees, the Long journal contains the following:

"In the plain about the village, we noticed several little groups of squaws, busily engaged in dressing the skins of the bisons for robes. When the processes of tanning and dressing are completed, and the inner surface of the skin dry, figures are traced upon it with vermillion and other showy colors.

"These are designed as ornaments, but are sometimes a record of important facts. The story of a battle is often depicted in this way, and the robe of a warrior is frequently decorated with the narration, in pictures of some of his exploits.

"During the afternoon our camp was somewhat thronged by the Indians offering to trade horses, and squaws proposing bar-

ters, but at night they withdrew towards their village, and all remained quiet.

"As the day began to dawn on the following morning, numerous parties of squaws, accompanied by their dogs, were seen on their way from the village to the corn patches, scattered at the distance of several miles." (Id. pp. 439-440.)

Of the departure from the Grand for the Republican Pawnee village, the record of Long's party runs as follows:

"At sunrise we mounted our horses, and arranging ourselves as on the preceding day, and carrying a white silk flag with a painted design, emblematic of peaceable intentions, in the front, and the United States flag in the centre of our party, we moved forward towards the second village, distant about three miles from our camp.

"The bands which inhabit this village are called Republican Pawnees. This name, it is said, has been applied to this band, in consequence of their having seceded from the parent stock or Grand Pawnees, some years since, and established themselves under a separate government.

"They resided formerly on the Republican fork of the Konzas river, to which they have given their name; whence they removed a few years since to their present situation, that they might enjoy the protection of their more powerful allies, the Grand Pawnees. Their village is distant four miles from that of the Grand Pawnees, and like it on the immediate bank of the river. Fool Robe, their chief, received us with a little more attention than we had met on the preceding day, shaking us each by the hand. He afterwards conducted us to his lodge, within the village, but excused himself from feasting us, saying his squaws were all absent at the corn-fields.

"It was a war party from this band which had plundered the detachment from the steamboat [the Say party, hereinbefore referred to], on the preceding summer near the Konza village. For this outrage they had been compelled by the prompt and vigorous interference of Major O'Fallon, the Indian agent, to make ample restitution. Whether it was that Fool Robe and his warriors were yet a little sore on account of this affair, or for some other reason, it was evident we were not welcome visitants. We had hitherto entertained exalted ideas of the hospitality of

the Pawnees, in their manner of receiving strangers, and were consequently a little disappointed at the reception we had met. We stayed but a short time with Fool Robe. Having briefly described to him the outline of our intended journey, and listened to his remarks and advice respecting it, we remounted our horses and proceeded towards the Loup village." (Id. pp. 440-1.)

Of the approach of the Long party to and their experience and observation at the Loup village, the following extract bears witness:

"On our way we were met by the Knife Chief, who, having heard of our intention to visit him, came out on horseback and met us more than a mile from the village. He gave us a very cordial and friendly reception, frequently rubbing his breast in token of the satisfaction he felt at seeing us. His frank and intelligent countenance and his impressive gestures made him easily understood, without the aid of an interpreter. As our cavalcade passed by him, he appeared to examine, with some attention, the physiognomy and appointments of the individuals composing it, but when his rapid eye alighted upon Julien, with whom he could use much freedom, he rode up to him and eagerly inquired by means of signs, if we had brought with us any whiskey, which, we were grieved to learn, by his intimation, that he was acquainted with, and would indulge in; Julien replied in the negative, by the exhibition of the proper sign, with which he did not betray any dissatisfaction, although it was evident from his subsequent conversation that he believed it to be false. On the way to the village, he pointed out a convenient place for us to dispose of our horses and establish our camp. Here we dismounted, leaving our horses in the care of the guard, and followed the chief to his lodge. Soon after our arrival, a large dish was placed before us, according to the custom of the Indians, filled with boiled sweet corn. While we were eating, the Knife Chief, with the principal men of his nation, were sitting silently behind us. Having finished our repast, we gave the Indians an account of ourselves, the occasion of our visit to them, our intended journey to the mountains at the head of the Platte, etc., as in the other villages. To all this the Knife Chief listened with great attention. He expressed himself satisfied with the account we had given of the objects of our enterprise, but feared we should be ill-treated by the

savages we should meet. 'Your heart must be strong,' said he, 'to go upon so hazardous a journey. May the Master of Life be your protector.' The same benediction had been given us by the chiefs of the Republican and Grand Pawnees, probably with nearly the same degree of ingenuousness and sincerity. The Pawnees are at war with the Arrapahoes, Kaskaias, and other erratic bands, who wander about the sources of the Platte and Arkansas. Their war parties are often sent out in that direction, where they sometimes meet a spirited reception from their enemies. It may be on this account that the Pawnees connect the idea of imminent danger, to an excursion into those parts of the country which we proposed to visit. It is, however, highly probable their unwillingness to have us pass through their hunting grounds was the most productive cause of all the anxiety and all the fears they expressed on our account.

"The chief addressed us for some time with great apparent earnestness, but his discourse as it came to our comprehension, by the aid of an interpreter, whom we obtained at this village, seemed directed solely to one object, the exciting our compassion for his poverty.

"'Father, you see me here; I am very poor; my young men are very poor; we hope our great father will not forget the redskins his children; they are poor,' with a great deal more in the same strain. He, however, returned frequently to the subject of our journey to the west. 'I will tell my young men,' said he (meaning the war parties which should be sent out in that direction), 'when they meet you, to take you by the hand, and smoke the peace pipe with you.'

"The Knife Chief, with his son Petalesharoo, celebrated for his filial affection, his valor and his humanity, visited us at our camp in the afternoon, and we were proud to entertain one whom we thought so worthy of our admiration. We also received a visit from a medicine-man, who, having heard there were great medicine-men belonging to our party, requested to be shown some of the mysteries of their profession. We accordingly displayed before him a pair of bullet forceps, a small case of surgeon's instruments, and some similar articles, and began to explain to him the use of each. He attended for some time to our discourse, but apparently without comprehending any part of it, and at length

turned abruptly away, with an air of dissatisfaction and contempt. * * *

"About the village we saw several parties of young men eagerly engaged at games of hazard. One of these, which we noticed particularly, is played between two persons, and something is staked on the event of each game. The instruments used are a small hoop, about six inches in diameter, which is usually wound with thongs of leather, and a pole five or six feet long, on the larger end of which a limb is left to project about six inches. The whole bears some resemblance to a shepherd's crook. The game is played upon a smooth beaten path, at one end of which the gamester commences, and running at full speed, he first rolls from him the hoop, then discharges after it the pole, which slides along the path pursuing the hoop until both stop together, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place whence they were thrown. After throwing them from him the gamester continues his pace, and the Indian, the hoop, and the pole arrive at the end of the path about the same time. The effort appears to be to place the end of the pole either in the ring or as near as possible, and we could perceive that those casts were considered best when the ring was caught by the hook at the end of the pole. What constitutes a point, or how many points are reckoned to the game, we could not ascertain. It is, however, sufficiently evident that they are desperate gamesters, often losing their ornaments, articles of dress, etc., at play.

"This game, like some of those described in a former part of this work, requires considerable exertion, and is well calculated for the exhibtion of that gracefulness of figure, and that ease and celerity of motion in which the savages so far surpass their civilized neighbors. We saw many young men engaged at these diversions, who had thrown aside their robes, leggins, and all superfluous articles of dress, displaying a symmetry of proportion, and beauty of form, which we have rarely seen surpassed. They were so intent upon their diversion that in some instances our approach towards them, as we were rambling about the village, did not for a moment call off their attention from the game." (Id. pp. 441-5.)

On the population of the Pawnee villages, the herds of their horses, agriculture, etc., Long says:

"The population of the three Pawnee villages was estimated by Captain Pike, 1806, at 6,223, and they were at that time supposed to be able to call into the field 1,993 warriors. At present it is believed they would fall short of this estimate, particularly in the number of warriors. They are, however, still numerous, and are said to be increasing, and are respected by the Sioux and other neighboring nations, as warlike and powerful.

"About the three villages are six or eight thousand horses, feeding in the plains during the day, but confined at night. These, with a breed of sharp-eared, meagre, wolf-life dogs, are their only domestic animals. On the approach of winter they conceal their stores of corn, dry pumpkins, beans, etc., and with their whole retinue of dogs and horses desert their villages. This they are compelled to do from the want of wood, not only for fuel, but for the support of their numerous horses.

"They encamp in their lodges of skins wherever the cottonwood is found in sufficient quantities for their horses, and game for themselves. The horses, in the country bordering the Missouri, are fed during the winter in the extensive wooded bottoms of that river, and are not, therefore, confined exclusively to the cottonwood, having access to other timber, also to the rushes and coarse grass which abound in the bottoms. We are, however, well assured that the Indian horses, farther to the west, about the upper branches of the Platte, and Arkansa, subsist and thrive, during the winter, with no other article of food than the bark and branches of the cottonwood. The winter at the Pawnee villages is said to be uncommonly severe, but is probably little, if any more so, than at Council Bluff, on the Missouri. * * *

"The three Pawnee villages, with their pasture grounds, and insignificant enclosures, occupy about ten miles in length of the fertile valley of the Wolf river. The surface is wholly naked of timber, rising gradually to the river hills, which are broad and low, and from a mile to a mile and a half distant. The soil of this valley is deep and of inexhaustible fertility. The surface, to the depth of two or three feet, is a dark colored vegetable mould intermixed with argillaceous loam, and, still deeper, with a fine sileceous sand. The agriculture of the Pawnees is extremely rude. They are supplied with a few hoes by the traders, but many of their labors are accomplished with the rude instruments

of wood and bone which their ingenuity supplies. They plant corn and pumpkins in little patches along the sides of deep ravines, and wherever by any accident the grassy turf has been eradicated. Sometimes these little plantations are enclosed with a sort of wicker fence, and in other instances are left entirely open. These last are probably watched by the squaws during the day time, when the horses run at large.

"We slept on the night of the 12th at our encampment in front of the Pawnee Loup village. During the night all remained at rest except the dogs, who howled in concert, in the same voice, and nearly to the same tune, as the wolves, to whose nightly serenade we were now accustomed.

"As soon as the day dawned we observed the surrounding plain filled with groups of squaws, with their small children, trooping to their corn fields in every direction. Some, who passed our encampment, lingered a moment to admire our novel appearance; but the air of serious business was manifest in their countenances, and they soon hurried away to their daily labors. Some of the groups of young females were accompanied by a jolly looking young man as a protector. Their corn is usually gathered before it is entirely ripe; it is then boiled, cut from the cob, and dried. Their cookery consists in boiling it, either with or without the tallow of the bison, according to the state of their supplies. The pumpkins are cut in slips, which are dried in the sun, and afterwards woven into mats for the convenience of carrying. They offered us these articles in exchange for tobacco, vermillion, beads, loking glasses, and various other trinkets. Also jerked bison beef, and the tallow of that animal, of which we purchased a small quantity. We saw among them the pomme blanche, so called by the Canadian traders and boatmen, which is the root of the Psoralea esculenta. It is eaten either boiled or roasted, and somewhat resembles the sweet potato." (Id. pp. 445-8.)

In a supplementary chapter of Long's expedition (Vol. 2, pp. 364-5), in presenting some summary accounts of the various tribes of Indians through whose domains the party had traveled, is found the following regarding the Pawnees:

"The Pawnees are a race of Indians distinct from the preceding [the Poncas], their language differing radically from that of the Indians alluded to. The Pawnees consist of three distinct bands,

that have their residence, at present, on the branch of the river Platte, called the Loup fork, about sixty miles from the mouth of the latter, and between one hundred and eight and one hundred and fifteen miles westward from the Council Bluff. The three bands are distinguished by the appellation of the Grand, the Republican, and the Loup Pawnees. The two former acknowledge a common origin, but the latter deny having any natural affinity with them, though their habits, language, etc., indicate the same ancestry. They live in three villages, included within an extent of about seven miles, on the north bank of the Loup fork, all compactly built.

"The village of the Grand Pawnees, is situated immediately on the bank of the river, and contains about one hundred and eighty earthen lodges, nine hundred families, or three thousand five hundred souls. The name of the principal chief of this village is Tarrarecawaho, or Long Hair.

"The village of the Republican Pawnees, is situated about three miles above that of the Grand Pawnees—contains about fifty lodges, two hundred and fifty families, or one thousand souls. The name of their principal chief is Fool Robe, who is very much under the influence of Long Hair. This band separated many years since from the Grand Pawnees, and established themselves upon the Republican fork of the Konzas river, where they were visited by Pike, on his tour westward. They seem to be gradually amalgamating with the parent stock, and their village wears a declining aspect.

"The village of the Loup Pawnees, or Skere, as they call themselves, is situated four miles above that last mentioned, immediately on the bank of the river. It contains about one hundred dirt lodges, five hundred families, or two thousand souls, making an aggregate of six thousand five hundred souls belonging to the three villages. The name of their principal chief is the Knife Chief. A few years since the Loup Pawnees had a custom of annually sacrificing a human victim to the Great Star, but this was abolished by their present chief, aided by the noble daring of his gallant son. They appear unwilling to acknowledge their affinity with the other Pawnees, but their language being very nearly the same, proves them to be of the same origin.

"Although these bands are independent of each other in all

their domestic concerns, government, etc., yet in their military operations they generally unite, and warfare becomes a common cause with them. Their arms are principally bows and arrows, lances, war clubs, and shields, with some few fire arms. They are expert horsemen, but generally fight on foot. They are more numerous and accounted more formidable in warfare than any other combination of savages on the Missouri. Their confidence in their own strength gives them a disposition to domineer over their weaker neighbors. They are at war with the Osages, Konzas, Sioux, Iatans [Comanches], Kaskaias, Shiennes, Crows, etc.

"The several tribes above described cultivate maize or Indian corn, pumpkins, beans, watermelons, and squashes. They hunt the bison or buffalo, elk, deer, beaver, otter; the skins of which, they exchange with the traders for fusees, powder and lead, kettles, knives, strouding, blankets, beads, vermillion, silver ornaments, and other trinkets. They prefer the Mackinaw guns, blankets, etc., and will give a higher price for them, knowing that they are greatly superior to those furnished by American traders."

Francis Parkman, Jr., author of "The California and Oregon Trail," while traveling westward on his trip from St. Louis to the mountains in 1846, gives some characteristic sketches of his experiences and some of those related to him by others, concerning the Pawnees, through a part of whose territory he passed. Under date of about June 1, 1846, his party neared the Platte while pursuing the great overland thoroughfare known as the "Oregon Trail." We quote from his said book:

"Some days elapsed, and brought us near the Platte. Two men on horseback approached us one morning, and we watched them with the curiosity and interest that, upon the solitude of the plains, such an encounter always excites. They were evidently whites, from their mode of riding, though, contrary to the usage of that region, neither of them carried a rifle.

"'Fools,' remarked Henry Chantillon, 'to ride that way on the prairie; Pawnees find them, then they catch it.'

"Pawnee had found them, and they had come very near 'catching it;' indeed, nothing saved them from trouble but the approach of our party. Shaw and I knew one of them, a man named Turner, whom we had seen at Westport. He and his companions

belonged to an emigrant party encamped a few miles in advance, and had returned to look for some stray oxen, leaving their rifles, with characteristic rashness or ignorance, behind them. Their neglect had nearly cost them dear, for just before we came up, half a dozen Indians approached, and seeing them apparently defenseless, one of the rascals seized the bridle of Turner's fine horse, and ordered him to dismount. Turner was wholly unarmed, but the other jerked a little revolving pistol out of his pocket, at which the Pawnee recoiled; and just then some of our men appearing in the distance, the whole party whipped their rugged little horses and made off. In no way daunted, Turner foolishly persisted in going forward.

"Long after leaving him, and late this afternoon, in the midst of a gloomy and barren prairie, we came suddenly upon the great Pawnee trail, leading from their villages on the Platte to their war and hunting grounds to the southward. Here every summer pass the motley concourse; thousands of savages, men, women, and children, horses and mules, laden with their weapons and implements, and an innumerable multitude of unruly wolfish dogs, who have not accomplished the civilized accomplishment of barking, but howl like their wild cousins of the prairie.

"The permanent winter villages of the Pawnees stand on the lower Platte, but throughout the summer the greater part of the inhabitants are wandering over the plains, a treacherous, cowardly banditti, who by a thousand acts of pillage and murder have deserved summary chastisement at the hands of the government." (Id. Chap. VI.)

Soon after the events above narrated Parkman's party, having reached the Platte in the vicinity of the Pawnee villages, the following occurred as recorded by him:

"Early in the morning, after we reached the Platte, a long procession of squalid savages approached our camp. Each was on foot, leading his horse by a rope of bull-hide. His attire consisted merely of a scanty cincture and an old buffalo robe, tattered and begrimed by use, which hung over his shoulders. His head was close shaven, except a ridge of hair reaching over the crown from the center of the forehead, very much like the long bristles on the back of a hyena, and he carried his bow and arrows in his hand, while his meager little horse was laden with dried buffalo

meat, the produce of his hunting. Such were the first specimens that we met, and very indifferent ones they were, of the genuine savages of the prairie.

"They were the Pawnees whom Kearsley had encountered the day before, and belonged to a large hunting party known to be ranging the prairie in the vicinity. They strode rapidly past, within a furlong of our tents, not pausing or looking toward us, after the manner of Indians when meditating mischief or conscious of ill-desert. I went out and met them; and had an amicable conference with the chief, presenting him with half a pound of tobacco, at which unmerited bounty he expressed much gratification. These fellows, or some of their companions, had committed a dastardly outrage upon an emigrant party in advance of us. Two men, out on horseback at a distance, were seized by them, but, lashing their horses, they broke loose and fled. At this the Pawnees raised the yell and shot at them, transfixing the hindermost through the back with several arrows, while his companion galloped away and brought in the news to his party. The panic-stricken emigrants remained for several days in camp, not daring even to send out in quest of the dead body." (Id.)

Of all the observers whom we have so far quoted, not one, with the single exception of Dunbar, records his having observed the bristling tuft of hair which was the symbol of the Pawnee and from which he derived his name, until we call upon Parkman to speak, although Coronado suggests it.

When did the Ricaras take their depature from the balance of the middle group of the Caddoans?

The answer to this question is not forthcoming, if we try to make it definite. We have seen that Dunbar says their departure northward was at a time "quite ancient," which is too vague to be satisfactory. The nearest approach to a definite response is found in Reuben Gold Thwaites' edition of Bradbury's Travels (Vol. 5, of Early Western Travels. Arthur H. Clark company Cleveland, p. 113-14, note 76), wheer it is stated that the Rees first separated from the Pawnees in the seventeenth century and advanced northward into the Sioux country.[18] He cites no au-

[18] This is, no doubt, a careless statement upon the part of Dr. Thwaites, not intended to be material and meaning simply what is now Sioux country. All of the Sioux traditions indicate that they hunted buffalo as far west as

thority in this connection. That they lived below the Cheyenne river until "late in the eighteenth century, when they moved still further north to be near the Mandans." If they "advanced into the Sioux country," then the Sioux are entitled to the credit of having first dominated, if they did not first inhabit, South Dakota. We have seen that LeSueur's map shows the Aricaras settled upon the Missouri river above the James in 1701. The earliest date at which any tribe of the Sioux reached the Missouri seems to be indicated in Doane Robinson's "History of the Sioux Indians" as being about 1760, at which period it is stated that "the Tetons removed from Big Stone lake to the Missouri," his authority for the statement being "Tribal Traditions" cited from Dr. S. R. Riggs (Mary and I, 1840). Yet the country westward as far as the Missouri may well have been claimed by the Dakotas as their territory, even though no tribe of that nation had then actually settled upon that stream. This may be what is implied by Thwaites' reference to the Aricaras having "advanced northward into the Sioux country. If the case as between the Dakotas and the Aricaras were supposed to be made up from the foregoing data, it would leave it probable that the Aricaras were the first actual settlers on the Missouri river within our state borders.

Before taking final leave of the habitat of the Pawnees in the Nebraska country, it may be noted that on the map prepared by Lieutenant Warren, who came up the Missouri to Fort Pierre in 1855 with the Harney expedition, the site of what is thereon designated as the "Old Pawnee Villages," is located on the Pawnee Loup or Wolf river, a branch of the Platte and flowing into it from the northwest; the site being in a line due south and about 135 miles from the site of Fort Randall (established by that expedition and located in what is now Gregory county on the west bank of the Missouri and about ten miles below Wheeler), being a few miles northeast from St. Paul, Howard county, Neb.

The Lewis and Clark journals contain an entry relative to the Pawnees in the now Nebraska country, when that party had reached a point some ten miles above the mouth of the Platte and had camped on the Missouri there to take observations as to lo-

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the James river in South Dakota and the Sheyenne in North Dakota from a time immemorial, but probably limited to a date when they became horsemen. Their traditions, too, all declare they first secured horses from the Arickarees. —D. R.

cality and to confer with the neighboring Indians tribes; the latitude being 41° 3′ 11″, the date being July 12, 1804. The entry is as follows: "The present season is that in which the Indians go out into the prairies to hunt the buffalo; but as we discovered some hunters' tracks, and observed the plains on fire in the direction of their villages, we hoped that they might have returned to gather the green Indian corn, and therefore dispatched two men to the Ottoes or Pawnee villages, with a present of tobacco, and an invitation to the chiefs to visit us. They returned after two days' absence. Their first course was through an open prairie to the south, in which they crossed the Butterfly creek. They then reached a small beautiful river, called Corne de Cerf, or Elkhorn river, about one hundred yards wide, with clear water and a gravelly channel. It empties a little below the Ottoe village into the Platte, which they crossed, and arrived at the town about forty-five miles from our camp. They found no Indians there though they saw some fresh tracks of a small party. The Ottoes were once a powerful nation, and lived about twenty miles above the Platte, on the southern bank of the Missouri. Being reduced, they migrated to the neighborhood of the Pawnees, under whose protection they now live. Their village is on the south side of the Platte, about thirty miles from its mouth; and their number is two hundred men, including about thirty families of Missouri Indians, who are incorporated with them. Five leagues above them, on the same side of the river, resides the nation of the Pawnees. This people were among the most numerous of the Missouri Indians, but have gradually been dispersed and broken, and even since the year 1797 have undergone some sensible changes. They now consist of four bands; the first is the one just mentioned, of about five hundred men, to whom of late years have been added the second band, who are called Republican Pawnees, from their having lived on the Republican branch of the river Kansas, whence they emigrated to join the principal band of the Pawnees; the Republican Pawnees amount to nearly two hundred and fifty men. The third, are the Pawnee Loups, or Wolf Pawnees, who reside on the Wolf fork of the Platte, about ninety miles from the principal Pawnees, and number two hundred and eighty men. The fourth band originally resided on the Kansas and Arkansas, but in their wars with the Osages they were so

often defeated that they at last retired to their present position on the Red river, where they form a tribe of four hundred men. All these tribes live in villages, and raise corn; but during the intervals of culture rove in the plains in quest of Buffalo." (Vol. 1, pp. 44-5.)

The first reference to the site of an Aricara village in Lewis and Clark's journal is in the following entry (p. 90, Vol. 1): "Captain Clark ascended three miles to a beautiful plain on the upper side, where the Pawnees once had a village," reference being had to the Niobrara river at its mouth; and five miles above the mouth of that stream is "Pawnee island," as recorded therein; while a little above where Fort Randall was afterwards established was found by them the "Pawnee House," being Trudeau's trading post (see Vol. 1, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 373). The next reference by those explorers to an Aricara village site is at page 126 of Vol. 1, where at seven and a half miles above the point at which they had camped near the mouth of the Teton river (which was perhaps a mile or thereabouts below the site of old Fort Pierre trading post, afterwards established) they stated, "We came to a small creek on the south side [of the Missouri] * * * and which we called Notimber creek, from its bare appearance," and they add: "Above the mouth of this stream an Aricara band of Pawnees had a village five years ago, but there are no remains of it except the mound which encircled the town." They further record that at a point twenty-four and a half miles above their Teton river camp, "We had passed a large island in the middle of the river, opposite to the lower end of which the Ricaras had a village on the south [west] side of the river [Missouri]; there are, however, no remains of it now, except a circular wall three or four feet in height, which encompassed the town." (Id. p. 128.) Two miles beyond this is, according to their record, the mouth of the Cheyenne river.

More will be said about the remains of these two Ree villages among others, further on.

Bradbury, the naturalist who came up the Missouri in 1811 with the Hunt-Astoria expedition, also speaks of the deserted Ree village a few miles above the Teton river, referring to it as "the remains of an old Aricara village," which they passed in the early part of the day, on which they left what was afterwards the im-

mediate neighborhood of Fort Pierre. He says (p. 104): "The site was indicated by an embankment, on which had been palisadoes, as the remains were still visible. Within the area the vestiges of the lodges were very apparent, and great quantities of bones and fragments of earthenware were scattered in every part." This was in June, 1811. Lewis and Clark first camped at the mouth of the Teton river (which they gave that name for the tribe of Sioux inhabitating it) September 24, 1804, and the reference made to the Ree village above is under the date-head of September 29th. If, therefore, they truly record the fact, the Rees actually lived in the village which is now immediately north of the inclosure of the "Scotty" Philip buffalo pasture, in 1799.

Brackenridge, who was also with the Hunt party, mentions this Ree village site above the Teton river. In his "Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri" (Balto., 1815), page 129, is found this entry:

"Thursday, 6th [June]. * * * This morning passed the remains of an Indian village, there were great piles of buffalo bones, and quantities of earthenware. The village appears to have been scattered around a kind of citadel, or fortification, enclosing four or five acres, and of an oval form. The earth is thrown up about four feet, there are a few cedar palisadoes remaining. Probably, in cases of siege, the whole village was crowded into this space." And on "Friday, 28th," his journal contains this statement: "In the evening passed several old villages, said to be of the Arikara nation."

This village above described in such detail was doubtless the upper one of the three Ree village sites on the Missouri bottom above Fort Pierre, which will be hereinafter described as they appeared to the writer in 1899, and as to the upper village, in 1906. To any one who at this day visits and examines the stronghold in question, it will be seen that the Hunt party, and probably that of Lewis and Clark, must have actually entered within the area sursounded by the deep ditch even now very plain and imposing, in order to have viewed in detail the site. This village is rich in traditional story as being the last stronghold defended by the valiant Rees against the onslaughts of the powerful and far more numerous Sioux.

Progressing northward from the Cheyenne river, we will note

the successive references in the Lewis and Clark journals to the Ree village sites seen by them and, as the actual habitations of those bands were approached by that expedition, to the villages in which they were then living; which evidences will be supplemented by the accounts of the observations of the other authorities above referred to.

Reckoning the various distances traveled, as shown by their daily journal entries, we find that their first reference to an Aricara village site north of the Cheyenne was at a point forty-two miles north of that stream, referred to as "an old Aricara village in the center of Lahoocat island. The Aricaras were known to have lived there in 1797 and the village seems to have been deserted about five years since. It was surrounded by a circular wall, containing seventeen lodges." (Vol. 1, p. 133.)

This positive statement that this village site was deserted in 1797, taken in connection with the previous entry to the effect that the Rees (Pawnees) "had a village five years ago," or in 1799, in the immediate neighborhood of old Fort Pierre site, seems to indicate that the entire array of Ree villages from the mouth of the Teton to the neighborhood of the mouth of the Moreau river had been successfully attacked by the Sioux and their occupants driven further north about the end of the eighteenth century.

Thirty-two miles further up the Missouri, or about seventy-four miles above the Cheyenne, is noted in Lewis and Clark's journal a "village supposed to belong to the Aricares; it is situated in a low plain on the river, and contains about eighty lodges of an octagon form, neatly covered with earth, placed as close to each other as possible, and picketed around. The skin canoes, mats, buckets, and articles of furniture found in the lodges, induced us to suppose that it had been left in the spring. We found three different sorts of squashes growing in the village." (Pp. 134-5.)

About four miles further on they found, as noted in the journal, "An Aricara village or wintering camp composed of about sixty lodges, built in the same form as those passed yesterday, of willow and straw mats, baskets and skin canoes remaining entire in the camp." (P. 136.)

This last village is stated to be located "just below the mouth of a river called by the Aricaras, Sawawkawna or Pork river."

Fourteen and one-half miles further on, or about 92½ miles north of the Cheyenne, is noted in the same record, "an island called Grouse island, on which are the walls of an old village; the island has no timber, but is covered with grass and wild rye." (P. 136.) While twelve miles higher up the Missouri, or about 104 miles above the Cheyenne, they passed the "Wetawhoo" river "on the southern side," in latitude 45° 39′ 5″, so-called by the Aricaras.

This "Wetawhoo" river is thus seen to have been situated, according to the calculations of that expedition, about twenty-seven miles above the sixty-lodge village and thirty-one miles above the eighty-lodge village referred to, both of which were at that time at least the temporary dwelling place of Indians and, doubtless, of Rees. The indicated latitude, 45° 39′ 5″ north, fixes the locality referred to in the journal as being substantially at the mouth of the Grand river, while the two villages last above referred to would thus be shown to be at or about the mouth of the Moreau.

The journal continues: "Two miles above the Wetawhoo, and on the same side, is a small river called the Maropa by the Indians; it is twenty yards in width, but so dammed up by mud that the stream creeps through a channel of not more than an inch in diameter, and discharges no sand. One mile further we reached an island close to the southern shore, from which it is separated by a deep channel of sixty yards. About half way a number of Ricara Indians came out to see us. We stopped and took a Frenchman on board, who accompanied us past the island to our camp on the north side of the river, which is at the distance of twelve miles from that of yesterday. Captain Lewis then returned with four of the party to see the village."

The record of the expedition thus shows that the Ricaras were peaceably inclined, and that the island village seemed to be the general center of the groups of Indians stationed in that immediate locality. The record then proceeds to describe the village as "situated in the center of the island, near the southern shore, under the foot of some high, bold, uneven hills, and contains about sixty lodges. The island itself is about three miles long, and covered with fields in which the Indians raise corn,

beans, and potatoes." "Gravelines was found there as a trader, and other Frenchmen." (Pp. 137-8.)

Some extended account of the three Aricara villages found by Lewis and Clark within a distance of about four miles, at this stage of the journey, is necessary in order to convey an adequate idea of the extent of the Ree Indian establishments on the upper Missouri at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

There were three "principal chiefs," who were met, together with many other Indians, at what seems to have been the island village first passed by the expedition before they camped just above and near two other villages and then returned to meet the island Indians; their names being: First chief, Kakawissassa, or Lighting Crow; second chief, Pocasse or Hay; third chief, Piaheto, or Eagle's Feather. The skin canoes of these Indians are thus referred to: "Notwithstanding the high waves, two or three squaws rowed to us in little canoes made of a single buffalo skin, stretched over a frame of boughs interwoven like a basket, and with the most perfect composure." (Pp. 138-9.)

The morning after this particular camping, Mr. Gravelines and Mr. Tabeau were dispatched "to invite the chiefs of the two upper villages to a conference. They all assembled at one o'clock, and after the usual ceremonies we addressed them in the same way in which we had already spoken to the Otoes and Sioux; we then made or acknowledged three chiefs, one for each of the three villages; giving to each a flag, a medal, a red coat, a cocked hat and feather, also some goods, paint, and tobacco, which they divided among themselves; after this the air-gun was exhibited, very much to their astonishment, nor were they less surprised at the color and manner of York (a negro attendant). On our side we were equally gratified at discovering that these Ricaras made use of no spirituous liquors of any kind, the example of the traders who bring it to them, so far from tempting, has in fact disgusted them. Supposing that it was as agreeable to them as to the other Indians, we had at first offered them whisky; but they refused it with this sensible remark, that they were surprised that their father should present to them a liquor which would make them fools. On another occasion they remarked to Mr. Tabeau, that no man could be their friend who tried to lead them into such follies. The council being over, they retired to consult on their

answer, and the next morning, Thursday, 11th [October] at eleven o'clock we again met in council at our camp. The grand chief made a short speech of thanks for the advice we had given, and promised to follow it; adding that the door was now open and no one dare shut it, and that we might depart whenever we pleased, alluding to the treatment we had received from the Sioux; they also brought us some corn, beans, and dried squashes, and in return we gave them a steel mill, with which they were much pleased. At one o'clock we left our camp with the grand chief and his nephew on board, and at about two miles anchored below a creek on the south, separating the second and third villages of the Ricaras, which are about half a mile distant from each other. We visited both the villages, and sat conversing with the chiefs for some time, during which they presented us with a bread made of corn and beans, also corn and beans boiled, and a large rich bean which they take from the mice of the prairie, who discover and collect it. These two villages are placed near each other in a high smooth prairie; a fine situation, except that having no wood the inhabitants are obliged to go for it across the river to a timbered lowland opposite to them. We told them that we would speak to them in the morning at their villages separately. Thursday, 12th: Accordingly, after breakfast, we went on shore to the house of the chief of the second village, named Lassel, where we found his chiefs and warriors. They made us a present of about seven bushels of corn, a pair of leggings, a twist of their tobacco, and the seeds of two different species of tobacco. The chief then delivered a speech expressive of his gratitude for the presents and the good counsels which we had given him; his intention of visiting his great father but for fear of the Sioux; and requested us to take one of the Ricara chiefs up to the Mandans and negotiate a peace between the two nations. To this we replied in a suitable way, and then repaired to the third village. Here we were addressed by the chief in nearly the same terms as before, and entertained with a present of ten bushels of corn, some beans, dried pumpkins, and squashes. After we had answered and explained the magnitude and power of the United States, the three chiefs came with us to the boat. We gave them some sugar, a little salt, and a sun-glass. Two of them then left us, and the chief of the third, by name Ahketah-

nasha, or Chief of the Town, accompanied us to the Mandans. At two o'clock we left the Indians, who crowded to the shore to take leave of us." (P. 139-162.)

It is thus seen that the party remained during about five days at these three villages where, for the first time, American citizens formally met the Aricara Indians.

It is believed to be due to the reader and to the society for whom this paper is being prepared, to again quote at length from the Lewis and Clark journal the summary account of these villages and their occupants, as follows:

"The three villages which we have just left are the residence of a nation called the Aricaras. They were originally colonies of Pawnees, who established themselves on the Missouri, below the Cheyenne, where the traders still remember that twenty years ago they occupied a number of villages. From that situation a part of the Ricaras emigrated to the neighborhood of the Mandans, with whom they were then in alliance. The rest of the nation continued near the Cheyenne till the year 1797, in the course of which, distressed by their wars with the Sioux, they joined their countrymen near the Mandans. Soon after a new war arose between the Ricaras and the Mandans, in consequence of which the former came down the river to their present position. In this migration those who had first gone to the Mandans kept together, and now live in the two lower villages, which may thence be considered as the Ricaras proper. The third village was composed of such remnants of the villages as had survived the wars, and as these were nine in number, a difference of pronunciation and some difference of language may be observed between them and the Ricaras proper, who do not understand all the words of these wanderers. The villages are within the distance of four miles of each other, the two lower ones consisting of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred men each, the third of three hundred. The Ricaras are tall and well-proportioned, the women handsome and lively, and, as among other savages, to them falls all the drudgery of the field and the labor of procuring subsistence, except that of hunting; both sexes are poor, but kind and generous, and although they receive with thankfulness what is given to them, do not beg as the Sioux did, though this praise should be qualified by mentioning that an axe was stolen last

night from our cooks. The dress of the men is a simple pair of moccasins, leggings, and a cloth round the middle, over which a buffalo robe is occasionally thrown, with their hair, arms, and ears decorated with different ornaments. The women wear moccasins, leggings, and a long shirt made of goats' skins, generally white and fringed, which is tied round the waist; to these they add, like the men, a buffalo robe without the hair, in summer. These women are handsomer than the Sioux."

After descending in some particularity to the manners of some of the Aricara women, not proof of the highest virtue, the narrative proceeds:

"The Ricara lodges are in a circular or octagonal form, and generally about thirty or forty feet in diameter; they are made by placing forked posts about six feet high round the circumference of the circle; these are joined by poles from one fork to another, which are supported also by other forked poles slanting from the ground; in the center of the lodge are placed four higher forks, about fifteen feet in length, connected together by beams; from these to the lower poles the rafters of the roof are extended so as to leave a vacancy in the middle for the smoke; the frame of the building is then covered with willow branches, with which is interwoven grass, and over this mud or clay; the aperature for the door is about four feet wide, and before it is a sort of entry about ten feet from the lodge. They are very warm and compact. They cultivate the maize or Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons, squashes, and a species of tobacco peculiar to themselves. Their commerce is chiefly with the traders, who supply them with goods in return for peltries, which they procure, not only by their own hunting, but in exchange for corn from their less civilized neighbors. The object chiefly in demand seemed to be red paint, but they would give anything they had to spare for the most trifling article. One of the men today gave an Indian a hook made out of a pin, and he gave him in return a pair of moccasins. They expressed a disposition to keep at peace with all nations, but they are well armed with fusils, and being much under the influence of the Sioux, who exchanged the goods which they got from the British for Ricara corn, their minds are sometimes poisoned and they cannot be always depended on. At

the present moment they are at war with the Mandans." (Pp. 142-6.)

Thirty-two miles above the place camped at by the expedition near the Ree villages, or 146 miles above the Cheyenne according to their calculation, was found, "immediately opposite our camp on the north side, the ruins of an ancient fortification, the greater part of which is washed into the river; nor could we distinguish more than that the walls were eight or ten feet high." (Page 148.) Three miles further up they again camped "a little above a camp of Ricaras who are hunting, where we were visited by about thirty Indians; they came over in their skin canoes, bringing us meat, for which we returned them beads and fish-hooks. About a mile higher we found another encampment of Ricaras on the south, consisting of eight lodges; here we again ate and exchanged a few presents. As we went we discerned numbers of other Indians on both sides of the river;" and about four miles further on they narrate the finding of "an old village of the Sharha or Chayenne Indians" just below the mouth of a creek "on the south" where were "many high hills, resembling a house with a slanting roof," and the expedition halted at night ten miles above the preceding camp (or 150 miles above the Cheyenne) "above a camp of ten Ricara lodges on the north side. We visited their camp, and smoked and ate with several of them; they all appeared kind and pleased with our attentions, and the fair sex received our men with more than hospitality." On the next morning they record: "Just above our camp we passed a circular work or fort, where the Sharha or Chayennes formerly lived;" and at seven miles from the last camp they reached an island about one and a half miles long, at the upper end of which was found a river emptying into the Missouri from the north "called Warreconne, or Elk Shed their Horns." This river is Beaver creek, Emmons county, N. D.; the island in question being "named Carp island by Evans, a former traveler." After narrating the facts as to the presence on the banks of the river and in the water of "great number of goats" (antelopes), it is stated: "They had been gradually driven into the river by the Indians, who now lined the shore so as to prevent their escape, and were firing on them, while sometimes boys went into the river and killed them with sticks; they seemed to be very successful, for we

counted fifty-eight which they had killed. We ourselves killed some, and then passing the lodges to which these Indians belonged, encamped at the distance of half a mile on the south, having made fourteen and a half miles. We were soon visited by numbers of these Ricaras, who crossed the river hallooing and singing; two of them then returned for some goat's flesh and buffalo meat dried and fresh, with which they made a feast that lasted till late at night, and caused much music and merriment." (Id. page 150.)

These Ricaras where the "goats" (antelopes) were found, and the island at the mouth of the Warreconna were, then, in the neighborhood of 164 miles north of the Cheyenne, if the Lewis and Clark record is regarded as correct; and they were now near the mouth of the Cannon Ball or Le Boulet river, as will be seen.

After proceeding six miles further the next day they camped, where they went hunting, and this further reference is made to the "goats:" "The goats, of which we see large flocks coming to the north bank of the river, spend the summer, says Mr. Gravelines, in the plains east of the Missouri, and at the present season are returning to the Black mountains, where they subsist on leaves and shrubbery during the winter, and resume their migrations in the spring." The latitude now reached by the expedition is recorded as 46° 23′ 57″. (Page 151.) Then follows this record: "Thursday, 18th [October]: After three miles we reached the mouth of Le Boulet or Cannon Ball river," whose name "is derived from the numbers of perfectly round large stones on the shore and in the bluffs just above. We here met with two Frenchmen in the employ of Mr. Gravelines, who had been robbed by the Mandans of their traps, furs, and other articles, and were descending the river in a perioque, but they turned back with us in expectation of obtaining redress through our means." (Page 152.) On October 19th, at a distance of twenty-seven and a half miles north of the Cannon Ball and about 192 miles north of the Cheyenne, were found the remains of the first Mandan village seen by that expedition. The record reads that they "encamped on the north, opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation. Our chief tells us that the calumet bird lives in the holes formed

by the filtration of water from the top of these hills through the sides. Near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain, are the remains of an old village which is high, strong, and has been fortified; this our chief tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri; opposite to our camp is a deep bend to the south, at the extremity of which is a pond."

This location of the most southerly of the deserted Mandan village sites discovered by Lewis and Clark is, roundly speaking, some seventy miles beyond the north line of South Dakota, and, as will be seen, is about the same distance south of the then present site of the inhabited Mandan villages.

Some twelve miles further up the expedition found "the remains of a village covering six or eight acres, formerly occupied by the Mandans, who, says our Ricara chief, once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river, till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher; whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position." Next day "just above" the camp of the preceding night, they came to Chissetaw creek on the south (west) side of the Missouri, concerning which the Lewis and Clark narrative shows the Aricara chief stated "that at some distance up this river is situated a large rock which is held in great veneration, and visited by parties who go to consult it as to their own or their nation's destinies, all of which they discern in some sort of figures or paintings with which it is covered. About two miles off from the mouth of the river the party on shore saw another of the objects of Ricara superstition; it is a large oak tree, standing alone in the open prairie, and as it alone has withstood the fire which has consumed everything around, the Indians naturally ascribe to it extraordinary powers. One of their ceremonies is to make a hole in the skin of their necks through which a string is passed and the other end tied to the body of the tree; and after remaining in this way for some time they think they become braver." A second Mandan village ruin was found about two miles from the last camping place, "which was in existence at the same time with that just mentioned. It is situated on the north (east) at the foot of a hill in a beautiful and extensive plain, which is now covered with herds of buffalo; nearly opposite are

remains of a third village on the south of the Missouri; and there is another also about two miles further on the north, a little off the river." Next morning the expedition passed "an old Mandan village on the south, near our camp; at four miles another on the same side. "After passing a squad of eleven Teton Sioux of warlike appearance and who seemed to be either going to or returning from the Mandans, they found at the upper end of an island the ruins of a Mandan village on the north side, and at eight miles above the last camp another similar ruin on the south side. By way of apparent summary the record thus speaks of these various ruins: "These villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles; almost all that remains of them is the wall which surrounded them, the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses and occasionally human skulls and the teeth and bones of men, and different animals, which are scattered on the surface of the ground." (Page 156.) The journal of the next day shows the expedition passing "an old village on the north, which was the former residence of the Ahnahaways, who now live between the Mandans and Minnetarees," this being twelve miles above the last camp, or sixteen miles above the ruin last found. The next morning, October 24th, four miles above the remains last passed and upon an island in the river north of the channel, the journal shows: "We found one of the grand chiefs of the Mandans, who with five lodges was on a hunting excursion. He met his enemy, the Ricara chief, with great ceremony and apparent cordiality, and smoked with him. After visiting his lodges, the grand chief and his brother came on board of our boat for a short time; we then proceeded and camped on the north, at seven miles from our last night's station and below the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras. Here four Mandans came down from a camp above, and our Ricara chief returned with them to their camp, from which we augur favorably of their pacific views towards each other." The next morning, three miles further on, they passed "an old village of the Mandan nation, which has been deserted for many years," and situated "on an eminence about forty feet above the water, and extending back for several miles on a beautiful plain. A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground, are two old villages of Ricaras, one on the top of the hill,

the other in the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated, at three or four miles from the Ricara villages, three old villages of the Mandans, near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above. In the low ground the squaws raised their corn, and the timber, of which there was little near the villages, was supplied from the opposite side of the river, where it was and still is abundant." After having sent the Aricara chief on shore to communicate with the many Mandans who were prevented by sandbars from reaching the boats, the expedition camped eleven miles above the last stopping-place, to which point the Aricara brought a Mandan, who remained over night. The journal entries of the next day (26th) show that "after putting the Ricara chief on shore to join the Mandans, who were in great numbers along it, we proceeded to the camp of the grand chiefs, four miles distant. Here we met a Mr. McCracken one of the Northwest or Hudson Bay company, who arrived with another person about nine days ago to trade for horses and buffalo robes. Two of the chiefs came on board with some of their household furniture, such as earthen pots and a little corn, and went on with us; the rest of the Indians following on shore. At one mile beyond the camp we passed a small creek, and at three more a bluff of coal of inferior quality on the south. After making eleven miles we reached an old field where the Mandans had cultivated grain last summer, and encamped for the night on the south side, about half a mile below the first village of the Mandans. In the morning we had a willow low ground on the south and highland on the north, which occasionally varied in the course of the day. There is but little wood on this part of the river, which is here subdivided into many channels and obstructed by sandbars. As soon as we arrived a crowd of men, women, and children came down to see us. Captain Lewis returned with the principal chiefs to the village, while the others remained with us during the evening." Early next day, October 27th, "We proceeded and anchored off the village. Captain Clark went on shore, and after smoking a pipe with the chiefs, was desired to remain and eat with them. He declined on account of his being unwell; but his refusal gave

great offense to the Indians, who considered it disrespectful not to eat when invited, till the cause was explained to their satisfaction. We sent some tobacco, and then proceeded to the second village on the north, passing by a bank containing coal, and encamped at four miles on the north, opposite to a village of Ahnahways. We here met a Frenchman named Jesseaume, who lives among the Indians with his wife and children, and whom we take as an interpreter. The Indians had flocked to the bank to see us as we passed, and they visited in great numbers the camp, where some of them remained all night. We sent in the evening three young Indians with a present of tobacco for the chiefs of the three upper villages, inviting them to come down in the morning to a council with us." Next day the expedition was "joined by many of the Minnetarees and Ahnahaways from above," and consulted with the Mandan chief, Black Cat, and Mr. Jesseaume, as to the names, characters, etc., of the chiefs with whom we are to hold the council. In the course of the day we received several presents from the women, consisting of corn, boiled hominy, and garden stuffs; in our turn we gratified the wife of the great chief with a gift of a glazed earthern jar." On the following morning, October 29th, the expedition counciled with the Indians: "At ten o'clock the chiefs were all assembled under an awning of our sails, stretched so as to exclude the wind, which had become high; that the impression might be more forcible, the men were all paraded, and the council opened by a discharge from the swivel from the boat. We then delivered a speech, which like those we had already made, intermingled advice with assurances of friendship and trade: * * * Towards the end of our speech we introduced the subject of our Ricara chief, with whom we recommended a firm peace; to this they seemed well disposed, and all smoked with him amicably." Then followed the distribution of presents to the chiefs: "One chief of each town was acknowledged by a gift of a flag, a medal with the likeness of the president of the United States, a uniform coat, hat and feather; to the second chiefs we gave a medal representing some domestic animals, and a loom for weaving; to the third chiefs, medals with the impression of a farmer sowing grain. A variety if other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than an iron corn-mill which we gave to the Mandans."

The following "first" chiefs were "made" or appointed by the head of the expedition: Of the lower Mandan village, called Matootonha, Shahaska or Big White; of the second Mandan village, or Rooptahee, Shotahawrora or Coal; of the third village called Mahawha, "where the Arwacahwas reside," Tetuckopinreha or White Buffalo Robe Unfolded; of the fourth village, of the Minatarees, called Metaharta, Ompsehara or Black Moccasin; of the fifth village, Eapanopa or Red Shield. "We made Poscopsahe or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation." (Pages 164-5.)

The first or lower Mandan village of the group among which the Lewis and Clark expedition wintered, is thus seen to have been situated about 260 miles by river above the mouth of the Cheyenne, according to the reckoning of that party.

We have brought out in some detail the facts connected with the Mandan settlements, new and old, and with the meeting between the Lewis and Clark expedition and those Indians, in order to give the reader a clearer idea of the relations between the Aricaras and the Mandan and allied tribes as they existed at that time; while the Mandans will be treated of in Part II of this paper, which, it is hoped, may be prepared for publication in the next succeeding volume of these Collections.

On October 31st Captain Clark, at the invitation of Big White of the lower village, went to that village and listened to the chief in response to the council speech made on the 29th on behalf of the expedition, Big White stating: "That he believed what we had told him, and that they should soon enjoy peace, which would gratify him as well as his people, because they could then hunt without fear of being attacked, and the women might work in the fields without looking every moment for the enemy, and at night put off their moccasins, a phrase by which is conveyed the idea of security, when the women could undress at night without fear of attack. As to the Ricaras, he continued, in order to show you that we wish peace with all men, that chief, pointing to his second chief, will go with some warriors back to the Ricaras with their chief now here and smoke with that nation." (Page 167-8.) The next day "the chiefs of the lower village arrived; they requested that we would call at their village for some corn; that they were willing to make peace with the Ricaras; that they had

never provoked the war between them, but as the Ricaras had killed some of their chiefs, they had retaliated on them; that they had killed them like birds, till they were tired of killing them, so that they would send a chief and some warriors to smoke with them." (Page 168-9.) The next day the record shows: "Our Ricara chief set out with one Mandan chief and several Minetarees and Mandan warriors." On November 6th the journal recites: "Mr Gravelines and four others who came with us, returned to the Ricaras in a small perioque; we gave him directions to accompany some of the Ricara chiefs to the seat of government in the spring." (Page 271.) On the 10th: "A chief who is a half Pawnee came to us, and brought a present of half a buffalo, in return for which we gave him some small presents and a few articles to his wife and son; he then crossed the river in a buffalo skin canoe; his wife took the boat on her back and carried it to the village three miles off." It seems probable that this reference to a village three miles away is to one of the Mandan or other villages hereinbefore mentioned, and not to a supposed Pawnee (or Aricara) village, as it does not otherwise appear that any band of that tribe was living in that vicinity.

As showing how, at the time in question, the Mandans and Aricaras were at a disadvantage in favor of the Assiniboine and Sioux, the Lewis and Clark journal may again be quoted from in connection with some advice given by those explorers to the Mandans to keep peace with the northern tribes. The journal runs thus: "The fact is, that the Assiniboine treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians; the consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (Page 175.) And as indicating how the Sioux regarded the Aricaras as subject to their domination and incidental protection against the Mandans, another entry is in point, viz: "In the course of the day several Indians came down to partake of our fresh meat; among the rest, three chiefs of the second Mandan village. They inform us that the Sioux on the Missouri above the Chayenne river threaten to attack them this winter; that these Sioux are much irritated at the Ricaras for having made peace through our means with the

Mandans, and have lately illtreated three Ricaras who carried the pipe of peace to them, by beating them and taking away their horses. We gave them assurances that we would protect them from all their enemies." (Pages 176-7.) This was on November 20th, only eighteen days after the peace party set out from the Mandan village.

The next important reference in those journals to the Aricaras in connection with the Mandans is as follows: "Within the recollections of living witnesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two finding themselves wasting away before the small-pox and the Sioux, united into one village, and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages, and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796; since which the two villages have united into one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast side of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second, the same number, and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men." (Pages 177-8.) This does not indicate that the Mandans actually mingled with the Aricaras when the former ascended the river as stated, but that all of the Mandans were on the opposite (east) side of the Missouri from the Aricaras, until they came to their location in 1804. We will pass by as immaterial to this paper the accounts of the Mahaha village of the Ahnahaways, that of the Minetaree Metaharta and the Minnetaree village proper on the Knife river, found in those journals, by simply observing that they were, roundly speaking,

about four miles above the lower Mandan village of the general group. (P. 183, L. & C.)

As indicating in some degree the want of good faith existing at that time between the Mandans and the Aricaras, the remarks of Ohenaw, a "Chayenne," who was with the Mandans and who was complaining to Captain Clark of the killing of some Mandans by the Sioux and Aricaras since the arrival of Lewis and Clark, are in point. He said: "We did indeed listen to your good talk, for when you told us that the other nations were at peace with us, we went out carelessly in small parties, and some have been killed by the Sioux and Ricaras. But I knew that the Ricaras were liars, and I told their chief who accompanied you, that his whole nation were liars and bad men; that we had several times made a peace with them, which they were the first to break; that whenever we pleased we might shoot them like buffalo, but that we had no wish to kill them; that we would not suffer them to kill us, nor steal our horses; and that although we agree to make peace with them, because our two fathers desired it, yet we did not believe that they would be faithful long. Such, father, was my language to them in your presence, and you see that instead of listening to your good counsels they have spilt our blood. A few days ago, two Ricaras came here and told us that two of their villages were making moccasins, that the Sioux were stirring them up against us, and that we ought to take care of our horses; yet these very Ricaras we sent home as soon as the news reached us today, lest our people should kill them in the first moment of grief for their murdered relatives." They were then further advised that "if some Ricaras had joined the Sioux, they should remember that there were bad men in every nation, and that they should not be offended at the Ricaras till they saw whether these ill-disposed men were countenanced by the whole tribe; that the Sioux possessed great influence over the Ricaras, whom they supplied with military stores, and sometimes led them astray, because they were afraid to oppose them." The next day some Cheyennes accompanied by three Pawnees arrived with a pipe of peace, and the Mandans, "being afraid of the Sharhas (Cheyennes) on account of their being at peace with the Sioux, wished to put both them and the three Pawnees to death; but the chiefs had forbidden it, as it would be contrary to our wishes." The journal at

this point contains this further information: "The Mandans, we observe, call all the Ricaras by the name of Pawnee; the name of Ricaras being that by which the nation distinguishes itself." (Pages 187-8.)

On the following day, December 2d, upon the occasion of the visit to the headquarters of the expedition by some Cheyennes, who were brought in by the chiefs of the lower village, they were advised to remain at peace with each other. "We also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted." (Pages 188-9.)

On February 1, 1805, a request by one of the Minatarees that he be allowed to go to war against the Sioux and Aricaras "who had killed a Mandan some time ago" was refused "for reasons which we explained to him. He acknowledged that we were right, and promised to open his ears to our counsels." These various quotations from the journals of Lewis and Clark serve the further purpose of indicating the complete control over the Mandans exercised by that expedition and the high purposes served thereby.

From the journal of February 12th is extracted the following: "The horses of the Mandans are so often stolen by the Sioux, Ricaras, and Assiniboine, that the invariable rule now is to put the horses every night in the same lodge with the family."

February 28th the journal shows the following entry: "Mr. Gravelines, with two Frenchmen and two Indians, arrived from the Ricara nation, with letters from Mr. Anthony Tabeau. This last gentleman informs us that the Ricaras express their determination to follow our advice, and to remain at peace with the Mandans and Minetarees, whom they are desirous of visiting; they also wish to know whether these nations would permit the Ricaras to settle near them, and form a league against their common enemies, the Sioux. On mentioning this to the Mandans, they agree to it, observing that they always desired to cultivate friendship with the Ricaras, and that the Ahnahaways and Minnetarees have the same friendly views." And as tending to show that the

real hostiles were at that time the Sioux and not the Aricaras, the following entry in their journal, immediately succeeding the above quotation, is significant: "Mr. Gravelines states that the band of Tetons whom we had seen well disposed to us, owing to the influence of their chief, Black Buffalo; but that the three upper bands of Tetons, with the Sisatoons, and the Yanktons of the north, mean soon to attack the Indians in this quarter, with a resolution to put to death every white man they encounter. * * * The men who had stolen our horses we found to be all Sioux, who, after committing the outrage, went to the Ricara villages, where they said that they had hesitated about killing our men who were with the horses, but that in future they would put to death any of us they could, as we were bad medicines and deserved to be killed. The Ricaras were displeased at their conduct, and refused to give them anything to eat, which is deemed the greatest act of hostility short of actual violence." (Pages 228-9.)

On April 7, 1805, the day on which Lewis and Clark left Fort Mandan for the tra-mountain trip, Kagohweto, or Brave Raven, an Aricara chief, and several of his men, visited the headquarters of the expedition, bringing a letter from Tabeau "mentioning the wish of the grand chiefs of the Ricaras to visit the president, and requesting permission for himself and four men to join our boat when it descends; to which we consented, as it will then be manned with fifteen hands, and be able to defend itself against the Sioux. After presenting the letter, he told us that he was sent with ten warriors, by his nation, to arrange their settling near the Mandans and Minnetarees, whom they wished to join; that he considered all the neighboring nations friendly, except the Sioux, whose persecution they could no longer withstand, and whom they hoped to repel by uniting with the tribes in this quarter. He added that the Ricaras intended to follow our advice and live in peace with all nations, and requested that we would speak in their favor to the Assiniboine Indians. This we willingly promised to do, and assured them that their great father would protect them, and no longer suffer the Sioux to have good guns, or to injure his dutiful children. We then gave him a small medal, a certificate of his good conduct, a carrot of tobacco, and some

wampun, with which he departed for the Mandan village, well satisfied with his reception." (Pages 242-3.)

On the return trip of Lewis and Clark, and on August 1, 1806, while camped near the Mandan villages, they were waited on by Borgne, chief of the Minnetarees, and other chiefs, and, in complaining that in spite of the assurances given by Captain Clark on the westward trip, that the expedition had "made peace with all the nations below," yet the Sioux had since killed eight of his tribe, and stolen a number of horses. The Ricaras too had stolen their horses, and in the contest his people had killed two of the Ricaras. Yet in spite of these dispositions he had always had his ears open to our counsels, and had actually made a peace with the Chayennes and the Indians of the Rocky Mountains." (Vol. 3, pp. 356-7.) Chaboneau, one of the interpreters of the expedition, learned and reported, while the camp at the Mandan villages was occupied, that the Minnetarees had, since the expedition had left that locality westward-bound, sent another war party against the Ricaras, "two of whom they killed." On August 15th, when Captain Clark made another address to the chiefs of the different villages, and having reproached the Minnetarees for disregarding the counsels of the expedition, the following statement is recorded, in response: "Littlecherry, the old Minnetaree chief, answered that they had long staid at home and listened to our advice, but at last went to war with the Sioux, because their horses had been stolen, and their companions killed; and that in an expedition against those people, they had met the Ricaras, who were on their way to strike them, and a battle ensued. But in future, he said, they would attend to our words and live at peace." (Pages 360-1.)

At the Big White village of the Mandans, upon taking leave of the chiefs there assembled, and upon being assured by them that they would not make war except in defense of themselves, they further requested Captain Clark "to tell the Ricaras to come and visit them without fear, as they meant that nation no harm, but were desirous of peace with them. On the Sioux, however, they had no dependence, and must kill them whenever they made war parties against their country. Captain Clark, in reply, informed them that we had never insisted on their not defending themselves, but requested only that they would not strike those whom

we had taken by the hand; that we would apprise the Ricaras of their friendly intentions and that, although we had not seen those of the Sioux with whom they were at war, we would relate their conduct to their great father, who would take measures for producing a general peace among all his red children." (Page 363.)

Eighteen miles below Fort Mandan the return party "reached the old Ricara village, where we encamped on the southwest side." Forty miles below that camp the party camped "on the northeast side, opposite an old Mandan village, and below the mouth of the Chesshetah river." (Page 364.) The next camp was eighty-one miles by water below the last one, and soon after leaving it the party "met three traders, two of whom had wintered with us among the Mandans in 1804, and who were now on their way there. * * * They informed us that seven hundred Sioux had passed the Ricara towns on their way to make war against the Mandans and the Minnetarees, leaving their women and children encamped near the Big Bend of the Missouri, and that the Ricaras all remained at home, without taking any part in the war. They also told us that the Pawnee, or Ricara chief, who went to the United States in the spring of 1805, died on his return near Sioux river." (Pages 365-6.) Just below where this conference took place the party "arrived opposite to the Ricara villages. We saluted them with the discharge of four guns, which they answered in the same manner; and on our landing we were met by the greater part of the inhabitants of each village, and also by a band of Chayennes, who were encamped on a hill in the neighborhood. As soon as Captain Clark stepped on shore, he was greeted by the two chiefs to whom we had given medals on our last visit; and as they, as well as the rest, appeared much rejoiced at our return, and desirous of hearing from the Mandans, he sat down on the bank, while the Ricaras and Chayennes formed a circle around him; and after smoking, he informed them, as he had already done the Minnetarees, of the various tribes we had visited, and our anxiety to promote peace among our red brethren. He then expressed his regret at their having attacked the Mandans, who had listened to our counsels, and had sent on a chief to smoke with them, and to assure them that they might now hunt in the plains, and visit the Mandan villages in safety, and concluded by inviting some of the chiefs to accompany us to

Washington. The man whom we had acknowledged as the principal chief when we ascended, now presented another, who he said was a greater chief than himself, and to him therefore he had surrendered the flag and medal with which we had honored him. This chief, who was absent at our last visit, is a man of thirty-five years of age, a stout, well-looking man, and called by the Indians, Grayeyes." The narrative proceeds:

"He now made a very animated reply. He declared that the Ricaras were willing to follow the counsels we had given them, but a few of their bad young men would not live in peace, but had joined the Sioux, and thus embroiled them with the Mandans. These young men had, however, been driven out of the villages, and as the Ricaras were now separated from the Sioux, who were a bad people, and the cause of all their misfortunes, they desired to be at peace with the Mandans, and would receive them with kindness and friendship. Several of the chiefs, he said, were desirous of visiting their great father, but as the chief who went to the United States last summer had not returned, and they had some fears for his safety, on account of the Sioux, they did not wish to leave home until they heard of him. With regard to himself, he would continue with his nation, to see that they followed our advice." (Pages 366-7.) While at the Cheyenne lodges near by the Aricaras, it was observed that they "are a fine looking people, of a large stature, straight limbs, high cheek bones and noses, and of a complexion similar to that of the Ricaras;" that their decorations "consist chiefly of blue beads, shells, red paint, brass rings, bears' claws, and strips of otter skins, of which last they, as well as the Ricaras, are very fond." In response to an address by one of the Cheyennes, Big White the Mandan "addressed them at some length, explaining the pacific intentions of his nation; and the Cheyenne observed that both the Ricaras and Mandans seemed to be in fault; but at the end of the council, the Mandan chief was treated with great civility, and the greatest harmony prevailed among them. The great chief, however, informed us, that none of the Ricaras could be prevailed on to go with us till the return of the other chief, and that the Chayennes were a wild people, and afraid to go." (Pages 369-70.) Captain Clark then visited the lower Aricara village on the island, accompanied by the head chief who had come to the boats. The narrative here

runs thus: "The second chief, on seeing the Mandan, began to speak to him in a loud and threatening tone, till Captain Clark declared that the Mandans had listened to our counsels, and that if any injury was done to the chief, we should defend him against every nation. He then invited the Mandan to his lodge, and after a very ceremonious smoking, assured Captain Clark that the Mandan was as safe as at home, for the Ricaras had opened their ears to our counsels as well as the Mandans. This was repeated by the great chief, and the Mandan and Ricara chiefs now smoked and conversed in great apparent harmony; after which we returned to the boats." (Pages 370-1.) The next morning, August 22d, before taking leave of the Ricara village, Captain Clark was again requested to visit the chiefs. "They now made several speeches, in which they said that they were unwilling to go with us, until the return of their countrymen, and that, although they disliked the Sioux as the origin of all their troubles, yet as they had more horses than they wanted, and were in want of guns and powder, they would be obliged to trade once more with them for those articles, after which they would break off all connection with them." The record also contains at this point the observation: "While here we had occasion to notice that the Mandans as well as the Minnetarees and Ricaras, keep their horses in the same lodges with themselves." (Pages 371-2.)

When the party had reached a point just above the mouth of the Cheyenne on the return trip, the record shows that owing to scarcity of game because of the recent passage of the Sioux, some of the hunters were sent ahead on the 25th "to hunt in the Pawnee island, and we followed them soon after. At eight o'clock we reached the entrance of the Cheyenne, where we remained till noon, in order to take a meridian observation. At three o'clock we passed the old Pawnee village, near which we had met the Tetons in 1804, and encamped in a large bottom on the northeast side, a little below the mouth of Notimber creek. Just above our camp the Ricara had formerly a large village on each side of the river, and there are still seen the remains of five villages on the southwest side, below the Chayenne, and one also on Lahoocat's island; but these have all been destroyed by the Sioux." (Pages 372-3.) The two village remains "on each side of the river" are believed to be, one that of the stoutly fortified strong-

hold on the southwest side of the Missouri where it curves from east to south, and situated about eight miles above Fort Pierre (reference to which has already been made); the other is situated on the high bluff-line on the north side of the river where it runs eastward, and about a mile and a half northwest from the Oahe mission; concerning which sites more will be said hereafter.

The next reference to the Pawnees found in the Lewis and Clark journal, records the meeting of a trader, in the neighborhood of a hundred miles below the mouth of the Platte, who with three men was "on his way to the Pawnee Loups or Wolf Pawnees, on the Platte." (Page 387.) And on September 12, 1806, the party passed a perioque "bound to the Platte, for the purpose of trading with the Pawnees." And at a distance of about 175 miles below the Platte river they met Mr. Gravelines returning from Washington, the following entry appearing under date of September 12th: "Soon after we met the trading party under Mr. McClellan; and with them was Mr. Gravelines, the interpreter, whom we had sent with a Ricara chief to the United States. The chief had unfortunately died at Washington, and Gravelines was now on his way to the Ricaras, with a speech from the president, and the present which had been made to the chief. He had also directions to instruct the Ricaras in agriculture. He was accompanied on this mission by old Mr. Durion, our former Sioux interpreter, whose object was to procure, by his influence, a safe passage for the Ricara presents through the bands of Sioux, and also to engage some of the Sioux chiefs, not exceeding six, to visit Washington." (Pages 388-9.) This is the last entry regarding the Aricaras found in those journals.

Patrick Gass,[19] who, being a military sergeant, was attached to the Lewis and Clark expedition, and who kept an independent and very instructive journal of his daily observations, sets down

[19] After the death of Sergeant Charles Floyd, at the mouth of the Sioux river (Sioux City), on August 20, 1804, Lewis and Clark determined to permit the men of the party to elect from their number a successor to the office formerly held by Floyd; accordingly on the evening of the 22d, when the party was camped at Elk Point, the election was held and resulted in the choice of Patrick Gass, an Irish carpenter, who had enlisted as a "handy man" for the expedition. This was undoubtedly the first popular election by white men within South Dakota. Gass was a shrewd fellow, possessing scarcely any education. His journal was made up of queer notes, many of of them mere signs, but after his return, the district schoolmaster at his

the following concerning the Aricaras, and found in the reprint of the original edition of 1811, by McClurg (1904).

Under date of September 29, 1804, and after the expedition had just left the camping-place occupied by it just above the mouth of Bad (Teton) river, Gass' journal recites:

"We saw several Indians on the south [west] side walking up the shore; spoke to them and found they were some of those we left yesterday. There were one or two chiefs with them. They requested us to give them a carrot of tobacco for the chiefs of the other band to smoke. We sent them two carrots to a sandbar, where they could get it, but told them we should not go on shore again, until we came to the nation of the Aricaris, commonly called Rickarees, Rickrees or Rees. The Missouri is very shallow at this time and full of sandbars. We passed an old village on the south [west] side, where the Rickarees lived five years ago, and raised corn in the bottom, around the village. We encamped on a sand beach on the south side of the river." The village site referred to is the stronghold mentioned by all of the early explorers cited herein, and a photograph of which is published in connection with this paper. Gass is, however, the only observer who recounts the fact of the Rees having raised corn there. He also rings another change on the orthography of the word indicating those Indians, by spelling it "Aricaris." From a note on page forty-five of the McClurg edition of Gass, we learn that the editors are responsible for designating "south" and "north" banks of the Missouri at different stages of the trip, they having substituted these words, respectively, for the words "starboard" and "larboard" found in the journal.

After passing what he calls White Goat creek some distance north of the Cheyenne river, and on October 6th Gass records: "About 11 we passed a handsome bottom, where a band of the Rees lived last winter. They had left a number of round huts covered with earth, some of their craft made of buffalo hides, and some garden truck, such as squashes." (Id. p. 45.)

Pennsylvania home helped him prepare the notes for publication. For the reason stated very little reliance can be placed upon the spelling or pronunciation of Indian names, or streams recorded by him. On the whole, however, his story is reliable and proves him to have been an extremely good observer.

On October 7th he journalizes: "At the beginning of some timber land we passed a small river on the south side, called Cerwer-cer-na, about ninety yards wide. It is not so sandy as the Missouri, and the water is clear, with a deep channel. At the mouth of this river is a wintering camp of the Rickarees of sixty lodges." (Id. p. 45.)

Under date of October 8th, he records: "At 12 we came to a river on the south side, 120 yards wide, called the Marapa, where we halted for dinner. The hunters came up, but had killed nothing. We passed a long range of hills on the north side; about two miles from the Marapa we passed a creek twenty-five yards wide; and about four miles further came to an island, where one band of the Rickarees lived, and encamped at the upper end." On the 10th he makes the following entry concerning the Ree lodges:

"This day I went with some of the men to the lodges, about sixty in number. The following is a description of the form of these lodges and the manner of building them.

"In a circle of a size suited to the dimensions of the intended lodge, they set up sixteen forked posts five or six feet high and lay poles from one fork to another. Against these poles they lean other poles slanting from the ground and extending about four inches above the cross poles; these are to receive the ends of the upper poles that support the roof. They next set up four large forks fifteen feet high and about ten feet apart in the middle of the area; and poles or beams between these. The roof poles are then laid on extending from the lower poles across the beams which rest on the middle forks of such a length as to leave a hole at the top for a chimney. The whole is then covered with willow branches except the chimney and a hole below to pass through. On the willow branches they lay grass and lastly clay. At the hole below they build a pen about four feet wide and projecting ten feet from the hut, and hang a buffalo skin at the entrance of the hut for a door. This labor, like every other kind, is chiefly performed by the squaws. They raise corn, beans and tobacco. Their tobacco is different from any I had before seen; it answers for smoking, but not for chewing. On our return, I crossed from the island to the boat, with two squaws in a buffalo skin stretched on a frame made of boughs, woven together like a crate or basket for that purpose. Captain Lewis and Cap-

tain Clark held a council with the Indians, and gave them some presents." (Id. pp. 46-7.)

On October 11th his journal shows: "We waited for an answer from the Indians. About 12 o'clock, they came, and brought some corn, beans and squashes, which they presented to us. The chief said he was glad to see us, and wished our commanding officers would speak a good word for them to the Mandans; for they wanted to be at peace with them. These are the best looking Indians I have ever seen. At 1 o'clock p. m. we proceeded on our voyage; passed a creek on the south side twenty yards wide and a handsome bottom covered with timber. Having made about four miles, we came to the second village of the Rickarees, situated in a prairie on the south side. They had the American flag hoisted which Captain Lewis gave them yesterday. Their lodges are similar to those in the first village, and the same, or perhaps more, in number. They are the most cleanly Indians I have ever seen on the voyage;[20] as well as the most friendly and industrious. We all slept on board, except the cooks, who went on shore to prepare provisions for the next day.

"Friday, 12th. We had a pleasant morning, and remained here the forenoon to hear the chief of this village speak. Last night the Indians stole an axe from our cook, which of course in some degree diminished our confidence, and lessened the amicable character we had conceived of them. At 9 o'clock Captain Lewis, Captain Clarke and myself went to the second village, and talked with its chief; then to the third village, about half a mile beyond a small creek, and talked with the chief of that village, and got some corn and beans from them. The third village is nearly of the same size of the second, and has in it a great number of handsome and smart women and children; the men are mostly out hunting. About 12 we left the village and proceeded on our voyage. One of the natives agreed to go with us as far as the Mandans." (Id. pp. 47-8.)

On October 15th Gass makes this entry: "At 7 we saw a hunting party of the Rickarees, on their way down to the villages. They had twelve buffalo-skin canoes or boats laden with meat

[20] A point upon which Gass seems to differ from the conclusions of other observers, for instance Breckenridge.—C. E. D.

and skins; besides some horses that were going down the bank by land. They gave us a part of their meat. The party consisted of men, women and children. At 8 we went on again; passed a fine bottom covered with cottonwod on the north side, and naked hills on the south. About 10, we saw another party of hunters, who asked us to eat and gave us some meat. One of these requested to speak to our young squaw, who for some time hid herself, but at last came out and spoke with him. She then went on shore and talked with him, and gave him a pair of earrings and drops for leave to come with us; and when the horn blew for all hands to come on board, she left them and came to the boat. We passed a creek on the south side, and encamped at dusk on the north, where there was a party of Indians about thirty in number. Our squaw remained with this party. They gave us some meat and appeared very glad to see us." (Id. pp. 49-50.)

On October 16th Gass records: "In the evening, a short time before we encamped, we met with another hunting party of the Rickarees. They had a flock of goats, or antelopes, in the river, and killed upwards of forty of them. Captain Lewis and one of our hunters went out and killed three of the same flock. We encamped on the south side. This day we saw more than a hundred goats." (Id. p. 50.)

On the 17th: "Last night eight of the Indians came over to see us, brought us some meat and remained all night. Captain Lewis gave them some presents this morning." (Id. p. 50.)

Just before leaving the Mandan village where the expedition wintered on the west-bound trip, and on the 5th and 6th of March, 1805, Gass' journal records concerning the Aricaras: "Sixth. The day was clear and pleasant. This morning we heard that some of the Rickarees had come up to the Mandan villages. Our interpreter and some of the men were sent over to ascertain the truth of this report; and we were detained all day waiting their return.

"Sunday, 7th. The men returned and four of the Rickarees with them. The commanding officers held a conversation with these Indians; and they concluded that some of them would go down in the boat from their village to St. Louis. About 5 o'clock we left Fort Mandan in good spirits. Thirty-one men and a wo-

man went up the river and thirteen returned down it in the boat." (Id. p. 73.)

On the return trip down the Missouri, and on August 21, 1806, Gass makes this entry: "We proceeded on early and had a fine morning. At 10 o'clock we arrived at the first village of the Rickarees, and halted. In our way here we met three Frenchmen in a canoe; one of them a young man, who formerly belonged to the Northwest company of traders, wished to go with us to the United States; which our commanding officers consented to and he was taken on board one of our canoes. When we halted and landed at the villages, the natives generally assembled, and Captain Clark held council with them; when they declared they would live in peace with all nations; but that their chiefs and warriors would not go to the United States at present, as they had sent one chief already, and he had not returned. There are also a great many of the Chien or Dog nation encamped here, in large handsome leather lodges; and who have come to trade with the Rickarees for corn and beans, for which they give in exchange buffalo meat and robes." (Id. pp. 277-8.)

On the 22nd, after reaching the island village of the Rees, Gass records: "There was a cloudy, wet morning, after a night of hard rain, and we staid at this village to 12 o'clock. The natives used us friendly and with kindness, gave us corn and beans with other articles; but none of them would go down with us." (Id. p. 279.)

The foregoing are all of the references to the Aricaras found in Gass' journal.

Five years later H. M. Brackenridge, Esq., a lawyer of St. Louis and ambitious to view for himself the great territory so recently acquired by the United States, traveled with Manuel Lisa up the Missouri to the Mandan and Aricara villages; Lisa having been sent upon another expedition into that quarter on behalf of the Missouri Fur company, whose fortunes had been deplorably reduced by virtue of conflicts with the Blackfeet in the Yellowstone region and other circumstances incidental to pioneering at that day in the wilderness of the northwest in the fur trade. On June 2, 1811, the Lisa expedition having reached the Big Bend, and having overtaken at that point the Hunt-Astoria party, the author of "Journal of a Voyage up the River Mis-

souri" (Baltimore, 1816), who had been walking across the neck of that bend and had discovered the Hunt party, thus records, under date of June 2nd, the meeting of a band of the Aricaras there: "I immediately returned to give the joyful intelligence to our people. On coming opposite the place where I had seen the boats, we discovered a great number of Indians, who beckoned us to cross; but supposing them to be Sioux, we determined to continue on until we should overtake the party before us. We suffered them to shout, to gallop their horses, and to wave their robes unnoticed. Some distance above two men came to us, who had been with Hunt; the Indians we had just passed were a party of three hundred Arickaras, who, on hearing of our approach, had come for the purpose of enabling us to ascend. It appears, also, that we have passed all of the Sioux bands, who had been seen by Hunt, but probably finding his party too strong, they had resolved to stop and plunder ours; that we must have passed them in the night, or under sail, as they did not expect to hear of us so soon." (Page 115.) We have already quoted from Brackenridge his description of the deserted fortified Aricara village site above the mouth of the Teton (Bad) river. The Lisa party, traveling in forced conjunction with the Hunt expedition after the two had come together at the Big Bend on account of the supposed danger to both expeditions from the Sioux, reached the vicinity of the inhabited Aricara villages above the Cheyenne on June 11th. The Brackenridge journal contains this entry: "Encamped some distance below the island on which the Aricara village was situated some years ago, they have removed a few miles further up. This evening I went to the camp of Mr. Hunt to make arrangements as to the manner of arriving at the village, and of receiving the chiefs. This is the first time our leaders have had any intercourse directly or indirectly since the quarrel. Mr. Lisa appeared to be suspected; they supposed it to be his intention to take advantage of his influence with the Arickara nation, and do their party some injury in revenge. I pledged myself that this should not be the case." (Pages 134-5.) Under date of the next day the journal continues: "At 9 o'clock two of the chiefs, with the interpreter employed by the company, came on board our boat. They are both fine looking men, much above the common size, and with much fairer complexions than any In-

dians I have seen. One is the hereditary village chief, named the Left Handed; the other a ferocious and gigantic looking fellow named the Big Man. At 10 we put to shore opposite the village, in order to dry our baggage, which was completely wet. The leaders of the party of Hunt were still suspicious that Lisa intended to betray them. McClellan declared that he would shoot him the moment he discovered anything like it. In the meantime, the chief spoke across the river, which is here about half a mile wide; we understood that he was giving orders to prepare the council lodge. The village appeared to occupy about three-quarters of a mile along the river bank, on a level plain, the country behind it rising into hills of considerable height. There are little or no woods anywhere to be seen. The lodges are of a conical shape, and look like heaps of earth. A great number of horses are seen feeding in the plains around, and on the sides of the hills. I espied a number of squaws, in canoes, descending the river and landing at the village. The interpreter informed me that they were returning home with wood. These canoes are made of a single buffalo hide, stretched over osiers, and of a circular form. There was but one woman in each canoe, who kneeled down and paddled in front. The load was fastened to the canoe and dragged along. The water being a little rough, these canoes sometimes almost disappeared between the waves, which produced a curious effect; the squaws, with the help of a little fancy, might be taken for mermaids, sporting on the billows; the canoe rising and sinking with them, while the women were visible from the waist upwards.

"About two o'clock, all matters being arranged, fourteen of us crossed over and accompanied the village chief to his lodge. Mats were laid around for us to sit upon, while he placed himself on a kind of stool or bench. The pipe was then handed round and smoked; after which the herald (every chief or great man has one of them) ascended to the top of the lodge, and seating himself near an open place, began to bawl out like a town crier; the chief every now and then addressing him something through the before mentioned aperature or skylight. We soon discovered the object of this, by the arrival of the other chiefs, about twenty in number, who came dropping in as their respective names were called over, and squatted down upon the bear, or buffalo, skins.

"When all were seated, the crier prepared the pipe, then handed it to the chief, who, as is usual on solemn occasions, began by blowing a whiff upwards, as it were to the heavens, then to the earth, and afterwards to the east. "—O Jove; O earth; And thou, fair sun.—"

After which the pipe was sent round. A mark of respect in handing the pipe to another, is, to hold it until he has taken several whiffs. After this ceremony, the chief began the usual complaint of poverty, etc., not in the spirit of the good Evander, who only alludes to his poverty, to show how much he is above the love of wealth, and tells his guests that his humble roof was not scorned even by a deity. He then declared that he was happy to see us in his village and to take us by the hand as friends. Lisa, in reply to this, after the usual commonplace, observed that he was come to trade amongst them and the Mandans, but that these persons (pointing to Hunt and his comrades) were going a long journey to the great Salt Lake, to the west, and he hoped would meet with favorable treatment; and that any injury offered them, he would consider as done to himself; that although distinct parties, yet, as to the safety of either, they were but one. This candid and frank declaration at once removed all suspicion from the minds of the others, who had become seriously apprehensive that Lisa, finding himself amongst a people who were perfectly at his disposal, might betray them. A number of short speeches were made by the other chiefs and warriors. On the proposal of trading, the Left Handed required a day or two, until he could consult with his people, and fix the terms upon which the trade would be conducted. With this the council ended, the boats were ordered over and encamped a little distance below the village. A guard of Indian warriors was placed to keep off the populace and prevent pilfering." (Pages 134-9.)

The foregoing extended extract from Brackenridge's journal, in some respects quaint and laconic, is regarded as well worthy of insertion entire in this paper, the writer believing that no summary of it is adequate and that no evidence is equal to that of an eye-witness who endeavors to give a faithful account of his impressions at the time.

And after considering what immediately follows in his journal, regarding the domestic habits of the Aricaras, and which consists

in large part of a characteristic criticism of what he observed, the writer regards it as pardonable to reproduce the text of Brackenridge in what he further relates of them, and which includes an interesting account of the manner of construction of their lodges. It is as follows:

"The morning after the council we were completely drenched by heavy rains, which had fallen during the night. The chief has not given his answer as to the conditions of the trade. It is for him usually to fix the price, on a consultation with his subordinate chiefs; to this the whole village must conform. The Indian women and girls were occupied all this morning in carrying earth in baskets, to replace that which the rain had washed off their lodges. Rambled through the village, which I found excessively fifthy, the 'villainous smells,' which everywhere assailed me, compelled me at length to seek refuge in the open plain; the lovers of Indian manners, and mode of living, should contemplate them at a distance. The rains had rendered their village little better than a hog pen; the police appeared to me, in general, extremely negligent. Some of the ancient cities of the old world were probably like this village, inattentive to that cleanliness so necessary to health, where a great mass of beings are collected in one place; and we need not be surprised at the frequency of desolating plagues and pestilence. The village is swaming with dogs and children. I rank these together, for they are inseparable companions. Wherever I went the children ran away, screaming and frightened at my outre and savage appearance. Let us not flatter ourselves with the belief that the effect of civilization and refinement is to render us agreeable and lovely to the eyes of those whom we exclusively denominate savages! The dogs, of which each family has thirty or forty, pretended to make a show of fierceness, but on the least threat, ran off. They are of different sizes and colors. A number are fattened on purpose to eat, others are used for drawing their baggage. It is nothing more than the domesticated wolf. In wandering through the prairies, I have often mistaken wolves for Indian dogs. The larger kind has long curly hair, and resembles the shepherd dog. There is the same diversity amongst the wolves of this country. They may be more properly said to howl, than bark." (Pages 140-2.)

His account of the lodges follows: "The lodges are constructed in the following manner: Four large forks of about fifteen feet in height, are placed in the ground, usually about twenty feet from each other, with hewn logs or beams across; from these beams other pieces are placed above, leaving an aperature at the top to admit the light, and to give vent to the smoke. These upright pieces are interwoven with osiers, after which the whole is covered with earth, though not sodded. An opening is left at one side for a door, which is secured by a kind of projection of ten or twelve feet, enclosed on all sides, and forming a narrow entrance, which might be easily defended. A buffalo robe, suspended at the entrance, answers as a door. The fire is made in a hole in the ground, directly under the aperature at the top. Their beds, elevated a few feet, are placed around the lodge, and enclosed with curtains of elk skins. At the upper end of the lodge there is a kind of trophy erected; two buffalo heads, fastastically painted, are placed on a little elevation; over them are fixed a variety of consecrated things, such as shields, skins of a rare or valuable kind, and quivers of arrows. The lodges are placed at random, without any regularity or design, and are so much alike that it was for some time before I could learn to return to the same one. The village is surrounded by a palisade of cedar poles, but in a very bad state. Around the village there are little plats enclosed by stakes, entwined with osiers, in which they cultivate maize, tobacco, and beans; but their principal field is at the distance of a mile from the village, to which such of the females, whose duty it is to attend to their culture, go and return morning and evening. Around the village they have buffalo robes stuck on high poles. I saw one so arranged as to bear a resemblance to the human figure, the hip bone of the buffalo representing the head, the sockets of the thigh bones looked like eyes." (Pages 142-3.) The next day the record runs:

"It rained again last night, which prevented the trade from commencing until some time in the day. Mr. Lisa sent a quantity of goods to the lodge of the principal chief before mentioned, and Hunt to the one who accompanied him to meet us, the principal war chief. The price of a horse was commonly ten dollars' worth of goods at first cost. Hunt had resolved to purchase horses at this place, and proceed by land to the Columbia, being assured by

some hunters, who met him before his arrival here, that this would be his best route. Mr. Bradbury and I took a walk into the upper village, which is separated from the lower by a stream about twenty yards wide. Entered several lodges, the people of which received us with kindness, placed mats and skins for us to sit on, and after smoking the pipe, offered us something to eat; this consisted of fresh buffalo meat served in a wooden dish. They had a variety of earthen vessels, in which they prepared their food, or kept water. After the meat, they offered us hominy made of corn dried in the milk, mixed with beans, which was prepared with buffalo marrow, and tasted extremely well. Also the prairie turnip, pounded and made into gruel. This is a root that abounds in the prairies; has something of the taste of the turnip, but more dry. Their most common food is hominy and dried buffalo meat. In one of the lodges which we visited, we found the doctor, who was preparing some medicine for a sick lad. He was cooling with a spoon a decoction of some roots, which had a strong taste and smell resembling jalap. He showed us a variety of simples which he used. The most of them were common plants with some medical properties, but rather harmless than otherwise. The boy had a slight pleurisy. The chief remedy for their diseases, which they conceive to be owing to a disorder of the bowels, is rubbing the abdomen and sides of the patient, sometimes with such violence as to cause fainting. When they become dangerous, they resort to charms and incantations, such as singing, dancing, blowing on the sick, etc. They are very successful in the treatment of wounds. When the wound becomes very obstinate, they resort to the actual cautery, after which it heals more easily." (Pages 144-5.)

Again, his narrative takes on the aspect of war's alarm among the Indians:

"On our return in the evening, an alarm prevailed in the village, which appeared to be all in commotion. We were informed that the Sioux, their enemies, were near. This was probably all preconcerted. I was shown, at the distance of about two miles, four horsemen on the top of a hill, at full gallop, passing and repassing each other, which I understand is the usual signal given by the scouts (some of whom are constantly on the alert), of the approach of an enemy. To give intelligence of the appearance of

a herd of buffalo, instead of crossing each other, they gallop backward and forward abreast. Presently the warriors issued from the village with great noise and tumult, pursuing the direction in which the signal was made, down the river, and past our encampment, observing no regular march, but running helter skelter, like persons in one of our towns to extinguish a fire, and keeping up a continual hallooing to encourage each other. A number were on horseback, but the greater part on foot. Some were dressed in their most gaudy style, with the cincture of feathers, and their ornaments of the head made of plumes, fitted round a kind of crown. The tops of the lodges were crowded with women and children, and with old men, who could give no assistance, but by their lungs, which they kept well employed, yet there were several who sallied forth, bending under the weight of years. I counted upwards of five hundred in all. They soon after returned; whether they had chased away the enemy, or the alarm had turned out false, I never learned." (Page 156-7.)

Anon, in the next paragraph of his narrative, Brackenridge serves up to the interested reader some phases of international diplomacy and of civic life in the unique community in which he here found himself, as follows:

"In the course of the next day, several parties arrived from different directions. According to custom they were met by warriors and conducted to the council lodge, where they gave an account of what had occurred, which was afterwards announced to the village by heralds, who went round bawling out the news at the door of each lodge. These occurrences contribute to enliven the village; yet independently of these, it continually presents an animated scene. Great numbers of men are engaged in the different games of address and agility, others judging, or looking on, and many employed in a variety of other ways. There are a great number of women constantly at work in dressing buffalo robes, which are placed on frames before the lodges. One of the parties which arrived to day came from the Snake nation, where they had stolen horses. This arrested their employments for a moment, the immediate friends and relatives of such as returned, spent the evening in rejoicing; while several females who had lost a relation, retired to the hills behind the village, where they continued to cry the whole afternoon.

"In the evening they usually collect on the tops of the lodges, where they sit and converse; every now and then the attention of all is attracted by some old man who rises up and declaims aloud, so as to be heard all over the village. There is something in this like a Quaker meeting. Adair labors to prove the Indian tribes descended from the Jews. I might here adduce this as an argument in favor of these people being a colony of Quakers. The object of this harangue was to urge the people to treat strangers well. To have such amongst them is regarded as a matter of pride and exultation amongst the Indian nations, and often gives rise to jealousies. There is hardly such invidious distinction as that of natives and foreigners. If a man brings anything useful to the society in which he happens to be, he is though to confer a favor on it; he is thought to increase the wealth or safety of the tribe." (Pages 147-9.) And the next day: "This day arrived a deputation from the Chienne nation, to announce that those people were on their march to Arickara, and would be here in fifteen days. I sometimes amused myself with the idea of forming a gazette of the daily occurrences. We here see an independent nation, with all the interests and anxieties of the largest; how little would its history differ from that of one of the Grecian states! A war, a treaty, deputations sent and received, warlike excursions, national mourning or rejoicing, and a thousand other particulars, which constitute the chronicle of the most celebrated people.

"In the evening, about sundown, the women cease from their labors, and collect in little knots, and amuse themselves with a game something like jack-stones: five pebbles are tossed up in a small basket, with which they endeavor to catch them again as they fall." (Page 149.)

Under date of June 18, 1811, after referring to the fact that confidence had been restored between Lisa and Hunt since the village council, that Lisa had bargained for Hunt's boats and some merchandise in view of the latter having resolved to start overland, in connection with which trade the Lisa party had crossed and then recrossed the river and were about to proceed on the morrow to the Mandan villages, Brackenridge makes this final allusion to the Aricaras:

"Before I bid adieu to Arickara, I must note some general matters relating to their character and manners.

"The men are large and well proportioned, complexion somewhat fairer than that of Indians generally; usually go naked; the dress they put on seems intended more for ornament than as essential; this consists of a kind of cassoc or shirt, made of the dressed skin of the antelope, and ornamented with porcupine quills, dyed a variety of colors; a pair of leggings, which are ornamented in the same way. A buffalo hide, dressed with the hair on, is then thrown over the right shoulder, the quiver being hung on the other, if armed with a bow. They generally permit their hair to grow long; I have, in one or two instances, seen it reach to their heels, when increased by artificial locks of horse hair; and is then usually divided into several braids, matted at intervals, with a white tenacious clay; sometimes it is rolled up in a ball, and fixed on the top of the head. They always have a quantity of feathers about them; those of the black eagle are most esteemed. They have a kind of crown made of feathers, such as we see represented in the usual paintings of Indians, which is very beautiful. The swan is in most estimation for this purpose. Some ornament the neck with necklaces made of the claws of the white bear. To their heels they sometimes fasten foxes' tails, and on their leggings suspend deer's hoofs, so as to make a rattling noise as they move along. On seeing a warrior dressed in all his finery, walking with his wife, who was comparatively plain in her dress or ornaments, I could not but think this was following the order of nature, as in the peacock, the stag, and almost all animals; the male is lavishly decorated, while the female is plain and unadorned. I commend this to some of our petit maitres. The dress of the female consists of a long robe made of the dressed skins of the elk, the antelope, or the agalia, and ornamented with blue beads, and stripes of ermine, or in its place, of some white skin. The robe is girded round the waist with a broad zone, highly ornamented with porcupine quills and beads. They are no better off than were the Greeks and Romans, in what we deem at present so essential, but like them they bathe themselves regularly, twice a day. The women are much fairer than the men; some might be considered handsome anywhere; and exceed the other sex in point of numbers; the dreadful consequence

of the wars in which the nation is constantly engaged. Poligamy is general; they have often four or five wives. Their courtship and marriage resemble that of most of the Indian nations; if the parties are mutually agreeable to each other, there is a consultation of the family; if this be also favorable, the father of the girl, or whoever gives her in marriage, makes a return for the present he had received from the lover; the match is then concluded.

"They display considerable ingenuity and taste in their works of art; this observation applies to all the American nations, from the Mexicans to the most savage. Their arms, household utensils, and their dresses, are admirably made. I saw a gun which had been completely stocked by an Indian. A curious instance of native ingenuity which came under my notice, ought not to be omitted. I was told one day of an old Indian who was making a blanket; I immediately went to see him. To my surprise, I found an old man, perfectly blind, seated on a stool before a kind of frame, over which were drawn coarse threads, or rather twists of buffalo wool, mixed with wolf's hair; he had already made about a quarter of a yard of a very coarse rough cloth. He told me that it was the first he had attempted, and that it was in consequence of a dream, in which he thought he had made a blanket like those of the white people. Here are the rudiments of weaving. They make beautiful jugs, or baskets, with osier, so close as to hold water.

"I observed some very old men amongst them; from the purity of the air, and the healthfulness of the climate it is not surprising that human life should be drawn out to a great length. The ravages of the small-pox, that dreadful scourge to the Indians, has been felt by these people in all its severity. These villages are the remains of seventeen different tribes. One day, in passing through the village, I saw something brought out of a lodge in a buffalo robe, and exposed to the sun; on approaching, I discovered it to be a human being, but so shriveled up, that it had nearly lost the human physiognomy; almost the only sign of life discernible was a continued sucking its hands, and feeble moan like that of a young infant. On inquiring of the chief, he told me that he had seen it so ever since he was a boy. He appeared to be at least forty-five. It is almost impossible to ascertain the age of an Indian when he is above sixty; I made inquiries of several,

who appeared to me little short of an hundred, but could form no satisfactory conjecture. Blindness is very common, arising probably from the glare of the snow, during the greater part of the year. I observed the goitre, or swelled neck, in a few instances." (Pages 154-5.)

As to their government he says: "Their government is oligarchical, but great respect is paid to public opinion. It is utterly impossible to be a great man amongst them, without being a distinguished warrior; and though respect is paid to birth, it must be accompanied by other merit, to procure much influence. They are divided into different bands or classes; that of the pheasant, which is composed of the oldest men; that of the bear, the buffalo, the elk, the dog, etc. Each of these has its leader, who generally takes the name of the class, exclusively. Initiation into these classes, on arriving at the proper age, and after having given proofs of being worthy of it, is attended with great ceremony. The band of dogs is considered the most brave and effective in war, being composed of young men under thirty. War parties are usually proposed by some individual warrior, and according to the confidence placed in him, his followers are numerous or otherwise. In these excursions they wander to a great distance, seldom venturing to return home without a scalp, or stolen horses. Frequently, when unsuccessful, they "cast their robes," as they express it, and vow to kill the first person they meet, provided he be not of their own nation. In crossing the river, they use canoes made of buffalo's hide, or a few pieces of wood fastened together. They usually leave some token, as a stake, which is marked so as to convey some idea of their numbers, the direction which they have taken, etc. To avoid surprise, they always encamp at the edge of a wood; and when the party is small, they construct a kind of fortress, with wonderful expedition, of billets of wood, apparently piled up in a careless manner, but so arranged as to be very strong, and by this means to withstand an assault from a much superior force. They are excellent horsemen; they will shoot an arrow at full speed, and again pick it up from the ground without stopping; sometimes they will lean entirely upon one leg, throwing their bodies to that side, so as to present nothing but the leg and thigh, on the other. In pursuit of the buffalo, they will gallop down steep hills, broken almost

into precipices. Some of their horses are very fine, run swiftly, and are soon worn out, from the difficulty of procuring food for them in winter, the smaller branches of the cottonwood tree being almost the only fodder which they give them. Their hunting is regulated by the warriors chosen for the occasion, who urge on such as are tardy, and repress often with blows, those who would rush on too soon. When a herd of buffalo is discovered, they approach in proper order, within half a mile, they then separate and dispose themselves, so as in some measure to surround them, when at the word they rush forward at full speed, and continue the chase as long as their horses can stand it; a hunter usually shoots two arrows into a buffalo, and then goes in pursuit of another; if he kills more than three in the hunt, he is considered as having acquitted himself well. The tongue is the prize of the person who has slain the animal, and he that has the greater number is considered the best hunter of the day. Their weapons consist of guns, war clubs, spears, bows, and lances. They have two kinds of arrows, one for the purpose of the chase, and the other for war; the latter differs in this particular, that the barb or point is fastened so slightly, that when it enters the body, it remains in, and cannot be drawn out with the wood; therefore, when it is not in a vital part, the arrow is pushed entirely through. They do not poison them. Their bows are generally very small; and elk's horn, or two ribs of a buffalo, often constitute the materials of which they are made. Those of wood are of willow, the bark covered with sinews. Their daily sports, in which, when the weather is favorable, they are engaged from morning till night, are principally of two kinds. A level piece of ground appropriated for the purpose (and beaten by frequent use) is the place where they are carried on. The first is played by two persons, each provided with a long pole; one of them rolls a hoop, which, after having reached about two-thirds of the distance, is followed at half speed, and as they perceive it about to fall, they cast their polls under it; the pole on which the hoop falls, so as to be nearest to certain corresponding marks on the hoop and pole, gains for that time. This game excites great interest, and produces a gentle, but animated exercise. The other differs from it in this, that instead of poles, they have short pieces of wood, with barbs at one end, and a cross-piece at the other, held in the mid-

dle with one hand; but instead of the hoop before mentioned, they throw a small ring, and endeavor to put the point of the barb through it. This is a much more violent exercise than the other." (Pages 157-9.)

Of the religion of the Aricaras Brackenridge says:

"With respect to their religion, it is extremely difficult, particularly from the slight acquaintance I had with them, to form any just idea. They have some notion of a supreme being, whom they call the 'Master of Life,' but they offer him no rational worship, and have but indistinct ideas of a future state. Their devotion manifests itself in a thousand curious tricks of slight of hand, which they call magic, and which the vulgar amongst them believe to be something supernatural. They are very superstitious. Besides their magic, or medicine lodge, in which they have a great collection of magic, or sacred things, every one has his private magic in his lodge, or about his person. Anything curious is immediately made an amulet, or a talisman; and is considered as devoted or consecrated, so as to deprive the owner of the power of giving it away. The principal war chief lately took advantage of this. Having obtained a very fine horse, which he was desirous of keeping, but fearing that some one might ask him as a gift, and as to refuse would be unbecoming a great man, who ought not to set his heart upon a matter of so little importance, he announced that he had given, or consecrated, his horse to his magic or medicine! Some parts of their superstitious devotions, or modes of worship, are the most barbarous that can be imagined. I observed a great number whose bodies were scarred and cut in the most shocking manner; I was informed that this was done in their devotion; that to show their zeal, they sometimes suspended themselves by the arms or legs, or sides, by hooks. I was shown a boy who had drawn two buffalo heads several hundred yards, by cords fixed in the fleshy part of his body. I might enumerate a variety of other particulars, in which this strange self-punishment is carried to the greatest lengths. They have frequent public holy days, when the greater part of the village appears to desist from labor, and dress out unusually fine. On these occasions, each one suspends his private magic on a high pole before his door; the painted shields, quivers of a variety of colors, scarlet cloth, and highly ornamented buffalo robes,

which compose these trophies, produce a very lively effect. I several times observed articles of some value suspended on the trees. I was told they often leave their property in this manner without being under any apprehension that any of the same tribe will touch it, provided that there be the least sign to show that it is not lost. A kind of superstition similar to that of the Druids, which protected their offerings hung up in the woods." (Pages 159-161.)

The following extract from Brackenridge's journal epitomizes some then very recent history relating to the fate of Lieutenant Prior's party of 1807:

"Since the unfortunate affair of Lieutenant Prior, these people have shown themselves friendly to the whites. Lieutenant Prior had been sent in a boat, with twenty or thirty men, to convey the Mandan chief to his village, after his visit to the United States, in company with Lewis and Clark. On arriving at the Arickara village, he was set upon, and made his escape with great difficulty, one-half of his little party being killed or wounded. The expedition of the Missouri company, which ascended the next year, demanded satisfaction for this outrage, and every concession having been made by the Arickaras, the matter was adjusted. Since that time they have endeavored to keep a good understanding with the whites, and express much regret at the unfortunate occurrence, which, as is usual, they disavow as the act of the nation, but declare it to have been perpetrated by a bad chief, who would not listen to their councils." [21] (Pp. 161-2.)

He speaks thus regarding the vocabulary of the Aricaras, some words from which he memorandized but had mislaid the list:

"I found a great diversity in the pronunciation, which I discovered to be partly owing to the circumstance of the present population being composed of the fragments or remains of different tribes; but I was also informed by the chief that amongst the principal families there was a better language than that in use with the common people. The slaves, of whom there is a much greater number than I had supposed, and those of foreign tribes

[21] This is a very garbled and unsatisfactory account of the affair at the Arickaree villages in 1807. For all of the facts see Chittenden's History of the American Fur Trade, p. 121 et seq.

who have domiciled themselves here, speak also an inferior dialect." (P. 162.)

We quote some portions of Brackenridge's final references to the moral character and habits of the Aricaras:

"To give an account of the vices of these people would only be to enumerate many of the most gross which prevail amongst us, with this difference, that they are practiced in public without shame. The savage state, like the rude uncultivated waste, is contemplated to most advantage at a distance. Mr. Bradbury had been an enthusiast, as most philanthropic Europeans are, on the subject of Indian manners, and I was myself not a little inclined to the same way of thinking, but now both agreed that the world would loose but little if these people should disappear before civilized communities. * * * They have amongst them their poor, their envious, their slanderers, their mean and crouching, their haughty and overbearing, their unfeeling and cruel, their weak and vulgar, their dissipated and wicked; and they have, also, their brave and wise, their generous and magnanimous, their rich and hospitable, their pious and virtuous, their kind, frank, and affectionate, and, in fact, all the diversities of characters that exists amongst the most refined people; but as their vices are covered by no veil of delicacy, their virtues may be regarded rather as the effect of involuntary impulse, than as the result of sentiment. In some respects they are extremely dissolute and corrupt; whether this arises from refinement in vice, or from the simplicity of nature, I cannot say; but much are they mistaken who look for primitive innocence and simplicity in what they call a state of nature. It is true that an intercourse with the whites never fails to render these people much worse than before; this is not by imparting any new vices, but by presenting temptations which easily overcome those good qualities, which "sit so loosely about them." Want of constancy, and uniformity of character, is the defect universally remarked with regard to the Indians, and this naturally arises from the want of fixed principles of virtue. One thing I remarked as constituting the great difference between the savage and the civilized state, their youth undergo no dicipline, there are no schools, and the few instructions which are given by parents, are directed only to the mere physical man, and have little to do with the mind, unless it be to

inculcate fortitude and courage, or rather ferocity and thirst for blood; no genuine virtues are cultivated and the evil propensities of the individual are suffered to mature without correction, while he wanders about a vagabond, responsible to no one for the waste of time; like a young colt, he is considered as unfit for employment until he attains his growth. The lessons of morality are never taught either in public or in private; at least of that morality which instructs us how to fulfill all the duties attached to our social relations, and which regard us as candidates for a future and more happy existence. Instead of such lessons of morality, the precepts first instilled into their hearts are cruelty, murder and rapine. The first step the young savage is taught to take, is in blood; and is it any wonder that when manhood nerves his arm, we should see him grasp the tomahawk and the scalping knife, and his savage heart thirst for blood!" (Pp. 163-7.) He reverts to the want of virtue of many of the Aricara women, but declares it was "by no means universal—perhaps a more minute acquaintance with them might have enabled me to explain the phenomenon," which he referred to as "this difference from any people I had ever heard of," and which he thought might be explained in part by their "inordinate passion which had seized them for our merchandise," and refers to the "silly boatmen" in this connection.

As showing the close similarity between the Mandan and the Aricara villages, as viewed by Brackenridge, we will simply quote his expression in dismissing the subject of his reference to the Mandan villages, that "as they differ but little from those of the Arickara, I will give no particular description of them." (P. 185.)

On the 8th of July, 1811, the Lisa party returned from the fort of the Missouri Fur company and the Mandan villages, towards St. Louis, and arrived again at the Aricara villages, where they found Hunt "waiting the coming of the Chiennes, to complete his supply of horses."

Brackenridge thus describes the return of an Aricara war party from a campaign against the Sioux:

"A few days after our arrival, a great commotion was heard in the village, before daylight; ignorant of what might occasion it, and from this alone, somewhat alarmed, when we recollected our

situation, amongst beings in whom we had but little reliance, we hastily arose and ascended the plain in order to ascertain the cause. The interpreter shortly after came to us with the information that it was a party of three hundred men, on their return, after a battle with a party of Sioux the day before, in which they had been victorious, with the loss of two or three killed, and ten or twelve wounded, and that they were then within a few miles of the village, none but the chief of the party having come in. We waited with anxiety for their approach to the village, which we were informed would be made with considerable ceremony; that they had halted within a few miles of the place, to prepare themselves for a formal and splendid entry, and that a great deal of Indian finery had been sent, to enable the warriors to decorate themselves to the best advantage.

"It was nearly 11 o'clock in the day, before their approach was announced; in the meanwhile a stilly suspense reigned throughout the village, all sports and business suspended, and resembling a holiday in one of our towns. We discovered them at length, advancing, by the sound of their voices over a hill, about a mile below our encampment. In a short time they made their appearance; at the same time the inhabitants of the town moved out on foot to meet them. I accompanied them for some distance, and then took a favorable position where I might have a full view of this singular scene. They advanced in regular procession, with a slow step and solemn music, extending nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and separated in platoons, ten or twelve abreast, the horsemen placed between them, which contributed to extend their line. The different bands, of which I have spoken, the buffalo, the bear, the pheasant, the dog, marched in separate bodies, each carrying their ensigns, which consisted of a large spear, or bow richly ornamented with painted feathers, beads, and porcupine quills. The warriors were dressed in a variety of ways, some with their cincture and crown of feathers, bearing their war clubs, guns, bows and arrows, and painted shields, each platoon having its musicians, while the whole joined in the song and step together, with great precision. In each band there were scalps fastened to long poles; this was nothing more than a few scalps they had taken, divided into different locks of hair, so as to give the semblance of a greater number. The appearance of the

whole, their music, and the voices of so many persons, had a pleasing and martial effect. The scene which took place when their friends and relations from the village mingled with them was really affecting; the pen of a Fenelon would not be disgraced in attempting a description of it. These, approached with song and solemn dance, as the warriors proceeded slowly through their ranks; it was a meeting of persons connected by the most tender relations—the scene would baffle description. Fathers, mothers, wives, brothers, sisters, caressing each other, without interrupting for a moment, the regularity and order of the procession, or the solemnity of the song and step! I was particularly touched with the tenderness of a woman who met her son, a youth reported badly wounded, but who exerted himself to keep on his horse, and from his countenance one would have supposed nothing had been the matter with him. She threw her arms around him and wept aloud. Notwithstanding this, the young man expired shortly after being brought to the medicine lodge; for it is the custom to carry such as have been wounded in battle, to be taken care of in this place, at the public expense. As they drew near the village, the old people, who could barely walk, withered by extreme age, came out like feeble grasshoppers, singing their shrill songs, and rubbing the warriors with their hands. The day was spent in festivity by the village in general, and in grief by those who had lost their relatives. We saw a number of solitary females, on the points of the hills round the village, lamenting in mournful wailings, the misfortunes which had befallen them. For the two succeeding days the village exhibited a scene of festivity; all their painted shields and trophies were raised on high poles near the lodges, and all the inhabitants dressed out in their finery; all their labors and sports were suspended, and the whole joined in the public demonstrations of joy, while music, songs, and dances were hardly intermitted for a moment. The temple, or medicine lodge was the principal scene of their dancing. I entered with the crowd, and found a spacious building, sufficient to contain five or six hundred persons. I found to my surprise that the dancers were all females, with arms of the warriors in their hands, and wearing some parts of the dress of the men. They performed in a circular inclosure, some continually leaving it and others supplying their places. The orchestra was com-

posed of ten or fifteen men, with drums, bladders filled with shot, deer's hoofs, affixed to rods, and shaken, some striking upon war clubs with sticks; the whole accompanied with the voice. The old men of the temple were continually going round the inclosure, and raising their shrill voices; probably saying something to excite and encourage. Rude as this may be supposed to have been, there was yet something pleasing; their music was by no means discordant, and exceedingly animated. It would be tedious to enumerate the various ways in which their festivity displayed itself. We see a nation, actuated by the same feelings, and aroused by the same incidents as are experienced by the most powerful on earth. How much superior does this little dependent tribe appear, to the rich but mean and spiritless province or colony, where nothing but individual interests are felt, where the animating sentiments of national glory and renown, and all the vicissitudes of national calamity or prosperity, are never felt by it as by one man!" (Pp. 187-192.)

An example of Indian hospitality which impressed him is thus narrated by Brackenridge:

"I must not omit a piece of hospitality, which exhibited more refinement than I had expected to meet with. Several of the principal chiefs came amongst us, and selecting each two or three, invited us to their lodges to partake of the feast. This was somewhat in the style of an invitation to dine; I had the honor of being invited by the Grey Eyes, the leader of the war party. I found various dishes, of buffalo, of dog meat, and of hominy prepared with marrow. I had no inclination to touch the dog meat, although regarded as a great delicacy. During the repast, six young men entertained us with music, after the cloth was removed, or rather the dishes, several women made their appearance, the band struck up, and the dance was begun. One of the dancers, an old woman, every now and then recited something which appeared to amuse the company very much, and called forth loud laughter. When the dance was over, the chief exhibited to me a number of dressed buffalo robes, on which he had painted his different battles. The design was exceedingly rude, such as I have seen on the rocks of the Ohio. To represent the path of horse or foot-men, he had simply represented their tracks. There was nothing like hieroglyphic painting, or any mark which

could convey an idea of the time when the action occurred." (Pp. 192-3.)

A portion of Brackenridge's account of the journey from the Aricara villages back to St. Louis, wherein it embraces some of the river scenes and harrowing experiences met with by the party in what is now South Dakota, seems worthy of repetition here, especially as a rounded century of time has since elapsed and some of his predictions as to the future of this part of the country are interesting if not amusing. Lisa had placed him in charge of two boats loaded with skins, traded for at the Aricara villages, there being six men in each boat, including the naturalist Bradbury:

"About the last of July, with joyful hearts, we bid adieu to the village of Arickara. Lisa gave me particular directions not to stop on account of any Indians, and, if possible, to go day and night. The river was now extremely high, and with six oars, we were able to make little short of twelve miles an hour. The first day, weather uncommonly fine, we passed the Chienne river, and continued under way sometime after night; but considering this not altogether safe, we thought it prudent to lie by until daylight. Early the next morning we reached the great bend. Vast numbers of buffaloes were seen at both sides; as this was near the season when the bulls seek the society of the cows, for at other times they are never seen in the same herd, the most tremendous bellowing was heard on every side. The country, from the Mandan villages thus far, about four hundred miles, is beautiful, and the soil of the river bottoms rich. The proportion of wood is about the same as would be suffered to remain if the land were in the highest state of cultivation; but the upland is entirely bare, and the traveler might go many miles before he would come to another stream where any but dwarf trees or shrubs might be seen. The wind rising, we were compelled to remain in the bend during the whole afternoon. On the northeast side, the river is lined for the whole distance by bluffs, nearly bare, and cut up into numerous gullies; cherries, currants, gooseberries, and dwarf plum trees are seen along the shore. On the southwest side there is a tract of bottom land the whole way, and better wooded than any between this and the Mandan village. The islands,

which are met with at the distance of every few miles, are all surrounded by cedar or cottonwood, but the inside are meadows.

"The next day we passed the White river, which appears to be about the size of the Chienne, each of which is as large as the Alleghany or Monongahela, and navigable to a great distance. No doubt, in time, towns will be built at the confluence of these rivers as is the case on the Ohio at this day. With Mr. Bradbury, I amused myself in making remarks upon the appearance of different spots, as we glided rapidly past them; seated on the stern of the boat from morning till night, we had no other mode of passing the time. At no great distance below White river, the Black bluffs begin, a barren and miserable country for nearly a hundred miles along the river; there are scarcely any bottoms, and the bluffs in most places without even a covering of grass. What the country may be, at some distance from the river, I do not know, but certainly as it respects the margin of the stream, I see no likehood of any settlements ever being formed along it; there must consequently be a hiatus between the settlements which may hereafter be made above, and those below. Yet we contemplated this part of the country with much pleasure, for its wild and romantic appearance. Descending in the middle of the river, we had a much better view than when we came up, being then compelled by the swiftness of the current to choose either one side or the other. In some places, the hills rose to the height of mountains; nothing was wanting but some old ruined castles, to complete the sombre, yet magnificent amphitheatric landscapes. It contributed much to our amusement, to observe the herds of buffalo, ascending and descending by a winding path.

"Towards evening the sky became dark and lowering, the hollow sounding wind, and the feeble, distant flashes of lightning, with a frightful redness around the edges of the horizon, foretold an approaching storm. Our oarsmen exerted themselves to their utmost, to reach some woody point, behind which we might seek a shelter. But in vain, the bleak and dreary bluffs continued on each side, and the lurid darkness of the coming storm was fast obscuring what remained of daylight. It was thought prudent to land in a little recess of the bluffs, the best the moment would permit us to choose; but the wind had full scope, as we were in the midst of a long reach. We were not long in suspense. The

flashes of lightning became every moment more vivid, and the thunder, in tremendous peals, seemed to shake the earth. A dreadful gale ensued, which threatened every moment to dash our little barques to pieces, or whelm them in the waves, and called forth our utmost exertions to preserve them. For nearly an hour it was found necessary to hold our blankets to the sides of the boats, to prevent them from filling. Our strength was almost exhausted with fatigue, when the violence of the wind abated, and was succeeded by a heavy rain, which poured upon us the whole night. Had our boats sunk we should have lost everything, and most probably have perished. For myself, I was accustomed to these things; but I felt for my friend Bradbury. Poor old man, the exposure was much greater than one of his years could well support. His aimable ardor in the pursuit of knowledge did not permit him for a moment to think of his advanced age; and wherever he may be (for I have not heard from him for several years), he carries with him the warmest wishes of my heart." (Pp. 194-9.)

If Brackenridge were to reappear in South Dakota's domains nearly a century after his experiences above narrated had occurred, the fertile fields of Brule and Charles Mix counties would no doubt put to blush his former impressions as what the bleak black hills in that vicinity foretold to him in 1811.

The last reference made to the Aricara villages by Brackenridge in his book from which we have quoted so extensively is the following, relating to what he learned after returning to St. Louis:

"About the latter end of October, Lisa returned to St. Louis. Mr. Henry had joined him at the Arickara village, having passed the mountains early in the spring, and having encountered incredible sufferings and dangers. Lisa had left trading establishments with the Sioux, below the Cedar island, as well as with the Mandans and Arickaras. Mr. Nuttal, who had chosen to remain some time longer with Lisa, had also returned. The party of Mr. Hunt had set off for its destination on the Columbia." (Page 203.)

Mr. Nuttal, above referred to, was another English naturalist who was a member of the Lisa expedition.

Brackenridge also republishes in his said book, from the "Missouri Gazette" of St. Louis, its account of the experiences of the Hunt-Astoria expedition, that portion of which referring to their stay and doings at the Aricara villages we here quote; all going to show that those villages constituted at that time the first real land-mark in trade existing on the upper Missouri:

"Messrs. Hunt, Crooks, Miller, McClelland, McKenzie, and about sixty men, who left St. Louis in the beginning of March, 1811, for the Pacific ocean, reached the Arickara village on the 13th day of June, where, meeting with some American hunters, who had been the preceding year on the waters of the Columbia, with Mr. Henry, and who, giving such an account of the route by which they passed, as being far preferable in point of procuring with facility, an abundant supply of food, at all times, as well as avoiding even the probability of seeing their enemies, the Black Feet, than by the track of Captains Lewis and Clark, the gentlemen of the expedition at once abandoned their former ideas of passing by the falls of the Missouri, and made the necessary arrangements for commencing their journey overland, from this place.

"Eighty horses were purchased and equipped by the 17th of July, and on the day following they departed from the Arickaras, sixty persons in number, all on foot except the partners of the company. In this situation they proceeded for five days, having crossed in that time two considerable streams, which joined the Missouri below the Arickaras, when, finding an inland tribe of Indians, calling themselves Shawhays, but known among the whites by the appellation of Chiennes, we procured from these people an accession of forty horses, which enabled the gentlemen to furnish a horse for every two men." (Pp. 214-15.)

In his "Views of Louisiana" (Baltimore, 1817), published after his "Journal" appeared, Brackenridge, in briefly referring to the various tribes and nations of Indians in that territory, thus summarizes his view of the Aricaras:

"Arickara—Live 1,440 miles up the Missouri, in two villages, an industrious people, but from the attacks of their neighbors, are unable to hunt any other but the buffalo, though their country abounds in game. They are at present on very friendly terms with the whites, though guilty a few years ago of an outrage on a

party commanded by Lieutenant Prior. In my journal I have dwelt a good deal on the customs and character of these people, which in many respects are peculiar and highly interesting. They were originally Pani." (Page 154.)

We will now consider the accounts of the Aricaras given by the eminent naturalist, John Bradbury, F. L. S., of London, England, who ascended with Hunt the Missouri upon the voyage already referred to and in which Brackenridge participated. Bradbury published his "Travels in the Interior of America," in 1817 (Smith & Galway, Liverpool).

The first reference to the home of those Indians is found in his journal of May 27, 1811, when the party had reached Little Cedar island, just below the Big Bend, and had just taken on board several hunters who had been over the Rocky mountains at the headwaters of the Platte and the Yellowstone, and were descending the Missouri on their return, when they met the Hunt party and were prevailed upon to join the expedition and again ascend the river. The narrative proceeds:

"As we now had in our party five men who had traversed the Rocky mountains in various directions, the best possible route in which to cross them became a subject of anxious inquiry. They all agreed that the route followed by Lewis and Clark was very far from being the best, and that to the southward, where the headwaters of the Platte and the Roche Jaune rivers rise, they had discovered a route far less difficult. This information induced Mr. Hunt to change his plan, which had originally been to ascend the Missouri to the Roche Jaune river, 1,880 miles from the mouth, and at that place he purposed to commence his journey by land. It was now concluded that it would be more advisable to abandon the Missouri at the Aricara town, 450 miles lower down the river." (Pp. 78-9.)

While the party was proceeding from Little Cedar island towards the Big Bend, Hunt went ashore to converse with some Indians who had appeared on shore, taking with him Dorion, the interpreter, and learned that some 280 lodges of Sioux were encamped about three miles away. Says Bradbury:

"The Indian informed Mr. Hunt that they had been waiting for us eleven days, with a decided intention of opposing our progress, as they would suffer no one to trade with the Ricaras, Mandans,

and Minaterees, being at war with those nations." (Page 83.) A little further on the Indians came down to the river's edge in great numbers; the Hunt party crossed the river and prepared their weapons, recrossed and made a determined stand, which led to a parley, but not until after Hunt's men seriously considered the risk of going into a council with the Indians under existing circumstances. After stating to the Indians that the expedition was not a war party but one in quest of white brothers who "had gone to the great salt lake in the west" and that the whites present came from "the great salt lake in the east" and would not be deterred by the Indians from proceeding on and "would kill every man that should oppose our [their] passage," but that as proof of their pacific intentions had brought them tobacco and corn, which was now brought from the boat to them, one of the Indians made a speech. "He commenced by stating that they were at war with the Ricaras, Mandans, and Gros Ventres or Minaterees, and the injury it would be to them if these nations were furnished with arms and ammunition; but as they found we were only going to our brothers, they would not attempt to stop us." (Page 88.) Soon after they met two Indians, and while smoking with them Hunt asked them why they killed white men, "as he heard that they had killed three during the last summer?" They replied, because the white men killed us; that man (pointing to Carson) killed one of our brothers last summer. This was true. Carson, who was at that time amongst the Aricaras, fired across the Missouri at a war party of Sioux, and it was by a very extraordinary chance he killed one of them, as the river is fully half a mile in breadth, and in retaliation the Sioux killed three white men." (Page 91.) Later in the day they came upon a large number of Indians who, supposed to be hostile Sioux, proved to be friendly Aricaras. While the boat was in shallow water behind a sandbar and in jeopardy from the Indians if hostile, the narrative of Bradbury furnishes this lively account:

"The sandbar prevented the possibility of putting out into the river, and we saw with horror that at least a hundred Indians had arrived on the bank at the lower end of the bar; we could also perceive that they were a war party, as they were painted with black and white stripes, and all had shields. As we had every reason to conclude that these were the Teton Okandandas and the

Teton Sahonies, our anxiety for the safety of Mr. Hunt and the party in the large boat was indescribable when we saw large bodies of the Indians every moment arrive at the point near which he must unavoidably pass, before we could possibly give him any assistance; but our anxiety was changed to surprise on seeing the boat pass within a short distance of them unmolested; soon after which the Indians ran along the bank to the upper end of the sandbar, threw down their arms, their shields, and their buffalo robes, and plunged into the river in crowds to meet us; and before we could reach the sandbar, they were round our boats, holding up their hands in such numbers, that it became tiresome to shake hands with so many. We now found that this was a war party, consisting of Aricaras, Mandans, and Minetarees, or Gros Ventres, who were come against the Sioux, and having discovered us, had determined for the present to abandon the enterprise, expecting that on our arrival at the Aricara town they would obtain a supply of fire arms and ammunition, which would give them a superiority over their enemies. During the ceremony of shaking hands we were joined by the large boat, and it was determined that we should encamp at the first convenient place. We soon found one that was suitable, and the Indians fixed their camp about one hundred yards from ours. I now ascertained that the party consisted of near 300 warriors. As we had plenty of provisions, a supply was given to the Indians, who prepared their supper, after which the chiefs and principal warriors came to our tents. In Mr. McKenzie's tent there were seven, none of whom appeared to me to be lower than five feet ten inches; some more than six feet. Most of them had very good countenances, differing from the heavy face of the Osage, or the keen visage of the Sioux. One of them had an aquiline nose, and had a scarified line running along each arm, and meeting on his stomach. I inquired of our interpreter for what purpose he had done it? He said it was to show his grief for the death of his father. Whilst I was endeavoring to converse with him, an Indian boy came into the tent, and handed water round to the chiefs in a gourd shell tied to the end of a stick. He spoke to the boy, who went out, but soon returned with a new pair of ornamented mockasons, and handed them to the warrior, who it then appeared had observed that mine were dirty and far worn, as he took them off my feet, and put on

the new pair, tying them himself. I observed that he had a short carbine and a powder flask. I begged to look at the latter, and finding it only contained a very small quantity of powder, I immediately filled it from my own flask. He was greatly pleased with the acquisition of so much powder, and informed me that he was a Ricara, and should meet me at their town, where we should be brothers. We were interrupted by one of the chiefs crying "How," signifying amongst the Indians "Come on," or "Let us begin." This occasioned silence, and he began to strike on one hand with a war club which he held in the other. It had a globular head, on one side of which was fixed the blade of a knife, five or six inches in length. The head was hollow, and contained small bits of metal, which made a jingling noise as he struck in quick time. The singing now commenced, and continued at intervals until past midnight. The song is very rude, and it does not appear that they are capable of combining the expression of ideas with music, the whole of their singing consisting in the repetition of the word "Ha" six or seven times in one tone, after which they rose or fell a third, fourth, or fifth, and the same in quick time. I observed that their voices were in perfect unison, and although, according to our ideas of music, there was neither harmony nor melody, yet the effect was pleasing, as there was evidently system, all the changes of tone being exactly conformable in point of time as if only one voice had been heard. Whenever their performances ceased the termination was extremely abrupt, by pronouncing the word "How" in a quick and elevated tone.

"On the morning of the 3rd, the chiefs declared to Mr. Hunt their intention of immediately returning to their nation, and that they expected to arrive in three days, although they had been sixteen days in coming out. They also demanded some arms and ammunition. This demand, conformable to war parties, had been foreseen, but was not complied with; as Mr. Hunt informed them, that when we arrived at their nation, we should furnish abundance. After we had left them, the chief overtook us on horseback, and said that his people were not satisfied to go home without some proof of their having seen the white men. Mr. Hunt could not now resist, and gave him a cask of powder, a bag of balls, and three dozen knives, with which he was much pleased.

Whilst the articles were delivered to him, an Indian came running up, and informed us that there was a boat in sight, coming up the river. We immediately concluded that it was the boat belonging to Manual Lisa, and after proceeding five or six miles, we waited for it. I was much pleased, on the boat's joining us, to find that Mr. Henry Brackenridge was also with Mr. Lisa; I became acquainted with him at St. Louis, and found him a very aimable and interesting young man. Mr. Lisa had made the greatest possible exertions to overtake us, being well apprised of the hostile disposition of the Sioux. He had met a boat, which, it appeared, had passed us in the night, and the people informed him that they had been fired upon by the Indians. As the adjunct party now consisted of ninety men, and we were approaching the nations who were at war with the Sioux, our fears had almost subsided; and for myself, I was much gratified on finding the restraints removed which had so long circumscribed my motions." Bradbury reverts to the Lisa phase of the expedition again at this point as follows:

"On my return to the boats, I found that some of the leaders of our party were extremely apprehensive of treachery on the part of Mr. Lisa, who, they suspected, had an intention of quitting us shortly, being now no longer in fear of the Sioux, with an intention of doing us an injury with the Aricaras. Independent of this feeling, it had required all the address and influence of Mr. Hunt to prevent Mr. McClellan or Mr. Crooks from calling him to account for instigating the Sioux to treat them ill the preceding year. Besides, it was believed by all, that although apparently friendly, he was anxiously desirous that the expedition should fail. Lisa had twenty oars, and made much greater expedition than we had, it was evident, therefore, that he had it in his power to leave us, and it was determined to watch his conduct narrowly." (Pp. 93-100.)

This meeting of the two parties on the up-river voyage must have been some twenty miles above the Big Bend and not far from twenty-five miles below the site of Fort Pierre, which point both parties reached on the 5th after rowing about four miles that day.

Now, the fact that this large war party of at least one hundred Aricaras, Mandans and Minetarees were found in the immediate

neighborhood of the Big Bend in quest of hostile Sioux, being not far above when the ancient Sioux trail across the country meets the Missouri at the Three Rivers or Traverse de Sioux, might be ground for speculation whether the vicinity of the mouth of the Teton (Bad river at Fort Pierre) was then the headquarters of the Sioux Indians on the Missouri, or whether it was some distance below. It does not appear from any of the narratives of that particular expedition that any battle had occurred between the Indians in that vicinity.

While the serious trouble which arose between Hunt and Lisa at their camping place at the mouth of the Teton on June 5, 1811, does not bear directly upon the general subject of this paper, yet as the expedition was destined to the Aricara villages, and as this incident is the most prominent landmark in the way of internal dissensions between the two parties, it is believed that a reproduction of Bradbury's account of the broil is justified. In Vol. I of these Collections (at page 324) will be found Brackenridge's dramatic account of the scene. Bradbury gives his recollections as follows, after relating his return from a tour on foot upon the bluffs behind what is now Fort Pierre in search of specimens of flora, etc.:

"Immediately on my return to our camp, a circumstance happened that for some time threatened to produce tragical consequences. It appeared that during our absence Mr. Lisa had invited Dorion, our interpreter, to his boat, where he had given him some whisky, and took that opportunity of avowing his intention to take him away from Mr. Hunt, in consequence of a debt due by Dorion to the Missouri Fur company, for whom Lisa was agent. Dorion had often spoken to us of this debt, and in terms of great indignation at the manner in which it had been incurred, alleging that he had been charged the most exorbitant prices for articles had at Fort Mandan, and in particular ten dollars per quart for whisky. Some harsh words had therefore passed betwixt him and Lisa, and he returned to our camp. On the instant of my arrival, Mr. Lisa came to borrow a cordeau, or towing-line, from Mr. Hunt, and being perceived by Dorion, he instantly sprung out of his tent, and struck him. Lisa flew into the most violent rage, cried out 'O mon Dieu! ou est mon coteau!' and ran precipitately to his boat. As it was expected he would

return armed, Dorion got a pair of pistols, and took his ground, the party arranging themselves in order to witness the event. Soon after, Lisa appeared without pistols; but it was observed that he had his knife in his girdle. As Dorion had disclosed what had passed in Lisa's boat, Messrs. Crooks and McClellan were each very eager to take up the quarrel, but were restrained by Mr. Hunt, until an expression from Lisa, conveying an imputation upon himself, made him equally desirous of fighting. He told Lisa that the matter should be settled by themselves, and desired him to fetch his pistols. I followed Lisa to his boat, accompanied by Mr. Brackenridge, and we with difficulty prevented a meeting, which, in the present temper of the parties, would certainly have been a bloody one." (Pp. 102-3.)

Here is found Bradbury's reference to the old site of the Aricara village stronghold above the present town of Fort Pierre and mentioned in a former connection in this narrative, where we quoted Brackenridge. Bradbury states:

"The boats ascended with difficulty, which gave opportunities for walking the whole of the day. In the early part, we passed the remains of an old Aricara village. The site was indicated by an embankment, on which had been palisadoes, as the remains were still visible. Within the area, the vestiges of the lodges were very apparent, and great quantities of bones, and fragments of earthenware were scattered in every part." (P. 104.)

Note that the description of this old village site, by both Bradbury and Brackenridge, specifies the existence of remains of the "palisadoes" or log bulwarks which were understood to have been erected invariably by the Rees, and which were found at all of the Aricara and Mandan villages above, by all of the earlier explorers. This particular site was photographed on June 12, 1906, by Mr. N. C. Christenson of Pierre, who, in company with the writer, visited that locality on that date. (See picture.) The view there given of the site was taken from a high rounded hill among the bluffs, about thirty or forty rods from the site, and the camera was pointed almost due north but a trifle east of north; it shows the entire plateau upon which the village was situated, and the deep ditch surrounding it on all sides except that of the river bank; the deep ravine running from behind the plateau to the river and flanking the south side of the village by an almost im-

[By courtesy Joseph H. Taylor, Washburn, N. D.]

REE VILLAGE, AT FORT BERTHOLD

MODERN REE HOUSE

Pierre Garreau, grandson of first white man to settle in South Dakota, sits in doorway

passible barrier if the approach were made on horseback; the lesser ravine running from the westward into the larger gulch first mentioned; the river in the middle distance, and the lower end of Peoria bottom and the opposite bluffs of the Missouri in the far distance. And what renders the statements of Brackenridge and Bradbury all the more interesting while confirming their authenticity is, that what they say as to the village site being abundant with vestiges of the lodges is borne out by this photograph, which shows the entire area of the village inside the circle to be overgrown with grasses much darker and more swarthy than the natural prairie surrounding it, after nearly a hundred years have elapsed since those travelers thus recorded their examination of the site. The north fence of the "Scotty" Philip buffalo pasture is seen between the lateral ravine and the edge of the village site. Some idea of the depth of the ditch on the westerly side of the village (where it is deepest, apparently because no natural defense existed on that side) may be gathered if the eye of the observer is able to discern the man in shirt sleeves standing in the ditch, seen by looking in a line about midway between the two prominent clumps of trees in the lateral ravine, less than half of the length of the body of the man being visible. The ditch at that point is about five feet deep, and the distance from the outer to the inner edge thereof is from about fourteen down to nine feet, at different places around the site. It seems safe to suppose that this and other ditches found encircling Ree villages must have been originally a couple of feet deeper than they are at the present time.

On June 8th, Bradbury makes this entry: "Since the affair of the 5th, our party has had no intercourse with that of Mr. Lisa, as he kept at a distance from us, and mostly on the opposite side of the river; this deprived me of the society of my friend Brackenridge." (P. 105.) On the 9th his journal shows the expedition nearing the Aricara villages: "Mr. McClellan, with two of our men, and three belonging to Lisa, were dispatched to the Aricaras, to apprise them of our coming, and to see how far it was practicable to procure horses for the journey by land." (P. 108.) On the 10th, he says: "About noon, Mr. McClellan and his party appeared on the bank of the river, having found that they could not reach the Aricara nation before the boats. About the middle of the after-

noon, we met a canoe with three Indians. They had come from the Aricaras, where intelligence of our approach had been brought by the war party which met with us on the 1st. They had made a great parade with the presents which they had received from us, and of the exploit which they had achieved in discovering the white men coming. They reported that the Mandans, who were of the party, had urged that they should attack Mr. Hunt's boat, when it was in the situation already described, which they (the Aricaras) had prevented. They also stated that the Minatarees, or Gros Ventres Indians, had killed two white men, on the river above the Missouri Fur company's fort. We encamped three miles above the mouth of the river Cer-wer-cer-na, after traveling thirty-five miles." (Pp. 108-9.) On the 11th: "We hoped this day to arrive at the Aricaras, but did not derive so much benefit from the wind as we expected; and after passing the river Ma-ra-pa, we encamped about six miles below the town, near an island on which they were formerly settled." (Id.)

What immediately hereafter follows in this paper is a literal quotation from Bradbury's journal. No apology is offered for reproducing it, even though quite lengthy, as it bears directly upon the subject in hand and such incidents of the visit of the two prospecting parties as are essential parts of any attempt at a historic account of the Aricaras at that time. His narraive runs:

"12th—During this night we had a severe thunderstorm, and such torrents of rain that our beds were completely wet. We set out early, and about half way to the town, we met a canoe with two chiefs, and an interpreter, who is a Frenchman and has lived with this tribe more than twenty years; he married a squaw, and has several children. The chiefs were good looking men; one of them is called the head chief, or king, and is named by the French Le Gauche, being lefthanded; the other is the war chief, and called the Big Man. The interpreter informed us that the chiefs had come to a resolution to oppose our farther progress up the river, unless a boat was left to trade with them. Mr. Hunt explained to the chiefs the object of his voyage, and that he would willingly trade for horses. About ten o'clock, we landed on the north side, opposite the town, or rather towns, as there are two distinct bands, and their villages are about eighty yards apart. Our first

care was to spread out the beds and baggage to dry. Whilst the men were occupied in this business, the chief informed us, from the other side of the river, that he would be ready to meet us in council, when we should choose to come over. As the river here is at least eight or nine hundred yards in breadth, it may appear surprising that he could make himself understood at so great a distance; but to those who have heard the Indian language spoken, and who are acquainted with the Indians, it will appear very credible. In all the Indian language which I have heard, every syllable of the compound words is accented, as, for instance, the primitive name of this nation, Starrahe, they pronounce Starra-he. In addition to this construction of their languages, the Indians have remarkably loud voices. The leaders of our two parties had not yet spoken to each other, since the affair of the 5th; nor had any communication except through the medium of Mr. Brackenridge or myself. It was evident that Lisa was still suspected; and McClellan, in particular, carefully watched his motions, determined to shoot him if he attempted to cross the river before us, to attend the council of the Indians, contrary to what had been agreed upon with Mr. Brackenridge on his behalf. Soon after noon, Mr. Hunt manned the large boat, and with Messrs. McKenzie and McClellan, went over the river; Lisa also attended in his barge. Mr. Brackenridge and myself were of the party. On landing, amongst a crowd of Indians, we were conducted to the council lodge by some chiefs, who met us; where we sat down on buffalo skins prepared for us, and spread on the ground. I noticed that this lodge was constructed in a manner similar to those already described, belonging to the Ottoes. An old Indian lighted a pipe, and handed it to the chief; after which he squatted himself on his hams, near the entrance of the lodge. Although there were nearly twenty present, I soon learned from Dorion (near whom I had placed myself) that several of the chiefs were not yet assembled. After we had smoked for a short time, Le Gauche, the chief, spoke to the old Indian at the door, who went out of the lodge; he soon appeared on the top, and was visible to us through the hole left for the smoke. What the chief dictated to him from within, he bawled out aloud, with the lungs of a Stentor. I understood that his object was to summon the chiefs to council, and it was promptly obeyed, as in ten minutes

all were assembled. I now found that although we had smoked, the council pipe had not yet been lighted; this was now done by the same old Indian, who it seems was both priest and herald. Le Gauche made the customary appeal to the Great Spirit, by puffing the smoke in different directions towards heaven and earth; after which the pipe was applied to the lips of each assembled, the chief still holding it. He then opened the council by a short speech. In the first place, he spoke of their poverty, but said that they were very glad to see us, and would be still more glad to trade with us. Lisa replied, and expressed his intention to trade, if they did not rate their buffalo and beaver too high. He then mentioned Mr. Hunt and his party as his friends, and said he should join them in resenting and repelling any injury or insult. Mr. Hunt declared that the object of his journey was not to trade, but to see our brothers, at the great salt lake in the west; and for that undertaking he should now want horses, as he proposed to go from thence by land. That he had plenty of goods to exchange, if they would spare the horses. Mr. Lisa and Mr. Hunt accompanied their speeches by suitable presents of tobacco. Le Gauche spoke, and expressed the satisfaction of his people at our coming, and their attachment to the white men. In respect to the trade with Mr. Lisa, he wished for more time, to fix the price of dried buffalo skins (usually called buffalo robes), the article they had most of; his present idea of the price was thirty loads of powder and ball for each robe. Respecting Mr. Hunt's proposition, he was certain they could not spare the number of horses that he understood he wanted; and that he did not think they ought to sell any horses. Les Yeux Gris, another chief, replied to the latter part of his speech, by stating that they might easily spare Mr. Hunt a considerable number of horses, as they could readily replace them by stealing or by smoking. These arguments governed the opinions of the chiefs, and it was determined to open a trade for horses, when they were satisfied with the price Mr. Hunt proposed to give. The council now broke up, and Messrs. Hunt, McKenzie, McClellan, Dorion, and myself were conducted to the lodge of one of their chiefs, where there was a feast of sweet corn, prepared by boiling, and mixing it with buffalo grease. Accustomed as I now was to the privation of bread and salt, I though it very palatable. Sweet corn is corn gathered

before it is ripe, and dried in the sun; it is called by the Americans green corn, or corn in the milk. I quitted the feast, in order to examine the town, which I found to be fortified all round with a ditch, and with pickets or palisadoes, of about nine feet high. The lodges are placed without any regard to regularity, which renders it difficult to count them, but there appears to be from 150 to 160, and they are constructed in the same manner as those of the Ottoes, with the additional convenience of a railing on the eaves; behind this railing they sit at their ease and smoke. There is scarcely any declivity in the site of the town, and as little regard is paid to cleanliness, it is very dirty in wet weather. I spent the remainder of the day in examining the bluffs, to ascertain what new plants might be collected in the neighborhood; having now, for the first time in the course of the voyage, an opportunity of preserving living specimens. During this time, the rest of the boats crossed the river, and a camp was formed about 200 yards below the town. Lisa was nearer to it." (Pp. 110-115.)

Upon turning back to page 56 of Bradbury's journal, we find there his detailed description of the Ottoe, or "Otto" village, which he and Mr. Crooks had visited on the voyage by taking a detour some distance up the Platte river; it is as follows:

"I found the village to consist of about fifty-four lodges, of a circular form, and about forty feet in diameter, with a projecting part at the entrance, of ten or twelve feet in length, in the form of a porch. At almost every lodge, the door or entrance was closed after the manner which is customary with Indians when they go on hunting parties and take their squaws and children with them. It consists in putting a few sticks across, in a particular manner, which they so exactly note and remember, as to be able to discover the least change in their position. Although anxious to examine the internal structure of the lodges, I did not violate the injunction conveyed by this slight obstruction, and after searching some time found a few that were left entirely open. On entering one, I found the length of the porch to be an inclined plane to the level of the floor, about two and a half or three feet below the surface of the ground; round the area of the lodge are placed from fifteen to eighteen posts, forked at the top, and about seven feet high from the floor. In the centre, a circular space of about eight feet in diameter is dug, to the depth of two feet; four strong

posts are placed in the form of a square, about twelve feet asunder, and at equal distances from this space, these posts are about twenty feet high, and cross pieces are laid on the tops. The rafters are laid from the forked tops of the outside posts over these cross pieces, and reach nearly to the centre, where a small hole is left for the smoke to escape; across the rafters small pieces of timber are laid; over these, sticks and a covering of sods, and lastly earth. The fire is made in the middle of the central space, round the edges of which they sit, and the beds are fixed betwixt the outer posts. The door is placed at the immediate entrance into the lodge; it is made of a buffalo's skin, stretched in a frame of wood, and is suspended from the top. On entering, it swings forward, and let go, it falls to its former position."

To resume the narrative of Bradbury. Under date of the 13th (June) he states: "The morning being rainy; no business could commence in the village until the afternoon, when Mr. Hunt exhibited the kind and quantity of goods he proposed to give for each horse. These were placed in the lodge of Le Gauche, for general inspection, and proved to be satisfactory." (P. 115.) On the 14th he says: "I understood that Lisa and the chiefs had agreed that the price of a buffalo robe should be twenty balls, and twenty loads of powder. He removed a part of his goods to the lodge of Le Gauche, and Mr. Hunt began to trade at the lodge of the Big Man. The trade for horses soon commenced; the species of goods most in demand were carbines, powder, ball, tomahawks, knives, etc., as another expedition against the Sioux was meditated. Whilst the trading was going on, I walked with Mr. Brackenridge to the upper village, separated from the lower one by a small stream. In our walk through the town, I was accosted by the medicine man, or doctor, who was standing at the entrance of a lodge, into which we went. It appeared that one of his patients was within, who was a boy, for whom he was preparing some medicine. He made me understand that he had seen me collecting plants, and that he know me to be a medicine man; frequently shaking hands, he took down his medicine bag, made of deer skin, and showed me its contents. As I supposed this bag contained the whole materia medica of the nation, I examined it with some attention. There was a considerable quantity of the down of reedmace (Thpha palustris), which I understood

was used in cases of burns or scalds; there was also a quantity of a species of Artemisia, common on the prairies, and known to the hunters by the name of hyssup, but that ingredient which was in the greatest abundance was a species of wall-flower; in character it agrees with Cheiranthus erysimoides; besides these, I found two new species of Astragalus, and some roots of Rudbeckia purpurea. After examining the contents of the bag, I assured the doctor it was all very good, and we again shook hands with him, and went into several other lodges, where we were very hospitably received. Although they sit on the ground round the fire, buffalo robes were always spread for us, and the pipe was invariably brought out, whilst the squaw prepared something for us to eat; this consisted of dried buffalo meat, mixed with pounded corn, warmed on the fire in an earthern vessel of their own manufacture; some offered us sweet corn, mixed with beans (Phascolus). The squaws were particularly attentive to us, and took every opportunity to examine such parts of our dress as were manufactured, and not of skins. After our return, I went to the trading house, and found that the trade for horses went on very briskly. The instant a horse was bought, his tail was cropped, as they would then be easily distinguished from those belonging to the Indians, which are in all respects as nature formed them. On my return to our camp, I found the warrior there with whom I had become acquainted on the 1st instant. He insisted so much on my going to his lodge, that I went with him where he spread a very fine painted buffalo robe for me to sit on, and showed me, by signs, that it was now mine. In return, I gave him a pair of silver bracelets, with ornaments for the ears and hair, having brought a considerable quantity of those articles from St. Louis. With these he was so much pleased, that he requested me to sleep at his lodge during our stay. * * * This offer I declined. * * * I found, on my return that the principals of our party were engaged in a very serious consultation on our present situation. All our fresh provisions were exhausted, and of the dried buffalo bought at the Poncars, not more remained than was thought necessary to reserve for the journey by land. A few bags of Indian corn being all that remained, it was thought expedient to apply this to the same purpose, to be parched, ground, and mixed with sugar. It had this day been ascertained

that the Aricaras could not spare us any provisions, as the excessive rains had penetrated into their caches,[22] and spoiled the whole of their reserved stock, so that they expected to be in want themselves before the harvest would come in. In addition to our difficulties, a rumor had been spread this afternoon, and it was believed, that the Sioux had followed us, and were now in the neighborhood, to the amount of four or five hundred. Whether this was true or not, the consequences were the same to us, as our hunters could not, with any degree of prudence, be suffered to go out; nor indeed were they willing. In this dilemma, no means could be though of for the removal of our difficulties, but to purchase some of the spare dogs from the Indians, particularly those employed in dragging their sledges, and this measure was resolved on. It may be here remarked, that horses and dogs are the only animals which the Indians domesticate; of the latter they have two varieties; one of these they employ in huntings, the other appears to be of a stupid and lazy nature, always remaining about the village, and employed as mentioned above." (Pp. 115-18.) His next day's journal states "In conformity with the measure determined upon last evening, a number of dogs were purchased this morning, brought to the camp, and shot for breakfast." (P. 119.)

The following account is given by Bradbury concerning a reported attack upon the village by the Sioux. He had been out hunting specimens:

"On our return, and when about three miles from the camp, we saw Indians pouring out from the village, some on horseback, others on foot, and all at full speed. They went in a direction to our right, towards some hills, five or six miles distant down the river. A young Indian soon after, in passing us at some distance, changed his course and came up to us. He spoke with great earnestness, frequently pointing to the hills, on the tops of which I observed some horsemen apparently meeting each other, and after passing turn back, which was continued galloping. I at

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[22] "The nations of the Missouri, always liable to be surprised and plundered by the Teton villains, annually conceal a quantity of corn, beans, etc., after harvest, in holes in the ground, which are artfully covered up. These hoards are called by the French cache, from the verb casher, to hide." (P 118.)

length comprehended that enemies were near, and that seeing me only armed with a pistol, he wished me to hasten to the camp. When we came nearer the town, I observed that the tops of the lodges were crowded with women, children, and old men, all looking earnestly towards the hills, and considerable numbers were still running past our camp. I now inquired the cause of the tumult, and found that a signal had been given, indicating the appearance of a war party of the Sioux. The noise and confusion was such as I have not often witnessed; the war whoop was heard in every direction, and even the old men in the village were busily employed in animating the warriors. Some aged Nestors tottered along with the crowd, raising their shrill voices to encourage the young and vigorous to exert themselves in repelling the foe. If any enemy really appeared, they had immediately fled on being discovered, a thing not at all unlikely, as it is conformable to their customs, and in this instance the more probable, as the Sioux would naturally expect that our party would join their adversaries. At all events, the party soon returned in as much disorder as they went out. I observed, that amongst the warriors of this and the other nations, several had foxes' tails attached to the heels of their mockasons, and I am informed by Captain Winter, who resided some time at Michillimakinac, that the same custom prevails among the tribes in upper Canada, and that this honor is only permitted to such warriors as have killed an enemy on his own ground.

"16th—I went into the village, and found that the chiefs were assembled to hear from the warriors an account of what had passed the preceding day. As they were not in the habit of printing newspapers, the news was carried through the village by heralds, who stood at the door of the council-lodge, and from time to time went through the village to give information. On my return to the camp, I found that a negotiation was going on betwixt Mr. Hunt and Mr. Lisa respecting the boats belonging to our party, which were no longer of any use. These Mr. Hunt was willing to exchange with Mr. Lisa for horses, of which he had a considerable number at the fort belonging to the Missouri Fur company, about 200 miles higher up the river. Mr. Hunt, some days previous to this, presented to me the smallest boat, which was a barge built at Michilimakinac; and three American hunt-

ers, whom we found at the Aricara nation, agreed to assist me in navigating it down the river, when I should be disposed to return. The three other boats, and some Indian goods, were finally exchanged with Mr. Lisa. In consequence of this arrangement, I found that a party were to be dispatched in a few days to the fort for the horses, and I instantly resolved to accompany them, if permitted. After an excursion to collect plants, I walked into the village in the evening, and found that a party had arrived, who had been on an expedition to steal horses, in which they were successful. This event, and the return of the war party, caused an unusual bustle; the tops of the lodges were crowded with men, women, and children. Several of the old men harangued them in a loud voice. The subject I understood to be an exhortation to behave well towards the white people, and stating the advantages they derived by an intercourse with them. Notwithstanding all this tumult, some of the women continued their employment in dressing the buffalo skins, which are stretched on frames, and placed on stages, erected both for this purpose and to dry or jerk the flesh of animals cut into thin slices." (Pp. 121-2.)

After referring to an arrangement made to have Mr. Crooks go to the Missouri Fur company's post for the horses, and his own subsequent discomfiture in failing to seasonably select a horse upon which to ride as a member of the Crooks party, Bradbury thus relates the arrival at the Aricara village of a party of "Chayennes:"

"After devoting the greatest part of the day to the increasing of my collection, I went into the village, and found that some Indians had arrived from the Chayenne nation, having been sent to inform the Aricaras of their intention to vist them in fifteen days. One of these Indians was covered with a buffalo robe, curiously ornamented with figures worked with split quills, stained red and yellow, intermixed with much taste, and the border of the robe entirely hung round with the hoofs of young fawns, which at every movement made a noise much resembling that of the rattlesnake when that animal is irritated. I understood that this robe had been purchased from the Arapahoes, or Big Bead Indians, a remote tribe, who frequent the Rocky mountains. I wished much to purchase the robe, and offered him such articles in exchange as

I thought most likely to induce him to part with it, but he refused. The day following it was purchased by Mr. McClelland, who gave it to me for silver ornaments and other articles, amounting to about ten dollars. I found that these Indians could not speak the Aricara language, having need of an interpreter. This place was supplied by one of the Aricaras, who could speak their language. They were tall and well proportioned men, but of a darker complexion than the Aricaras. This nation has no fixed place of residence, but resort chiefly about the Black Hills, near the head of the Chayenne river, having been driven from their former place of residence, near the Red River of Lake Winnipic, by the Sioux. Their number is now inconsiderable, as they scarcely muster 100 warriors. On my return to the camp, I found it crowded with Indians and squaws, as it had been for the two preceding evenings. Travelers who have been acquainted with Sacages, have remarked that they are either very liberal of their women to strangers, or extremely jealous. In this species of liberality no nation can be exceeded by the Aricaras." Some details follow which need not be reproduced here, in which blue beads and vermillion figure as articles of traffic. (Pp. 124-5.)

He thus speaks of collections of buffalo skulls as indicative of the superstitions of the Aricaras:

"Went early to the bluffs to the southwestward of the town, on one of which I observed fourteen buffalo skulls placed in a row. The cavities of the eyes and the nostrils were filled with a species of Artemisia, common on the prairies, which appears to be a nondescript. On my return I caused our interpreter to inquire into the reason for this, and found that it was an honor conferred on the buffalos which they had killed, in order to appease their spirits, and prevent them from apprising the living buffalos of the danger they run in approaching the neighborhood." (P. 125.) After mentioning a green surtout worn by Donald McKenzie as being of a color with which the squaws were evidently unacquainted, he speaks of an Indian game: "We amused ourselves some time by watching a party who were engaged in play. A place was neatly formed, resembling a skittle alley, about nine feet in breadth and ninety feet long; a ring of wood, about five inches in diameter, was trundled along from one end, and when it had run some distance, two Indians, who stood ready, threw after

it, in a sliding manner, each a piece of wood, about three feet long and four inches in breadth, made smooth on one edge, and kept from turning by a cross piece passing through it, and bended backwards so as to resemble a cross-bow. The standers by kept an account of the game, and he whose piece, in a given number of throws, more frequently came nearest the ring after it had fallen, won the game." (P. 126.)

Bradbury then narrates the trip to the fort of the Missouri Fur company, which will be the subject of such extracts here as are regarded as probably being germane to the subject in hand. Under date of June 19th he journalizes: "We breakfasted early, having killed the dogs the night before, and ten horses were brought into the camp for the party appointed to go to the fort, beyond the Mandans, to escort the horses agreed for with Mr. Lisa." After relating incidents connected with an inferior horse which it fell to him (Bradbury) to ride, he continues: "We had for our guide a person of the name of Jones,[23] who was acquainted with the whole of the country betwixt the Mandans and Aricaras; and after passing the villages, kept as much as possible in the ravines and valleys, to avoid being seen by the Sioux Indians, who we had reason to think were still lurking about the country; as we knew that if they discovered us, they would, almost to a certainty, cut us off. As there were no provisions to spare in the camp, except a little dog's flesh, we took nothing with us to eat, nor made the least attempt to look for game, as our safety perhaps depended on the celerity and silence of our march; we continued at a smart trot until near 8 o'clock in the evening, having only stopped once to give the horses an opportunity to feed. Our course lay nearly north, and we kept the river in sight the whole of the day, sometimes very near it, and at other times five or six miles distant. We encamped on the border of a creek, not more than a mile from the Missouri, on the open prairie. We found

[23] Robert Jones, a citizen of St. Louis. He was killed in 1823 by the Blackfeet, at Pryor's fork upon the upper Missouri. At the time of his death Jones was the chief of a band of trappers in the employ of the Missouri Fur company. The outbreak of the Blackfeet, resulting in the death of Jones and his party, occurred almost simultaneously with the massacre of Ashley's party by the Rees, and give rise to the belief that all of the upper tribes were in a confederacy for the destruction of the whites.

this place so much infested with mosquitos that scarcely any of us slept." He then describes an Indian saddle thus:

"I had already painfully experienced the effects of an Indian saddle, which I shall describe. It consists of six pieces of wood; two of these are strong forked sticks, one of which is formed to fix on the shoulders of the horse, the other is adapted to the lower part of the back; they are connected by four flat pieces, each about four inches in breadth; two of these are so placed as to lie on each side of the backbone of the horse, which rises above them; the other two are fastened to the extremities of the forked sticks; and the whole is firmly tied by thongs. Two strong slips of buffalo hide are doubled over each of the upper connecting pieces, for the purpose of holding the stirrup, which is formed of a stick about two feet long, and cut half way through in two places, so as to divide it into three equal parts; at these places it is bent, and when the two ends are strongly tied, it forms an equilateral-triangle. The conjunct end of the foremost forked stick rises to the height of eight or ten inches above the back of the horse, and serves to fasten on it the coiled end of the long strip of dried skin intended to serve as a bridle; this slip is also made use of to fasten the horse at night, to allow him sufficient space wherein to graze, and is mostly fifty or sixty feet long. Under the saddle is laid a square piece of buffalo skin, dressed with the hair upon it, and doubled four-fold, and on the saddle the rider fixes his blanket." (Pp. 128-9.)

The Crooks party, in passing through the Mandan and Minnetaree villages met, in the crowds of Indians who greeted and shook hands with them, several of those who were of the war party at the Big Bend. They reached the fort late in the night of June 22nd, its location being some seven miles above Knife river. Three days later Lisa arrived from below by boat, Brackenridge being of his party. Bradbury, who with the Lisa party, remained at the Mandan villages for some time thereafter, thus relates the departure from the Missouri Fur company's post of Crooks with the horses, bound back to the Aricara villages:

"27th—The business relative to the horses having been arranged betwixt Mr. Lisa and Mr. Crooks, he set out early this morning on his return to the Aricara nation; and as he was not without his fears that the Gros Ventres Indians, headed by Le

Borgne, or One Eyed, would attempt to rob him of his horses, he determined to proceed with as much celerity as we had traveled to the fort, and kept his departure as secret as possible. I was much pleased to see this chief at the fort in a few hours afterwards, being satisfied that Mr. Crooks was now out of his reach." (Pp. 148-9.)

The Lisa party, having departed from the fort on July 6th for the Aricara villages, reached that point on the evening of the 7th. Following is Bradbury's journal at this point:

"In the evening I had again the pleasure of meeting my former companions, and was rejoiced to find that Mr. Crooks had arrived safe with the horses, and that Mr. Hunt had now obtained nearly eighty in all. Soon after my arrival, Mr. Hunt informed me of his intention to depart from the Aricaras shortly. I therefore purposed to return down the river; and as the Canadians could not be permitted to take their trunks, or, as they termed them, their caisettes, by land, I purchased from them seventeen, in which I purposed to arrange my living specimens, having now collected several thousands. It had been a custom with us to keep round our camp during the night since our arrival at the Aricaras. Four of the party were stationed for this purpose until midnight, and were then relieved by four others, who remained on guard until morning. On the morning of the 10th, at daybreak, some Indians came to our camp from the village, amongst whom was my friend, the young warrior. As I happened to be on guard, he came to me, and by signs invited me to go and breakfast with him. Whilst we were sitting together, he suddenly jumped up and pointed to the bluffs, at the distance of three or four miles down the river. On looking, I observed a numerous crowd of Indians. He gave me to understand that it was a war party on their return, and immediately ran to the village. In a few minutes the tops of the lodges were crowded with Indians, who appeared much agitated. Soon after an Indian galloped past our camp, who, I understood, was a chief. In a few minutes afterwards parties began to come out of the village, on their way to meet the warriors, or rather to join them, as it is their custom for a war party to wait at a distance from the village when a victory has been gained, that their friends may join in the parade of a triumphal entry; and on such occasions all their finery and deco-

rations are displayed; some time also is requisite to enable the warriors at home and their friends to paint themselves, so as to appear with proper eclat. During the time that elapsed before the arrival of the procession, I walked into the village, where an universal stillness prevailed. No business seemed to be going on, excepting the preparing of something for the warriors to eat on their return. The squaws were employed in that business in all the lodges into which I entered,[24] and I noticed that not one of the poor squaws seemed in the least solicitous about her own person; they are too insignificant to be thought an appendage to a triumph. It was nearly the middle of the day before the procession came in sight, when I went to meet it, in order that my view might be prolonged. A number of the old men and squaws were also moving down from the town, to meet them. At the head of the procession were four standard-bearers, followed by a band of warriors on foot; after which came a party on horseback; to these succeeded two of the principal chiefs, betwixt whom was a young warrior, who, I understood, had been severely wounded. Then came two other standard-bearers, who were succeeded by another band of foot and horse, which order was observed until the four bands of which the party consisted had passed. They were about 300 in number; each man carried a shield; a few were armed with guns, some with bows, and others with war clubs.[25] They were

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[24] "I noticed over their fires much larger vessels of earthenware than any I had before seen, and was permitted to examine them. They were sufficiently hardened by the fire to cause them to emit a sonorous tone on being struck, and in all I observed impressions on the outside seemingly made by wicker work. This led me to inquire of them by signs how they were made, when a squaw brought a basket, and taking some clay, she began to spread it evenly within it, showing me at the same time that they were made in that way. From the shape of these vessels, they must have been under the necessity of burning the basket to disengage them, as they are wider at the bottom than at the top. I must here remark that at the Great Salt Lick, or Saline, about twenty miles from the mouth of the Wabash, vast quantities of Indian earthenware are found, on which I have observed impressions exactly similar to those here mentioned. From the situation of these heaps of fragments and their proximity to the salt works, I am decidedly of opinion that the Indians practiced the art of evaporating the brine, to make salt, before the discovery of America." (Note to Bradbury, p. 158.)

[25] "The bows are short, but strong. Those which are esteemed the best are made of the horns of the animal called by the French gros corne (big horns). This animal inhabits the Rocky mountains, and is gregarious. All who have seen it represent its ability in leaping from rock to rock as one of the most surprising things they ever beheld. The Americans call it the mountain sheep, but the probability is that it belongs to the genus antelope.

painted in a manner that seemed as if they had studied to make themselves hideous. Many of them had the mark which indicates that they had drank the blood of an enemy. This mark is made by rubbing the hand all over with vermillion, and by laying it on the mouth, it leaves a complete impression on the face, which is designed to resemble and indicate a bloody hand. With every band some scalps were carried, elevated in long sticks; but it was easy to perceive, on a close examination, that the scalps had been divided, to increase the apparent number. The number of the enemy that were killed, we supposed, did not exceed seven or eight, and they had themselves lost two, so that this engagement had not been a very bloody one. As the body approached the town, the squaws and old men began to meet them, and excepting the lamentations of those whose relatives had been killed or wounded, the expressions of joy became general, but without disturbing in the least the order of the procession. I walked into the village, which assumed a busy air. On the entrance of the party the warriors were conducted to the different lodges, that they might refresh themselves, and the old men went about shaking hands with some, and seemingly bestowing praises on others, who had conducted themselves well in the battle." (Pages 157-161.)

We have, at what may be unnecessary prolixity, quoted the respective narratives of both Bradbury and Brackenridge covering various identical occasions or transactions at the Aricara villages; the justification seeming to be that both are original authorities and what they have recorded constitutes a large chapter in the

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The horns are exceedingly large for the size of the animal. The bows are made of three pieces, very neatly joined together by a long splice, and wound round with sinew in a very exact manner. The next in value, and but little inferior, are made of a yellow wood, from a tree which grows on Red river and perhaps on the Arkansas. This wood is called bois jaune, or bois d'arc. I do not think the tree has yet been described, unless it has been found lately in Mexico. I have seen two trees of this species in the garden of Pierre Chouteau, in St. Louis, and found that it belongs to the class dioecia; but both of the trees being females, I could not determine the genus. The fruit is as large as an apple and is rough on the outside. It bleeds an acrid milky juice when wounded, and is called by the hunters the osage orange. The price of a bow made from this wood at the Arickaras is a horse and a blanket. Many of the war clubs are made of the same kind of wood, and have the blade of a knife, or some sharp instrument, fastened at the end and projecting four to six inches, forming a right angle with the club." (Note to Bradbury, p. 156-160.)

whole of what is known of these Indians as they existed at the beginning of the last century.

Bradbury's journal of the events immediately preceding the departure of the Hunt expedition from the Aricara villages, now follows:

"As the time fixed on for the departure of Mr. Hunt and his party by land was now approaching, I quitted this scene of festivity, in order to resume my employment, and returned into camp, where I found the party busily employed in preparing for their departure, by parching and grinding corn, mixing it with sugar, and putting it in bags. I now ascertained that the three men who had promised to accompany me down the river had changed their minds, and that on account of the now determined and inveterate hostility of the Sioux, they could not be prevailed on to venture, although I made them liberal offers. Two of them had determined to join the expediton; the other, Amos Richardson, was very anxious to descend the river, four years having elapsed since he had seen the house of a white man; but he and myself would not have been sufficient to navigate the boat. Notwithstanding this I commenced to fill the caisettes with plants, and place them in my boat, and in the evening again walked up to the village, where I met Mr. Brackenridge, who had amused himself during the afternoon by attending to the proceedings consequent on the return of the war party. I was also met by my friend, the young warrior, who invited me into his lodge, and repeated his request that I would be his guest during my stay. I gave him a few yards of printed calico and some gunpowder. In return he pressed me to accept a bow and a quiver full of arrows. Whilst we were smoking his sister prepared some buffalo meat with hominy, of which we ate, and after shaking hands with him, I joined Mr. Brackenridge. In the village all kinds of labor amongst the women was suspended; the old men were going from lodge to lodge, probably to inquire the particulars of the engagement, and to bestow praises on those who had behaved well. The tops and entrances of the lodges were adorned with the shields and arms of the warriors, and all seemed joy and festivity, with the exception of the squaws who were mourning the loss of the killed. It may not be amiss to observe that these people had more reason to rejoice for this victory than many European na-

tions have had for those of infinitely more importance in appearance. For, although it had not been attended with so much bloodshed as some battles in Europe have, yet it had for the present driven away an enemy, who had for two or three weeks been hovering round, and threatened us all with starvation. This enemy is the boldest and most implacable they have, and has already succeeded so far in effecting their extermination, that they are reduced from composing ten large tribes to their present number. These miscreants have been constantly their oppressors, and rob and murder them sometimes with impunity. The present number which the two villages contain is estimated at 2,000, but I think it overrated. They are derived from the Panies, and are stout and well built. The men go mostly naked in summer, and when disposed to make use of a covering, it consists of only a part of a buffalo skin thrown over the shoulders, with a hole for the right arm to pass through. This can be thrown off in an instant. They scarcely ever appear without arms beyond the limits of the town. As the nature of the country renders it necessary that they should pursue their game on horseback, frequent practice renders them not only good horsemen, but also teaches them to handle their bows, and strike an object with precision, when at full speed, with their arrows. They chiefly subsist on the buffalo, and when a herd is discovered, a considerable number of the hunters dispose themselves in such a manner as to approach as near as possible unperceived by them. This must always be done with due regard to the direction of the wind, on account of the exquisite degree in which this animal possesses the sense of smelling. The instant they are perceived by the herd, they dash in amongst them, each singling out one. The horse is taught to understand and obey the wishes of his rider, although conveyed to him by the slightest movement. When he has overtaken a buffalo, he does not offer to pass it, but continues at an even pace until the arrow is discharged, when the rider singles out another immediately, if he thinks the first arrow has effected his purpose. If the horse has sufficient strength and wind to enable his rider to kill three buffaloes, he is held in great estimation. None of these would be sold by the Aricaras to Mr. Hunt. After the horses are out of breath, they pursue the wounded animals at leisure, as they separate from the herd on being wounded, and are soon left be-

hind from weakness, occasioned by the loss of blood. To produce a more copious discharge, the heads of the arrows designed to be used in hunting are much broader than those intended for war. The heads of both are flat, and of the form of an isosceles triangle; the length of the two equal sides three times that of the base.[26] In neither does the shaft of the arrow fill up the wound which the head has made; but the shaft of the hunting arrow is fluted, to promote a still greater discharge of blood. On these occasions they often kill many more than they can possibly dispose of, and it has already been observed that hunting parties are frequently followed by wolves, who profit by this wanton destruction." (Pp. 161-165.)

Of their care of horses, and their crops, Bradbury says of the Aricaras: "The Aricaras do not provide any better for their horses than the other nations of the Missouri. They cut down the cottonwood (Populus angulosa), and the horses feed on the bark and smaller branches. I have seen instances exhibiting proofs that these poor animals have eaten branches two inches in diameter. The women, as is the custom with Indians, do all the drudgery, and are excellent cultivators. I have not seen, even in the United States, any crop of Indian crop in finer order, or better managed than the corn about these villages. They also cultivate squashes, beans, and the small species of tobacco (Nicotiana rustica). The only implement of husbandry used by them is the hoe. Of these they were so destitute before our arrival that I saw several of the squaws hoeing their corn with the blade bone of a buffalo, ingeniously fixed in a stick for that purpose." (Page 145.)

Regarding the word "buffaloe," as thus spelled by Bradbury all through his journal until near the end of his visit at the Indian villages on the Upper Missouri, the observing reader will have

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[26] "Before the Indians had any intercourse with the whites they made the heads of their arrows of flint or horn stone. They now purchase them from the traders, who cut them from rolled iron or from hoops." (Note to Bradbury, p. 164.) Dr. Charles Eastman, the eminent Sioux Indian scholar, physician and ethnologist, who passed all the years of his youth until early manhood as a wild and hostile Sioux, earnestly disputes this proposition. He says that among all of the tribes the flint arrow points are known as the "mystical arrows" or the "devil's arrows," and that the Indians have no knowledge of their origin. He attributes them to a race who preceded the Indians, a race of the stone age.

noticed that he changed the orthography of the word in the last preceding quotations, by dropping the final "e." This seems to indicate that the strong tendency at that time was to thus simplify the spelling of that word to a form which became final in practice.

Concerning the Aricara medicine lodge, Bradbury says: "I am not acquainted with any customs peculiar to this nation, save that of having a sacred lodge in the center of the largest village. This is called the Medicine lodge, and in one particular, corresponds with the sanctuary of the Jews, as no blood is on any accouunt whatsoever to be spilled within it, not even that of an enemy; nor is any one, having taken refuge there, to be forced from it. This lodge is also the general place of deposit for such things as they devote to the Father of Life. It does not seem absolutely necessary that everything devoted shall be deposited here; one of the chiefs, availing himself of this regulation, devoted his horse, or in their mode of expressing it, "gave it to his medicine," after which he could not, according to their rules, give him away. This exempted him, in respect to that particular object, from the tax which custom lays on the chiefs of this and most other nations. This will be explained by stating that generosity, or rather an indifference for self, forms here a necessary qualification in a chief. The desire to acquire and possess more than others, is thought a passion too ignoble for a brave men; it often happens, therefore, that a chief is the poorest man in the community." (Pp. 165-6.)

As to their immunity from the propensity to steal, Bradbury says:

"In respect to their general policy as regards property, they seem to have correct ideas of the meum and tuum amongst themselves; and when the generally thievish character of those we call savages is considered, the Indians of the Missouri are superlatively honest towards strangers. I never heard of a single instance of a white man being robbed, or having anything stolen from him in an Indian village. It is true, that when they find white men trapping for beaver on the grounds which they claim, they often take from them the furs they have collected, and beat them severely with their wiping sticks; but so far as this from being

surprising, that it is a wonder they do not kill them, or take away their rifles.

"The chief part of their riches consists in horses, many of which are obtained from the nations southwest of them, as the Chayennes, Poncars, Panies, etc., who make predatory excursions into Mexico, and steal horses from the Spaniards. A considerable number of those bought from the Aricaras were branded, and were doubtless brought from Mexico, as the Indians do not practice branding." (Pp. 166-7.)

Concerning the religion and laws of the Indians, Bradbury says:

"There is nothing relative to the Indians so difficult to understand as their religion. They believe in a Supreme Being, in a future state, and in supernatural agency. Of the Great Spirit they do not pretend to give any account, but believe him to be the author and giver of all good. They believe in bad spirits, but seem to consider them rather as little wicked beings, who can only gratify their malignity by driving away the game, preventing the efficacy of medicine, or such petty mischief. The belief in a future state seems to be general, as it extends even to the Nodowessies or Sioux, who are the furthest removed from civilization, and who do not even cultivate the soil. It is known that frequently when an Indian has shot down his enemy, and is preparing to scalp him, with the tomahawk uplifted to give the fatal stroke, he will address him in words to this effect, 'My name is Cashegra. I am a famous warrior, and am now going to kill you. When you arrive at the land of spirits, you will see the ghost of my father, tell him it was Cashegra that sent you here.' He then gives the blow.

"In respect to laws, I never could find that any code is established, or that any crime against society becomes a subject to inquiry amongst the chiefs, excepting cowardice or murder. The last is, for the most part, punished with death, and the nearest of kin is deputed by the council to act the part of executioner. In some tribes, I am told, this crime may be commuted. It scarcely requires to be observed, that chastity in females is not a virtue, nor that a deviation from it is considered a crime, when sanctioned by the consent of their husbands, fathers, or brothers; but in some tribes, as the Potowatomies, Saukies, Foxes, etc., the breach

of it, without the consent of the husband, is punished severely, as he may bite off the nose of his squaw if she is found guilty." (Pp. 167-169.)

Speaking specifically as to their hospitality, these observations are found in Bradbury's journal:

"No people on earth discharge the duties of hospitality with more cordial good will than the Indians. On entering a lodge I was always met by the master, who first shook hands with me, and immediately looked for his pipe; before he had time to light it, a bear skin, or that of a buffalo, was spread for me to sit on, although they sat on the bare ground. When the pipe was lighted, he smoked a few whiffs, and then handed it to me; after which it went round to all the men in the lodge. Whilst this was going on, the squaw prepared something to eat, which, when ready, was placed before me on the ground. The squaw, in some instances, examined my dress, and in particular my mockasons; if any repair was wanting, she brought a small leather bag, in which she kept her awls and split sinew, and put it to rights. After conversing as well as we could by signs, if it was near night, I was made to understand that a bed was at my service." (P. 169.) He further observes on this general head: "The two men, Jones and Carson, whom we met descending the Missouri on the 22nd of May, had remained with the Aricaras during the winter, and on our return, Carson was desirous of rewarding the Indian with whom he had boarded during that period. For that purpose he obtained some articles from Mr. Hunt, and offered them to the 'savage,' who refused to accept them, and as a reason for it observed that 'Carson was poorer than himself.' "

Of future movements of the Hunt party and his own desired relations thereto, and of his resolve to return to St. Louis, Bradbury thus speaks:

"I breakfasted with Mr. Lisa the day following, and found that he intended to send two of the boats purchased from Mr. Hunt to St. Louis, with skins and furs, and that Mr. Brackenridge purposed to descend with them. I knew also that in a week our party would take their departure for the Pacific ocean. Messrs. Hunt, Crooks, and McKenzie invited me to go to the Pacific, and in the first instance I was inclined to accept the invitation; but finding that they could not assure me of a passage from thence to

the United States by sea, or even to China, and recollecting also that I must sacrifice my present collection by adopting that measure, and that in passing over the Rocky mountains, I should probably be unable to preserve or carry my specimens, I declined. There was now something of uncertainty whether Mr. Lisa would venture to St. Louis in autumn, or remain during the winter. On duly weighing all these circumstances, I resolved to return in the boats which were intended to be dispatched down the river, although it did not exactly suit my views, as I had noticed a great number of species of plants on the river that, from the early state of the season, could not then be collected advantageously. These I had reserved for my descent; but as no man would accompany me but Richardson, I applied to Mr. Lisa, informing him of my wish to descend in his boats, and on consideration of being permitted to land at certain places which I pointed out, I offered to give him my boat as an equivalent. To this he readily agreed, and I continued to prepare for my departure." (Pp. 170-1.) Bradbury later enters in his journal a complaint against Lisa for alleged non-compliance with this agreement as to permitting him to land at certain places below.

Of the manner in which the Hunt party replenished their stock of meat before starting over the mountains, Bradbury says:

"It had been a matter or surprise to me on my return from Fort Mandan, to find plenty of flesh of buffalo meat in our camp, as the fear of the Sioux had not yet subsided. On inquiry I found that Mr. Hunt had hit upon an expedient which proved successful. This was to dispatch a boat up the river in the night to some miles distant, affording by that means an opportunity to the hunters. This boat returned with a plentiful supply, and secured the party from starving, as a considerable portion of the Indian dogs were already consumed." (Page 171.)

After mentioning the circumstance of the mysterious disappearance of a cask of gunpowder belonging to him, which occasioned serious alarm to the leaders of the Hunt party, in view of certain murmurings of some Canadians who were suspected of an intent to desert that expedition, Bradbury reverts to the subject of the Aricara medicine man:

"On account of my constant attention to plants, and being regularly employed in collecting, I was considered as the physician

of the party by all the nations we saw; and generally the medicine men amongst them sought my acquaintance. This day, the doctor, whom Mr. Brackenridge and myself saw in the upper village, and who showed me his medicine bag, came to examine my plants. I found he understood a few French words, such as bon, mal, etc. I presented him with some small ornaments of silver, with which he appeared to be very much pleased, and requested of me that I would go to his lodge, and smoke with him. When I entered, he spread a fine new buffalo robe for me to sit on, and showed me that it was a present, which he wished me to accept. I smoked with him, and regretted much that we could only converse by signs, and he seemed also to feel the same regret. He showed me a quantity of a plant lately gathered, and by signs informed me that it cured the cholic. It was a new species of Amorpha. I returned to the camp accompanied by the doctor, who very politely carried the buffalo robe for me." (Pp. 173-4.))

The final leavetaking at the Aricara villages by the Lisa party is thus described by Bradbury:

"On the 17th [of July] I took leave of my worthy friends, Messrs. Hunt, Crooks, and McKenzie, whose kindness and attention to me had been such as to render the parting painful; and I am happy in having this opportunity of testifying my gratitude and respect for them; throughout the whole voyage, every indulgence was given me, that was consistent with their duty, and the general safety. Mr. Lisa had loaded two boats with skins and furs, in each of which were six men. Mr. Brackenridge, Amos Richardson, and myself were passengers. On passing our camp, Mr. Hunt caused the men to draw up in a line, and give three cheers, which we returned; and we soon lost sight of them, as we moved at the rate of about nine miles per hour. I now found, to my great surprise, that Mr. Lisa had instructed Mr. Brackenridge not, on any account, to stop in the day, but if possible, to go night and day. As this measure would deprive me of all hopes of adding to my collection any of the plants lower down on the river, and was directly contrary to our agreement, I was greatly mortified and chagrined; and although I found that Mr. Brackenridge felt sensibly for my disappointment, yet I could not expect that he would act contrary to the directions given by Lisa, and

had the mortification, during the day, of passing a number of plants that may probably remain unknown for ages." (Pp. 174-5.)

The reader will judge for himself whether Lisa thus broke faith with Bradbury because he believed the exigencies of the Sioux hostilities demanded it, or for some other reason. While the solicitude of Bradbury in preserving specimens of the flora of the upper Missouri is evidenced throughout his journal; yet his devotion to his quest was evidently imbued with some of the enthusiasm of the original investigator into nature which leads him to imagine that what he discovers might, unless made known by him, remain hidden "for ages" even upon the borders of a great continental waterway.

The storm spoken of by Brackenridge and already mentioned in the quotations hereinbefore set forth from his journal, is the occasion for a description by Bradbury of the boats in which the Lisa party descended the river and, in some degree, of their contents; while his observations upon the effect of the terrible drenching received by all from the downpouring from the heavens and the dashing of the waves, and his commiseration for Mr. Brackenridge in particular, is amusing in view of the concern evidently felt by the latter for Bradbury:

"We looked most anxiously for some little harbor, or jutting point, behind which we might shelter ourselves; but not one appeared, and darkness came on with a rapidity I never before witnessed. It was not long that any choice was left us. We plainly heard the storm coming. We stopped and fastened our boats to some shrubs (Amorphus fruticosa), which grew in abundance out of the clefts of these rocks, and prepared to save ourselves and our little barks if possible. At each end of the boats there was a small deck; under these we stored our provisions, etc.; next to the decks were piled the packs of skins, secured by ropes, and in the middle a space of about twelve feet long was left for the oarsmen. Fortunately for us we had some broad boards in each boat, designed as a defense against arrows, had we been attacked by the Sioux. These boards we placed on the gunwale of the boats, and crammed our blankets into such parts as the lightning enabled us at intervals to see did not fit closely. Before we had time to lash our boards the gale commenced, and in a few minutes

the gale was tremendous. For nearly an hour it required the utmost exertion of our strength to hold the boards to their places. * * * When the wind abated the rain increased, and continued for the greater part of the night, during which my friend Brackenridge and myself lay on the deck, rolled up in our wet blankets, congratulating ourselves on our escape. For myself I felt but little; two years in a great measure spent in the wilds, had inured me to hardships and inclemencies; but I felt much for my friend Brackenridge. Poor young man, his youth, and the delicacy of his frame, ill suited him for such hardships, which, nevertheless, he supported cheerfully." (Pp. 179-181.)

From Crooks' narrative of the Hunt expedition westward from the Aricara villages, quoted from by Bradbury (page 226) it appears:

"Eighty horses were purchased and equipped by the 17th of July, and on the day following they departed from the Aricaras, sixty persons in number, all on foot, except the partners of the company."

We will now bring to view a few sketches relating to the Aricaras found in "Astoria." We feel bound to believe that Irving's materials upon this head were in very great part, if not substantially, the accounts of Bradbury and Brackenridge, already copiously quoted from in this paper. Yet it cannot be doubted that the journals furnished him by John Jacob Astor, comprising Hunt's record of the land expedition which Astor set on foot, formed a substantial initiative among the resources upon which he relied in the inimitable narratives with which "Astoria" abounds. And although every event set down by Irving concerning the Missouri river experiences of the Hunt-Astoria expedition seems inspired in its facts and coloring by the account of Bradbury or Brackenridge, or both, yet it is too plain that the interests of both history and romance demand that the genial spirit and fascinitating diction of one of the greatest of American writers of historical romance should be brought into requisition in rounding out the story of the Aricaras when first known to civilized man. And as Brackenridge was really called upon to act the diplomat between Lisa and Hunt while they were "at sword's points" of mutual hostility from the Big Bend to the Ree villages, Irving's reference to these hostile relations will serve to sum up the case

as to the part actually taken by Brackenridge in that direction, while his description will corroborate in every essential respect the substantial truthfulness of both Brackenridge's and Bradbury's journals in the premises.

Irving thus mentions the near approach of the expedition to the Ree villages: "On the 10th [of June], as the party were making brisk progress with a fine breeze, they met a canoe with three Indians descending the river. They came to a parley, and brought news from the Arikara village. The war party, which had caused such alarm at the sandbar [this refers to the Indians seen by the rival parties at the upper end of the Big Bend], had reached the village some days previously, announced the approach of a party of traders, and displayed with great ostentation the presents they had received from them. On further conversation with these three Indians, Mr. Hunt learned the real danger which he had run, when hemmed up within the sandbar. The Mandans who were of the war party, when they saw the boats so completely entrapped and apparently within their power, had been eager for attacking it, and securing so rich a prize. The Minatarees, also, were nothing loth, feeling in some measure committed in hostility to the whites, in consequence of their having killed two white men above the fort of the Missouri Fur company. Fortunately, the Arickaras, who formed the majority of the war party, proved true in their friendship to the whites, and prevented any hostile act, otherwise a bloody affray, and perhaps a horrible massacre, might have ensued.

"On the 11th of June Mr. Hunt and his companions encamped near an island about six miles below the Arickara village. Mr. Lisa encamped, as usual, at no great distance; but the same sullen and jealous reserve and non-intercourse continued between them. Shortly after pitching the tents, Mr. Brackenridge made his appearance as an ambassador from the rival camp. He came on behalf of his companions, to arrange the manner of making their entrance into the village and of receiving the chiefs; for everything of the kind is a matter of grave ceremonial among the Indians.

"The partners now expressed frankly their deep distrust of the intentions of Mr. Lisa, and their apprehensions, that, out of the jealousy of trade, and resentment of recent disputes, he might

seek to instigate the Arikaras against them. Mr. Brackenridge assured them that their suspicions were entirely groundless, and pledged himself that nothing of the kind should take place. He found it difficult, however, to remove their distrust; the conference, therefore, ended without producing any cordial understanding; and McLellan recurred to his old threat of shooting Lisa the instant he discovered anything like treachery in his proceedings." (Astoria, pp. 180-1.) After recounting the meeting next day of the two Aricara "dignitaries" Left-Handed and Big Man, and the explanation given them by Hunt as to his party's objective, Irving proceeds:

"The village of the Rickaras, Arickaras, or Ricarees, for the name is thus variously written, is between the 45th and 46th parallel of north latitude, and fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth of the Missouri. The party reached it about 10 o'clock in the morning, but landed on the opposite side of the river, where they spread out their baggage and effects to dry. From hence they commanded an excellent view of the village. It was divided into two portions, about eighty yards apart, being inhabited by two distinct bands. The whole extended about three-quarters of a mile along the river bank, and was composed of conical lodges, that looked like so many small hillocks, being wooden frames intertwined with osier and covered with earth. The plain beyond the village swept up into hills of considerable height, but the whole country was nearly destitute of trees. While they were regarding the village, they beheld a singular fleet coming down the river. It consisted of a number of canoes, each made of a single buffalo hide stretched on sticks, so as to form a kind of circular trough. Each one was navigated by a single squaw, who knelt in the bottom and paddled, towing after her frail bark a bundle of floating wood intended for firing. This kind of canoe is in frequent use among the Indians; the buffalo hide being readily made up into a bundle and transported on horseback; it is very serviceable in conveying baggage across the river." (Id. 183.)

Speaking of the horses of the Aricaras, Iriving says: "The great number of horses grazing around the village, and scattered over the neighboring hills and valleys, bespoke the equestrian habits of the Arickaras, who are admirable horsemen. Indeed, in

the number of his horses consists the wealth of an Indian of the prairies; who resembles an Arab in his passion for this noble animal, and in his adroitness in the management of it." (Id.)

After referring to the stentorian voice of the Left-Handed, who summoned the visitors from across the river to the coming council, Irving thus pictures the preliminaries among the whites:

"Now came the delicate point of management; how the two rival parties were to conduct their visit to the village with proper circumspection and and due decorum. Neither of the leaders had spoken to each other since the quarrel. All communication had been by ambassadors. Seeing the jealousy entertained of Lisa, Mr. Brackenridge, in his negotiation, had arranged that a deputation from each party should cross the river at the same time, so that neither would have the first access to the ear of the Arickaras. The distrust of Lisa, however, had increased in proportion as they approached the sphere of action, and McLellan in particular kept a vigilant eye upon his motions, swearing to shoot him if he attempted to cross the river first.

"About two o'clock the large boat of Mr. Hunt was manned, and he stepped on board, accompanied by Messrs. McKenzie and McLellan; Lisa at the same time embarked in his barge; the two deputations amounted in all to fourteen persons, and never was any movement of rival potentates conducted with more wary exactness. They landed amid a rabble crowd, and were received on the bank by the Left-Handed chief, who conducted them into the village with grave courtesy; driving to the right and left the swarms of old squaws, imp-like boys, and vagabond dogs, with which the place abounded. They wound their way between the cabins, which looked like dirt heaps huddled together without any plan, and surrounded by old palisades; all filthy in the extreme, and redolent of villainous smells.

"At length they arrived at the council lodge. It was somewhat spacious, and formed of four forked trunks of trees placed upright, supporting cross-beams and a frame of poles interwoven with osiers, and the whole covered with earth. A hole sunken in the center formed the fireplace, and immediately above was a circular hole in the apex of the lodge, to let out the smoke and let in the daylight. Around the lodge were recesses for sleeping, like the berths on board ships, screened from view by curtains of

dressed skins. At the upper end of the lodge was a kind of hunting and warlike trophy, consisting of two buffalo heads garishly painted, surmounted by shields, bows, quivers of arrows, and other weapons." (Id. 184.)

The pipe of peace having been handed around, which, he says, "was passed from mouth to mouth, each one taking a whiff, which is equivalent to the inviolable pledge of faith of taking salt together among the ancient Britians," Irving thus proceeds:

"The chief then made a sign to the old pipe bearer, who seemed to fill likewise, the station of herald, seneschal, and public crier, for he ascended to the top of the lodge to make proclamation. Here he took his post beside the aperature for the emission of smoke and the admission of light; the chief dictated from within what he was to proclaim, and he bawled it forth with a force of lungs that resounded over all the village. In this way he summoned the warriors and great men to council; every now and then reporting progress to his chief through the hole in the roof.

"In a little while the braves and sagas began to enter one by one as their names were called or announced, emerging from under the the buffalo robes suspended over the entrance instead of a door, stalking across the lodge to the skins placed on the floor, and crouching down on them in silence. In this way twenty entered and took their seats, forming an assemblage worthy of the pencil; for the Arickaras are a noble race of men, large and well formed, and maintain a savage grandeur and gravity of demeanor in their solemn ceremonials.

"All being seated, the old seneschal prepared the pipe of the ceremony or council, and having lighted it, handed it to the chief. He inhaled the sacred smoke, gave a puff upward to the heaven, then downward to the earth, then toward the east; after this it was as usual passed from mouth to mouth, each holding it respectfully until his neighbor had taken several whiffs; and now the grand council was considered as opened in due form.

"The chief made a harangue welcoming the white men to his village, and expressing his happiness in taking them by the hand as friends, but at the same time complaining of the poverty of himself and his people; the usual prelude among Indians to begging or hard bargaining." (Id. 185.)

The climax of this memorable meeting between intensely rival

whites and the Indians from whom all expected much and upon whose good-will so much depended, is thus graphically drawn by Irving:

"Lisa rose to reply, and the eyes of Hunt and his companions were eagerly turned upon him, those of McLellan glaring like a basilisk's. He began by the usual expressions of friendship, and then proceeded to explain the object of his own party. Those persons, however, said he, pointing to Mr. Hunt and his companions, are of a different party, and are quite distinct in their views; but, added he, though we are separate parties, we make but one common cause when the safety of either is concerned. Any injury or insult offered to them I shall consider as done to myself, and will resent it accordingly. I trust, therefore, that you will treat them with the same friendship that you have always manifested for me, doing everything in your power to serve them and to help them on their way. The speech of Lisa, delivered with an air of frankness and sincerity, agreeably surprised and disappointed the rival party.

"Mr. Hunt then spoke, declaring the object of his journey to the great salt lake beyond the mountains, and that he should want horses for the purpose, for which he was ready to trade, having brought with him plenty of goods. Both he and Lisa concluded their speeches by making presents of tobacco. * * * The speech of Mr. Lisa in the council had produced a pacific effect in the encampment. Though the sincerity of his friendship and good-will toward the new company still remained matter of doubt, he was no longer suspected of an intention to play false. The intercourse between the two leaders was, therefore, resumed, and the affairs of both parties went on harmoniously." (Id. 186-7.)

From the foregoing, and from all that is put down in the chronicles concerning Lisa, it is evident that, whatever degree of intensity of jealousy and of conflicting interests may have arisen during the years of the laying of the foundations of the fur trading interests which were in his hands, as between him and his rivals, he was in every emergency of Indian experience the master spirit in whom shone the qualities of diplomacy heightened by a pose which meant the strong hand. In this particular instance it seems that the actual premise from which sprang the

threats if not the intention of McLellan to shoot him, and which seem not to have disconcerted him, was his invincible position of confidence reposed in him by the Aricaras.

One more scene from "Astoria" will be referred to in concluding the citations from Irving's pen relative to the Aricaras. He relates the coming into the village of the war party against the Sioux as follows:

"It was near noon that a mingled sound of voices and rude music, faintly heard from a distance, gave notice that the procession was on the march. The old men and such of the squaws as could leave their employment hastened forth to meet it. In a little while it emerged from behind a hill, and had a wild and picturesque appearance as it came moving over the summit in measured step and to the cadence of songs and savage instruments; the warlike standards and trophies flaunting aloft, and the feathers, and paint, and silver ornaments of the warriors glaring and glittering in the sunshine. The pageant had really something chivalrous in its arrangement. The Arickaras are divided into several bands, each bearing the name of some animal or bird, as the buffalo, the bear, the dog, the pheasant. The present party consisted of four of these bands, one of which was the dog, the most esteemed in war, being composed of young men under thirty, and noted for prowess. It is engaged on the most desperate occasions. The bands marched in separate bodies under their several leaders. The warriors on foot came first, in platoons of ten or twelve abreast; then the horsemen. Each band bore as an ensign a spear or bow decorated with beads, porcupine quills, and painted feathers. Each bore its trophies of scalps, elevated on poles, their long black locks streaming in the wind. Each was accompanied by its rude music and minstrelsy. In this way the procession extended nearly a quarter of a mile. The warriors were variously armed, some few with guns, others with bows and arrows, and war clubs. All had shields of buffalo hide, a kind of defense generally used by the Indians of the open prairies, who have not the covert of trees and forests to protect them. They were painted in the most savage style. Some had the stamp of a red hand across their mouths, a sign that they had drunk the lifeblood of a foe! As they drew near the village the old men and the women began to meet them, and now a scene ensued that

proved the fallacy of the old fable of Indian apathy and stoicism. Parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters met with the most rapturous expressions of joy; while wailings and lamentations were heard from the relatives of the killed and wounded. The procession, however, continued on with slow and measured step, in cadence to the solemn chant, and the warriors maintained their fixed and stern demeanor." (Id. 195-6.)

Captain (now Major) Hiram M. Chittenden, in his very comprehensive and valuable work "Fur Trade of the Far West" (Francis P. Harper, 1902), dwells at some length upon the Aricara Indians; mentioning them in considerable detail in various connections. We believe he has exceeded the bounds of fairness to them in ascribing to them the qualities of marked and exceptional treachery and bad faith toward the whites.[27] In making this observation no intention is entertained of seeking to detract from the high degree of authority which justly belongs to Chittenden's historical writings.

In dealing with each of the Indian tribes of the Missouri valley, under separate headings, his succinct account of the origin, migrations, and characteristics of the Aricaras merits a prominent place in this paper. He says of them:

"Next to the Blackfeet, the Aricaras were more dreaded by the whites than any other northern tribe. Though not so continuously hostile as the Blackfeet they were more treacherous, and the outrages and loss of life suffered at their hands form a mournful chapter in the history of the Missouri valley.

"The Aricaras, commonly called Rees by the traders, were one of the principal divisions of the Caddoan family whose pristine habitat seems to have been in the vicinity of the Red river of the Natchitoches. In their migration north the Pawnees and the Aricaras parted company, the former settling down on the waters of the Kansas and Platte rivers, and the latter going north to the

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[27] They treated Lewis and Clark in 1804 and again in 1806 with great civility. In 1807, when Sergeant Pryor and Pierre John Chouteau attempted to return Big White to his people, they were hostile and attacked the party with disastrous results. In 1809 they allowed the traders to pass in peace. In 1811 they treated the Astorians kindly. In 1823 they treacherously attacked Ashley's men and killed and wounded twenty-three of them. In 1825 they met the trade and intercourse commission peaceably and signed the treaty promptly, humbly asking mercy for their conduct to Ashley. In 1832 they were so hostile the steamboats dared not land there.

heart of the Sioux country on the Missouri. The tribe was once much more numerous than when it became known to the traders, and the remains of its ancient villages can be traced all the way from the Niobrara to the Cannon Ball river along the shores of the Missouri. The Aricaras claimed no particular country except that which they actually occupied. At the time of the voyage of Lewis and Clark they probably numbered 3,600 souls.

"Prior to 1830 they lived in clay huts similar to those of the Mandans and Pawnees, but in this and other matters they resembled more closely the former tribe, though kindred to the latter. In physical appearance they were tall and well formed, and their women were considered the handsomest on the Missouri. In their manner of life they did not differ essentially from the tribes among whom they dwelt and with nearly all of whom they were on terms of hostility, if not of actual war.

"The principal characteristics of the Aricara Indians, so far as it relates to the fur trade, was their treacherous and warlike attitude toward the whites. What can have been the cause of their bad faith and their many atrocities has always been a mystery. They were friends today and enemies tomorrow. One party of trappers they would treat with hospitality; the next they would seek to destroy. After Colonel Leavenworth's campaign, which was supposed to have subdued them, they became more troublesome than ever before. They abandoned their old villages and moved up to the neighborhood of the Mandans. They soon returned, however, and some years later migrated, it is said, to the North Platte. It was their depredations and murders committed upon trading parties in that region that induced N. J. Wyeth and others in 1833 to return from Green river to the states by way of the Bighorn, Yellowstone and Missouri rather than risk the journey across the plains; and also led to the military expedition to the upper Platte under Colonel Dodge in 1835.

"The Aricaras were, in spite of their character for duplicity, useful Indians to the traders, who always had a post among them when they resided on the Missouri. They were good robe-makers and beaver hunters, but their chief staple of trade was horses; and it was from them that the traders obtained a goodly part of their supply. The overland Astoria party in 1811 outfitted with horses at their villages and General Ashley did the same thing in

1823 just before his disastrous experience at their hands." (Id. Vol. 2, pp. 861-3.)

As one of the principal historical accounts of the Aricara attack upon Prior's party in 1807, Chittenden's narrative is a valuable contribution to the sum of information upon the subject. He refers to the measures taken by the United States to escort the Mandan chief Shahaka or Big White (who had accompanied Lewis and Clark on their return from the Pacific ocean, back to St. Louis) back to the Mandan villages, at the head of which party was Ensign Nathaniel Pryor, there being also another escort party who had in charge some Sioux who had been deputed to visit St. Louis on behalf of their tribe and were to be taken back to their country under federal auspices, represented by Lieutenant Joseph Kimball, the two parties traveling together as far as the Sioux headquaters on the Missouri; added to which were two trading outfits, one under Pierre Chouteau [28] for the Mandan trade, the other under "Young Dorion," probably a son of Pierre Dorion, the noted interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, destined to the Sioux country. His narrative runs:

"The departure from St. Louis took place late in May, 1807. The expedition proceeded prosperously, although very slowly, passing all the lower Sioux bands in safety. Here Kimball's and Dorion's parties left the expedition, which now, reduced to about fifty men, continued the journey and reached the lower Aricara village at 9 a. m., September 9th. The Indians of this village fired several guns in the direction of the boats. Dorian, the interpreter, asked what was the matter and they replied by inviting the party to come on shore and obtain a supply of provisions. The hospitable treatment which Lewis and Clark had received from these same Indians the year before threw the party off their guard and the boats were ordered to land. Here it was learned that the Aricaras and Mandans were at war with each other and that several of the upper Sioux bands were allied with the Aricaras and were present in the village.

"There now came on board a Mandan woman who had been captive among the Aricaras for several years, and who imparted

[28] This was Pierre John Chouteau, the father of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., for whom Fort Pierre was named.

some interesting and important information which would probably not otherwise have been found out. It appears that Mr. Frederick Bates, who had given Manual Lisa his license to trade on the upper river, visited St. Charles as he was about to start and obtained a promise from him to wait and accompany the party escorting the Mandan chief. Lisa, with his characteristic facility for doing what he deemed best for his own interests regardless of promises, went on alone. According to the story of the Mandan woman, when he found the Aricaras disposed to stop him, he told them that a large party with the Mandan chief would soon arrive, and after giving them a considerable part of his goods, including some guns and ammunition, he was allowed to proceed. The Indians determined to kill him on his return, but let him pass on for the present lest rumors of their acts and intentions might reach the parties below and cause them to turn back.

"This fortunate interview acquainted Ensign Pryor with the true situation. He ordered the Mandan chief to barricade himself in his cabin and prepared his men for action. After considerable parleying and speech-making, in which Ensign Pryor explained the purpose of his journey, and after presenting a medal to one of the chiefs, the party left the Indians at the lower village in no good humor and proceeded to the upper village. The two interpreters, Dorion and Jesseaume, went by land through the villages. The Indians being clearly bent on mischief, Pryor determined to land, for the double purpose of taking his interpreters on board and of seeing the chief of the upper village, whom he had not been able to communicate with in the village below. The Indians ordered the boats to proceed up a narrow channel near the shore, but the whites discovered the trap in time and refused to comply. They now made known their purpose to detain the boats, saying that Lisa had told them that it was the intention of the present party to remain and trade with them. They first seized the cable of Chouteau's barge, intending to attack the party in which there were no soldiers, and motioned to Pryor to go on. This Pryor refused to do, but seeing the desperate state of affairs, he urged Chouteau to offer the Indians some concession. Finally Chouteau agreed to leave with them a trader and half his goods; but the Indians, confident in their ability to capture the outfit, refused the offer.

"Meanwhile the chief of the upper village came on board of Ensign Pryor's barge and demanded that the Mandan chief go on shore with him. The request was peremptorily refused. The Indians now assumed an insolent and aggressive manner. They demanded a surrender of all the arms and ammunition. The chief to whom the medal had been given threw it on the ground and one of Chouteau's men was struck down with a gun. Raising a general war-whoop they fired on the boats and on Chouteau and a few of his men who were on the shore, and then withdrew to a fringe of willows along the bank some fifty yards back. Ensign Pryor had prepared himself for this contingency and immediately replied with the fire of his entire force. The willows were more of a concealment than a protection and the Indians probably suffered considerably. The contest was maintained for over a quarter of an hour, but as the number of Indians was so great as to threaten destruction to his party if the fight were continued, Pryor ordered a retreat. This was in itself a difficult thing to execute, for Chouteau's barge had stuck fast on a bar, and the men were compelled to get out into the water and drag it for some distance, all the while under the fire of the Indians. At length the boats were gotten off, and floated down the current, the Indians following along the bank and maintaining the fight for upwards of an hour.

"It was not until sunset that the pursuit was finally abandoned, and then only on account of the death of one of the Sioux chiefs, the very man who had been in Ensign Pryor's boat. He wore a white bandage around his head and this mark served to distinguish him among his followers with whom, to the number of about forty, he was relying to reach a projecting point which the boats must pass. He was singled out by those in the boats and instantly killed. His followers gathered around him and abandoned the pursuit of the boats which soon passed out of sight.

"The losses in this conflict was three of Choteau's men killed and seven wounded, one mortally. Three of Ensign Pryor's party were wounded, including the interpreter, Rene Jesseaume." After Ensign Pryor had in vain proposed to the Mandan chief that the party should now undertake the rest of the journey by land by taking a circuit through the prairies, the whole party returned to St. Louis. (Id. Vol. 1, pp. 120-123.)

Chittenden concludes his account of the Pryor expedition as follows: "Thus ended the first attempt to return the Mandan chief to his nation. Ensign Pryor expressed his opinion that it would require a force of not less than four hundred men to accomplish the expedition with the temper of the Indians as it then was. It was thought at the time that the hand of the British was plainly apparent in inciting the northern Indians to this and similar outrages. Whether such was the case or not may be doubted, but it was the general belief, shared even by those high in authority. The incident was the beginning of that series of outrages committed by the treacherous Aricaras upon the traders in which many white men lost their lives during the next twenty years." (Id. p. 124.)

The following note to Chittenden's account, where he refers to the intention of the Rees to kill Lisa, is found at page 121:

"Lisa's account of this affair, as related by Brackenridge, has already been given. Pryor and Choteau were led to believe that Lisa had secured his own passport through these tribes at their expense. How far their suspicions were true cannot be said. It was not the only charge of this kind against Manuel Lisa, but it is a singular fact that his various acts of alleged bad faith, such as that here related, come only from those who claim to have suffered by them. The reputable historians of the time make no mention of them, and they are evidently to be taken with much caution."

Of the Lisa expedition above referred to, Chittenden gives a circumstantial account in his "Fur Trade of the Far West," the materials for which he refers to in a note (page 114) as follows:

"The data for the history of this expedition are less complete than could be wished. The Louisiana Gazette, the first newspaper of St. Louis, and now one of our best authorities upon those early times, was not established until 1808. There are no letters or documents extant bearing upon the enterprise. Our main authorities are Brackenridge, who received an account of the expedition direct from Lisa, and Thomas Biddle, who wrote from personal knowledge of the work of the fur traders in the early years of the century." The particular source from which he gained information through Brackenridge is not stated; but no mention is made of these facts in either Brackenridge's "Journal

of a Voyage Up the Missouri River" (Baltimore 1815), or in his "Views of Louisiana" (Balto. 1817).

To recur to Chittenden's account of the Lisa expedition:

"The expedition left St. Louis in the spring of 1807. The merchandise destined for barter with the Indians was carried on a keelboat and the progress of the expedition was limited to the slow rate at which this boat could be dragged up the winding course of one of the most troublesome navigable streams in the world." (Id. p. 114.) * * *

"On the present occasion Lisa passed through the country of the Sioux without trouble, but was stopped by that most treacherous of the Missouri tribes, the Aricaras. He found between two and three hundred warriors awaiting his approach, for news always traveled among these Indians faster than boats ascended the river. They evidently meant trouble, and probably intended to prevent Lisa's further advance. They fired a volley across his bow at the place where they had decided that he should land. There was no way to ignore their imperious command, and Lisa put to shore. Immediately upon touching the beach he ordered that no Indians should get in his boat, and the chief stationed a guard to keep off the crowd. The women then appeared with bags of corn with which to open trade; but an Indian rushed forward and cut the bags with his knife, whereupon the women took to flight. Whether this was a premeditated signal for a general onslaught is not clear, but if so, the purpose was foiled by Lisa's watchfulness and preparation. They had failed to throw him off his guard. Instantly calling his men to arms and training his two swivels upon the shore, he gave such evidence of a purpose to open fire immediately that the Indians retreated in confusion. The chiefs then came forward holding their pipes before them in token of pacific intentions. Lisa permitted them to approach and they apologized for the incident, characteristically throwing the blame of it upon some irresponsible person who they said was a 'bad man.' Lisa accepted this hollow explanation without being in the least deceived by it. He quickly finished his business at the villages and resumed his voyage." To which Chittenden appends this note: "We shall presently see how different an interpretation was placed upon Lisa's action at the Aricara village

by a party who followed him up the river," referring to the Pryor expedition. (Id. p. 117.)

The official correspondence relating to the military expedition of 1823 against the Aricaras is set forth at large, with notes by Doane Robinson, in Vol. 1 of the "South Dakota Historical Collections," published by the State Historical Society in 1902, at pp. 181-256, under the title "Official Correspondence of the Leavenworth Expedition into South Dakota in 1823, with Editorial Notes by Doane Robinson;" supplemented by a long extract from Chittenden's summary of the military aspects of the expedition, in which he criticises Leavenworth for failing to make his victory more complete, and which criticism is itself criticised by Doane Robinson, under the sub-heading, "A Criticism of Leavenworth." (Id. pp. 235-241.) The interested reader is respectfully referred to the very full information upon the subject contained in that volume, which renders it unnecessary to descend to primary particulars concerning said expedition in this paper.

However, as some connected account of that important expedition, forming so prominent a chapter of the earlier history of the Rees, may properly be included herein, the account of Chittenden of that expedition, save as to that part of it embraced in said Vol. 1, will be inserted here; to which may possibly be added some observations by the present writer. Chittenden says, after quoting from General Leavenworth's report to the effect that "the forces thus organized, including regular troops, mountaineers, voyageurs and Indians, were styled the 'Missouri Legion,' and numbered altogether about eight hundred fighting men."

"As soon as the reorganization was complete the march was resumed and the command arrived before the Aricara villages on the 9th of August, having made the distance from Council Bluffs, 640 miles, in forty-eight days, including the time spent in re-organization at Fort Recovery. On the previous day, August 8th, the command left the boats at a point about twenty-five miles below the villages. The flotilla was placed in charge of Major Wooley and ten men to each boat, with instructions to move it up the river after the troops. The land advance from this point was made in the following order: A scouting party of Sioux under Pilcher's direction went ahead, the better to conceal the character of the attacking force. These were followed by Captain

Riley with a company of riflemen, after whom came General Ashley with his two companies of mountaineers, followed by the rest of the command, except Pilcher's men, who kept on with their boats. Before the attack began about three hundred and fifty additional Indian recruits joined the command, making a total force before the Aricara villages of about eleven hundred men. Opposed to this force there were between six and eight hundred warriors in the two Aricara villages, and between three and four thousand individuals all told, men, women and children. The attacking force was amply sufficient for the work in hand, notwithstanding that the Aricaras were to some extent sheltered in their dirt villages and had erected some rude palisades. The Aricaras do not seem to have had any expectation of this formidable attack and had made no especial preparations to resist it. Thus far, therefore, the campaign had progressed most favorably and there was no reason to doubt its early and successful termination.

"The command had passed the night of the 8th some eight or nine miles below the villages, and early the next morning moved out to the attack. Pilcher was ordered to advance with his Indian auxiliaries and surround the villages so as to prevent escape, and give battle if the Aricaras came out. The Sioux moved to the front with great impetuosity and were met by the Aricaras at the termination of the plain on which the villages stood, and about half a mile below them. Here ensued a sharp struggle in which the valor of the Sioux was met with equal valor on the part of the Aricaras. Thirteen of the latter were left dead on the ground. Whether any of the dead were removed, or what was the number of the wounded, is not known. The Sioux lost two killed and seven wounded, but failed to drive back the enemy.

"Alarmed at the prospect of a repulse, and finding that the troops were not yet in supporting distance, Pilcher hastened to the rear for reinforcements. The whole line was then advanced rapidly in the following order: Ashley's two companies were on the right, resting on the river; next were the five companies of the Sixth regiment, and on the left were Major Riley's riflemen, who seem to have been a picked company formed when the number of regular company was reduced to five. The Sioux being still engaged in front, it was not possible to open fire on the Aricaras until they were passed. When the Aricaras saw the whites

approaching they broke and fled to their villages and the troops followed to within three or four hundred yards, where they halted to await the arrival of the boats with the artillery. It would hardly seem that the hour could have been later than noon, although Pilcher says that "the day was already far spent." The artillery did not arrive until sundown, and further attack was delayed until the next day. After the Aricaras left the field the Sioux withdrew to the cornfields of their enemies and bore no further part in the operations.

"The attack for the following day, August 10th, was planned to take place simultaneously against both villages. Two companies under Major Riley were sent to the upper village, where they secured a good position within one hundred yards of the palisades. Major Vanderburgh, with the Missouri Fur Company contingent, was also stationed at this point, and hither was sent one of the six-pounders under Sergeant Perkins. General Ashley, as on the day before, held the extreme right of the line below the lower village, and on his left was Lieutenant Morris, with the other six-pounder and the howitzer. The rest of the troops were disposed along the front of the lower village, except one company under Major Ketchum, which was ordered at 8 a. m. to reinforce the line at the upper village. The attack was opened by Lieutenant Morris with the artillery. His first shot killed the chief, Grey Eyes, and his second cut down the medicine flag staff. Vanderburgh's artillery was posted at too high an elevation and the shot passed over the village into the river. He was ordered down into the plain and his firing then had more effect. Meanwhile the infantry advanced to within three hundred yards and fired one volley to discharge their guns, which had been loaded for a long time.

"It soon became evident that the artillery was not going to accomplish its purpose of driving the Indians from their lodges, and that it would be necessary to storm the works if they were to be taken. Colonel Leavenworth now began to investigate the strength of the position. He was told by those who had been in the villages that the palisades were strong, with a trench on the inside. One man who had wintered at the Aricara villages advised the colonel that they could be taken only by 'sapping and mining;' that the Indians had full confidence in their ability to

hold the town, and that every squaw would 'count her coup' rather than yield. This was not the kind of resistance that Colonel Leavenworth had expected, but in order to test its real strength, he ordered prepartions for an assault upon the 'acute angle' at the upper village. Ashley in the meanwhile was ordered to make a diversion at the lower village. He took possession of a ravine within '20 paces' of the village, from which he opened a brisk fire. Pilcher was instructed to notify the Sioux of the approaching attack and to bring them in to co-operate. He cautioned the colonel not to rely upon them for this work, for they would probably wait until the Aricaras were driven out, when they could be attacked in the open. Nevertheless an attempt was made to secure their aid, but not very successfully, and owing to their lack of co-operation the charge was abandoned. The cannonade was continued until midday.

"After the charge was declared off, Colonel Leavenworth, with a subordinate officer, went around to view the river side of the towns, where he heard that the Indians were escaping. Learning the falsity of this report he returned, and on his way back saw some Aricaras who had gotten into a ravine and were pouring a 'galling fire' upon the troops. Major Ketchem was sent to dislodge them.

"Leavenworth then went to the upper village. Pilcher, whom he found here, told him that he could no longer vouch for the assistance of the Sioux unless some decisive action were taken. The impetuous and fickle nature of the Indians was not suited to the tedium of a siege, and they could be held to work only by the excitement of actual combat. Leavenworth replied that he was meditating a general assault, but thought that he would first try a stratagem, and asked Pilcher's opinion. Pilcher thought that stratagem was justifiable toward such a people. Leavenworth then said that 'he had thought of sending Simeneau, the Aricara interpreter, to hail the Indians and tell them that they were fools that they did not come out and speak with the whites.' If they would do this, it would give an 'opportunity to examine the works.' Pilcher thought that this stratagem 'could do no harm, at any rate.' The effort failed in due course, and Leavenworth then repaired to the lower village, where Lieutenant Morris was still working away with his six-pounder. Finding that there

were but thirteen shot left the colonel ordered the artillery to cease firing. He then sent word to the Sioux that he had decided to withdraw the forces from the upper village and advised them to leave the cornfields in order to 'save their stragglers from the tomahawks of the Aricaras.'

"The forces were then withdrawn from the upper village and the whole command was moved back about half a mile to a camp opposite the boats. By this time it was after 3 p. m. Orders were given to senior officers of corps to have their men obtain some refreshments as soon as possible, and then to form their corps and march to the enemy's cornfield to obtain some corn for the subsistence of our men, several of whom, and particularly General Ashley's men, had not had any provisions for two days. Colonel Leavenworth then withdrew to his cabin on the boat.

"Such were the inglorious proceedings of the 10th of August, for nothing else was attempted during that day. Their effect upon the Sioux had been to discourage them and arouse their contempt for the whites. They had joined the expedition with the expectation of plundering the Aricara villages. They had made the only real fight, so far, and had since been the spectators of the futile efforts of the whites. They now lost all heart in the campaign, and having laden themselves with Aricara corn, withdrew from further co-operation.

"Presently Colonel Leavenworth came out of his boat and had interviews with General Ashley and with Pilcher. His plan now was to secure a supply of provisions and renew the attack next day. At this time a Sioux Indian and an Aricara were observed holding a parley and it was learned that the Aricaras were suing for pity on their women and children. They said that the man who had caused all the trouble was dead and the rest of the people wanted peace. Leavenworth sent the Indian back to tell the Aricaras to send out their chiefs at once if they wanted peace. He then returned to his boat and soon ten or twelve Indians were seen approaching. The senior officers advanced to meet them. The Indians appeared much frightened and begged the whites not to fire any more at them for they were 'all in tears.' Leavenworth told them that they must restore Ashley's property as a condition of peace, promise to behave well in the future and surrender five men as hostages. They promised to restore all the

property that they had, but said that the horses had mostly all been killed or stolen. Leavenworth then told them of the great power of the Americans, which they had yet scarcely felt, and assured them that while his people desired to live on terms of friendship with them, they must conduct themselves differently or they would be punished more severely than they had yet been. They all made fair promises. Colonel Leavenworth adds: 'Considering my small force, the strange and unaccountable conduct of the Sioux, and even the great probability of their joining the Aricaras against us, and also considering the importance of saving to our country the expense and trouble of a long Indian war, and the importance of securing the Indian trade, I thought it proper to accept the terms.'

"The pipe of peace was brought forth and passed the rounds until it reached Pilcher, who refused to smoke or even shake hands, and got up and walked back and forth in great agitation, telling the Indians that they could look out for him on the morrow. He finally consented to smoke, as it was Colonel Leavenworth's wish, but he refused his assent to the rest of the proceedings. His manner produced a bad effect upon the Indians, who had been told by Colin Campbell that Pilcher was the most important man among the whites. After smoking Leavenworth picked out five principal Indians as hostages, and with a present of twelve robes from the Indians, made ready to depart. But at the instigation of Colin Campbell, as Colonel Leavenworth thought, and also at the sight of the dead body of one of their nation who had been killed by the Sioux on the day before, the Indians became frightened and refused to go. Some shots were exchanged, but no harm was done; and thus ended the first negotiations for peace.

"Colonel Leavenworth now learned that the disgusted Sioux had turned enemy to a certain extent and had stolen six government mules and seven of Ashley's horses. Fearing that they had conspired with the Aricaras to destroy the whites, he ordered his command to entranch for the night. There was indeed some ground for this fear. The operations for the day had given the Sioux a lively contempt for the Americans. One of the chiefs, Fire Heart, had been acting a mysterious and equivocal part for a day or two back, and he had now retired to the hills with a

large party, where he was most likely waiting to see which side would come out victorious.

"The night, however, passed without incident, and on the morning of the 11th the Aricara chief, Little Soldier, came out. He said that his people had been much alarmed at the incident of the night before. Leavenworth tried to explain it away, whereupon Little Soldier said that he would get some of the chiefs to come out, and he wished that some of the white chiefs would visit the village. In particular he wanted to know if Pilcher would make peace, and Leavenworth replied that he would have to. Edward Rose, one of the interpreters, was now sent in and soon returned with the information that the Indians were completely humbled. Doctor Gale and Lieutenant Morris also went in and returned with similar information. They found that the fortifications were much weaker than they had supposed; 'that the pickets were very frail, and that they had but slight ditches on the inside.' Major Ketchum then went in and confirmed the report of the humbled feelings of the Indians. Their attitude was further evidenced by their offer to give the whites a load of provisions if they would send a boat up.

"They were now ordered to send out their chiefs, but they evasively sent out irresponsible men. Finally some of the principal men came out. Leavenworth then called upon Sub-Agent Pilcher to draft a treaty, but Pilcher declined. Leavenworth then drew up the treaty himself. It was signed by eleven Indians (although, according to Pilcher, by no chief of authority) and by six army officers. General Ashley, at whose request the expedition had been undertaken, was the only other person who signed it.

"The treaty contained four articles. In the first the Aricaras agreed to restore the property taken from Ashley. By the second they stipulated not to molest the traders in the future. Arricles third and fourth were mutual promises that the United States and the Aricaras should henceforth live at peace.

"Immediately upon the conclusion of the treaty unrestrained intercourse opened up between the whites and the Indians. In carrying out the first article of the treaty, the Aricaras surrendered three rifles, one horse and sixteen robes. They were told that this would not do. Later in the afternoon Chief Little Soldier, who seems to have been a coward and a traitor to his own

people, and evidently very little esteemed by them, although the first one to sign the treaty, came to Leavenworth's boat and said that it was impossible for the Indians to do more than they had done. The upper village, which had no part in the attack upon Ashley, refused to contribute anything. He said that Grey Eyes, the principal agitator, was dead, and that for himself he had always been friendly to the whites, and had sent warning to Ashley at the time of the Aricara attack, the previous June. He begged that he might come over to the side of the whites in case of a renewal of the attack. He gave the interesting advice that the artillery should fire low, and he pointed out the best place for attack. Such was the craven individual for whose welfare Colonel Leavenworth showed so much solicitude.

"It now became a question of accepting the failure of the Indians to restore Ashley's property or of renewing the attack. The latter alternative was the choice of the army officers and the auxiliaries. Lieutenant Morris had found more shot for the cannon and every one was confident of success if the charge were made. But for some unaccountable reason Colonel Leavenworth could not bring himself to take the decisive step. He has described the conflict of his own thought, which clearly shows that while he was actuated by the purest motives, he lacked the firmness which the occasion demanded. 'I felt that my situation was a disagreeable and unpleasant one. It appeared to me that my reputation and the honor and success of the expedition required that I should gratify my troops and make the charge. But I also thought that sound policy and the interests of my country required that I should not.'

" 'For my own part I felt confident that the Indians had been sufficiently humbled, fully to convince them of our ability to punish them for any injury which they might do us, and that they would behave well in the future.'

"The responsibility of the situation Colonel Leavenworth evaded for the present by postponing the attack until the next day, August 12th. He did this at the request of Little Soldier, in order to permit that shifty savage to escape with his family; and also because it was so nearly night that to attack them would leave the wounded to be cared for after dark. Rose, the interpreter, then went into the villages and got the Indians to send out

a few more robes, which they said was the utmost they could do. He assured Colonel Leavenworth that the Indians were preparing to leave and that they would certainly escape that night; but in spite of all these proofs of their insincerity the colonel sent word to them that he would waive further compliance with Article I, and urged them not to leave. No precautions were taken to prevent escape, and when the command awoke on the morning of the 12th the villages were deserted except by one woman, the aged and decrepit mother of the fallen Grey Eyes. The next two days were spent in a futile effort to find the Aricaras and induce them to return to their villages; and at 10 a. m. on the morning of August 15th, the command embarked for the return journey, leaving the aged mother of Grey Eyes with plenty of provisions in peaceable possession of the villages. Scarcely were the boats under way when the villages were discovered to be on fire and are presumed to have been destroyed.

"In the operations before the Aricara villages the whites lost none in killed and but two slightly wounded. The Sioux lost two killed and seven wounded in the attack of the 9th. The loss of the keelboat with its property and crew on the way up the river was the one serious disaster of the expedition—a very serious one indeed—but, so far as is known, wholly accidental. Colonel Leavenworth thought that the Aricara loss amounted to fifty, but Pilcher was positive that it could not exceed thirty, including women and children, and of these thirteen had been killed by the Sioux. The bombardment caused very few casualties, for it is evident from the hint dropped by Little Soldier that the Indians lay on the ground and that most of the shot passed over them. The effect of the shot on the mud huts was inappreciable. These were all the material results of the campaign under Leavenworth's immediate command, to which may be added the looting of the Aricara cornfields by the Sioux and the burning of the villages by unknown hands." (Id. pp. 591-601.)

Chittenden's views of the ineffectual character of the Leavenworth campaign, and of Aricara hostilities which he regards as the probable outcome thereof, are thus summarized:

"In regard to the Aricaras, Colonel Leavenworth's impression that they were completely humbled was wholly erroneous. Even while the treaty was going on, and immediately afterward, proof

of their bad faith was patent to every one. They failed to carry out the principal article of the treaty and virtually repudiated the whole compact by deserting their villages in the very presence of the troops. In 'orders' issued to the regiment August 29th upon the return of the expedition to Fort Atkinson, Colonel Leavenworth said: 'The blood of our countrymen has been honorably avenged, the Aricaras humbled, and in such manner as will teach them and other Indian tribes to respect the American name and character.' Such was not the opinion of those conversant with the facts. The affair was then considered a complete fiasco and its fame as such persisted in tradition until the details were wholly forgotten. Ten years afterward Maximilian thus referred to it: 'The inhabitants of the banks of the Missouri affirm that this enterprise was conducted with very little energy; they retired from the enemy's villages without destroying them or doing much injury to the inhabitants, at which the allied Indians especially were much dissatisfied. The Aricaras, on the other hand, became extremely arrogant, and henceforth attacked and murdered all white men who were so unfortunate as to fall in their way.'

"Scarcely had Colonel Leavenworth read his orders to the troops at Fort Atkinson when several trappers were massacred by these Indians near the Mandan villages. In the following winter several were killed by them in the valley of the Platte, and similar outrages were of frequent occurrence for many years thereafter. It is true that General Atkinson in 1825 found them humble and peaceably inclined, but his visit was in company with a formidable military force. The history of the twenty years following this affair, far from justifying the hopeful predections of Colonel Leavenworth, were rather a literal fulfillment of the despondent phophecy of Major Pilcher in a letter to Benjamin O'Fallon within a week after the troops left the Aricara villages: 'It is my sincere and candid opinion,' he wrote, 'that the expedition against the Aricaras, from which so much service might have been rendered to this dwindling and bleeding commerce, will rather tend to increase, than diminish, the evil; that the situation of affairs in this country is worsted materially; that instead of raising the American character in the estimation of its inhabitants and impressing them with the power and spirit of our government, the contrary effect has been produced; and that the out-

rages of the Indians will increase in consequence. That a most unfavorable impression has been left upon the minds of our Indian allies is a fact that I am sorry to communicate.'" (Id. pp. 602-3.)

General Leavenworth's supposed motives for failing to make a more decisive ending of the Aricara campaign, and the "bitter animosity" which grew up betwen Leavenworth and Pilcher immediately upon the conclusion of the military engagements connected therewith, are set forth by Chittenden, as reflecting his own views, in his said work as quoted from in Vol. I of these Collections under the heading "Leavenworth Criticised," as hereinbefore referred to; in which the supposed alarm of Leavenworth over his assumption of responsibility "voluntarily assumed;" his anxiety relative to the serious misfortune of the loss of a keelboat before the expedition reached its destination; his possible distrust of his Indian allies "and even the trappers and mountaineers," and his possible fears of a general massacre of the Aricaras in case of a successful assault of the villages, are cited as possible grounds for failing to make the Aricaras convinced of the power and invincibility of the government, while conceding to him the character of a true soldier bent solely on his duty as he saw it before him. The refusal of Pilcher to acquiesce in a proper manner in the orders of General Leavenworth during the negotiations after hostilities ended is criticised as having "naturally aroused the ire of Colonel Leavenworth," who attributed to Pilcher the burning of the villages, "but it was probably one of Pilcher's men, William Gordon. Pilcher positively denied being party to the act, and disclaimed any knowledge of who the guilty party was, at the same time intimating that in his opinion the act was altogether justifiable." Leavenworth, in an order issued on the day of departure from the villages, "directly charged the Missouri Fur company with the destruction of the villages, declaring that "with such men he would have no further intercourse;" which order so "enraged" Pilcher as to move him to write a letter late in August, to Leavenworth, "which, whatever truth it might contain, was couched in such violent and abusive language as to produce the opposite effect upon the public from what was intended." (Id. pp. 603-6.)

George Catlin, who ascended the Missouri river in 1832 and

passed the Aricara villages somewhere in the neighborhood of June 10th, but who did not stop there either going up or returning from the mouth of the Yellowstone, records his observations of their principal village, and makes some observations concerning those Indians, in his "North American Indians" (London, 1842). His sketch of the village lodges has been criticised, and doubtless with propriety, in that it does not represent them as having any entrance projections. His sketch was taken from the deck of the steamer "Yellowstone" as she was passing upstream by it; and it is apparent to any one observing the sketch that the painter was so far away from the lodges that it might not have been perfectly clear to his vision that those entrance appendages existed. Let his own language tell what he sketched and what he learned concerning those Indians:

"Plate 80, gives a view of the Riccaree village, which is beautifully situated on the west bank of the river, 200 miles below the Mandans; and built very much in the same manner; being constituted of 150 earth-covered lodges, which are in part surrounded by an imperfect and open barrier of piquets set firmly in the ground, and of ten or twelve feet in height.

"This village is built upon an open prairie, and the gracefully undulating hills that rise in distance behind it are everywhere covered with a verdant green turf, without a tree or a bush anywhere to be seen. This view was taken from the deck of the steamer when I was on my way up the river; and probably it was well that I took it then, for so hostile and deadly are the feelings of these people towards the pale faces, at this time, that it may be deemed most prudent for me to pass them on my way down the river, without stopping to make them a visit. They certainly are harbouring the most resentful feeling at this time towards the traders, and others passing on the river; and no doubt, that there is great danger of the lives of any white men, who unluckily fall into their hands. They have recently sworn death and destruction to every white man who comes in their way; and there is no doubt that they are ready to execute their threats.

"When Lewis and Clark first visited these people thirty years since, it will be found by a reference to their history, that the Riccarees received and treated them with great kindness and hospitality; but owing to the system of trade, and the manner in which

it has been conducted in this country, they have been inflicted with real or imaginary abuses, of which they are themselves, and the fur traders, the best judges; and for which they are now harboring the most inveterate feelings towards the whole civilized race.

"The Riccarees are unquestionably a part of the tribe of Pawnees living on the Platte river, some hundreds of miles below this, inasmuch as their language is nearly or quite the same; and their personal appearance and customs as similar as could be reasonably expected amongst a people so long since separated from their parent tribe, and continually subjected to innovations from their neighboring tribes around them; amongst whom, in their erratic wanderings in search of a location, they have been jostled about in the character, alternately, of friends and foes.

"I shall resume my voyage down the river in a few days in my canoe; and I may, perhaps, stop and pay these people a visit, and consequently, be able to say more of them; or, I may be hauled in, to the shore, and my boat plundered, and my 'scalp danced,' as they have dealt quite recently with the last trader, who dared for several years past, to continue his residence with them, after they had laid fatal hands on each one of his comrades before him, and divided and shared their goods." (Id. pp. 204-5.)

That Catlin did not regard it safe, or at least expedient, to stop at the Ree villages on his return down the Missouri is evidenced by his absolute silence as to any further reference to those Indians, his next stopping place after leaving the Mandan villages being at the mouth of the Teton (Bad) river, and which he calls "a distance of six or seven hundred miles" from the Mandans. While quoting the observations of a Ponca sage at the mouth of the Teton, however, this passage occurs, showing the environments of the Poncas at that time. The chief, Shoo-de-ga-cha (Smoke) is supposed to be speaking: "That his tribe was too small and his warriors too few to go to war with the tribes around them; that they were met and killed by the Sioux on the north, by the Pawnees on the west; and by the Osages and Konzas on the south; and still more alarmed from the constant advance of the pale faces, their enemies, from the east, with whisky and small-pox, which had already destroyed four-fifths of his tribe, and soon would impoverish, and at last destroy the remainder of them." (Id. p. 213.)

Catlin left the Missouri river country with firm convictions that the Indian village remains which he found at various places below the Mandan villages, and as far south as the mouth of the Ohio, were of Mandan origin; and in this connection, and as concerns the Rees, he says:

"It may be objected to this, perhaps, that the Riccarees and Minaterees build their wigwams in the same way; but this proves nothing, for the Minatarees are Crows, from the northwest; and by their own showing, fled to the Mandans for protection, and forming their villages by the side of them, built their wigwams in the same manner.

"The Riccarees have been a very small tribe, far inferior to the Mandans; and by the traditions of the Mandans, as well as from the evidence of the first explorers, Lewis and Clark, and others, have lived, until quite lately, on terms of intimacy with the Mandans, whose villages they have successively occupied as the Mandans have moved and vacated them, as they now are doing, since disease has swept the whole of the Mandans away." This extract is taken from "Appendix A" to Vol. 2 of Catlin's said work, on page 260, where he is discussing the theory of the Welsh origin of the Mandans.

Catlin makes this brief reference to the Pawnees:

"The Pawnees are a very powerful and warlike nation, living on the river Platte, about one hundred miles from its junction with the Missouri; laying claim to, and exercising sway over, the whole country, from its mouth to the base of the Rocky mountains.

"The present number of this tribe is ten or twelve thousand; about one half the number they had in 1832, when that most appalling disease, the small-pox, was accidentally introduced amongst them by the fur traders, and whisky sellers; when ten thousand (or more) of them perished in the course of a few months." (Id. p. 24.)

Maximilian, Prince of Weid, who came up the Missouri river as far as Fort Pierre on the third trip of the "Yellowstone," thence to Fort Union, and beyond on the Assiniboin, in 1833, published an excellently illustrated work embodying the result of his observations in that region, including some account of the Aricaras. His publication, in Germany, of those accounts constitutes

not only one of the very earliest historical recollections pertaining to the upper Missouri, but is without doubt among the very best in the sense of keen insight, shrewd observation, and finished illustration. His book is also by far the rarest piece of literary work upon this general subject extant. It is believed that there are but two volumes of it in existence in America, one of which is owned by the Montana Historical Society. The work has been republished with valuable annotations by Reuben Gold Thwaites in two volumes, constituting Vols. XXII and XXIII of the series known as "Early Western Travels" (Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906); from which we glean the following extracts relating to the Aricara village sites and people:

On the 14th of May, 1833, after referring to some features of the country a short distance above the mouth of the Niobrara, he says:

"The monotony of this rude landscape was, however, soon interrupted by the appearance of a canoe, in which were four white men rowing down the river. A boat was speedily manned into which Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Sanford went, well armed, in order to speak to them, because they were supposed to be engages of the company who were deserting. We were informed by them, that the Arikkaras, a dangerous Indian tribe, had lately murdered three beaver hunters, one of whom was a man named Glass, well known in the country, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel." (Id. Vol. XXII, p. 294.)

Under date of May 25th, after passing White river and "Cedar fort," later known as Fort Recovery, he records:

"In the course of the day we came to a place where an Arikkara village had formerly stood, on the ridge of the hills, which was destroyed by the Sioux, and the inhabitants expelled. Opposite to this was Fort Lookout, where the French Fur Trading company had a post." (Id. p. 303.) This Fort Lookout was located at a point about twelve miles above Chamberlain, S. D., on the west side of the Missouri. For a description of that post see Vol. I of these Collections, page 326; the description proper having been copied from Maximilian. This Aricara village is the lowest down on the Missouri of any stronghold of the Aricaras concerning which any record or tradition is extant as to its having been destroyed by the Sioux. And there is no hint in Maximilian as to

how long before he came up the river the Aricaras had been expelled from that village.

On the 9th of June, Maximilian, who had exchanged the deck of the "Yellowstone" for that of the "Assiniboin" at Fort Pierre, passed the mouth of the Cheyenne river, where his observation is:

"The country about the mouth of this river is open, the chain of hills low, and the banks covered with forests. At its mouth, and for some way up on both sides of the Missouri, the Arikkaras formerly dwelt, till they were driven further up by the Sioux, and, at length, wholly retired from the banks of the Missouri." (Id. p. 333.) This reference to the Aricaras having left the banks of the Missouri evidently indicates Maximilian's belief that the expedition of those Indians back into the region of the Platte in 1832 was permanent—an error, as has been seen.

We will now quote all that Maximilian records concerning the vicinity of the Moreau river and the Aricara village above, including some localities in their vicinity, in order to afford the reader a connected view of the landscape from place to place. Under date of June 10th (it may have been the 11th) he says:

"Opposite to the mouth of Otter creek [probably the Swan creek of today, at whose mouth is Le Beau], in the woods and thickets of the west bank, behind which rose the green hills of the prairie, there were many elks, which were frightened by the noise of the steamer. In this forest we found an uninhabited loghouse, 180 steps from which runs a pretty river, called Moreau's river, from a man of that name who passed the night here with a Chayenne Indian woman, who had been taken by the Arikkaras and escaped. She stabbed him while he slept, and fled on his horse to to her own nation. This river is called the southern boundary of the territory of the Arikkaras, though they often make excursions far beyond it. We stopped at the above-mentioned loghouse to cut wood, but it was found more convenient to pull down part of the old building and take it away. On the morning of the 12th, our cannon, muskets and rifles were loaded with ball, because we were approaching the villages of the hostile Arikkaras. We came to Grand river, called in Lewis and Clark's map Wetarko (Wetarhoo) river. As we here touched the bottom, we crossed to the east bank, and in half an hour reached Rampart river, which is-

sues from a narrow chain of hills, called Les Ramparts; and soon afterwards an island covered with willows, which, on the large special map of Lewis and Clark, has an Arikkara village, of which there are now no traces. From the hills we had a fine prospect over the bend of the river, on which the villages of the Arikkaras are situated, and which we reached after a short run of only two miles.

"The two villages of this tribe are on the west bank, very near each other, but separated by a small stream. They consist of a great number of clay huts, round at the top, with a square entrance in front, and the whole surrounded with a fence of stakes, which were much decayed, and in many places thrown down. It is not quite a year since these villages had been wholly abandoned, because their inhabitants, who were extremely hostile to the whites, killed so many Americans, that they themselves foresaw that they would be severely chastised by the United States, and therefore preferred to emigrate. To this cause was added, a dry, unproductive season, when the crops entirely failed; as well as the absence of the herds of buffaloes, which hastened their removal. It is said that the Indians now roam about on the road from St. Louis to Santa Fe, and the late attacks on the caravans are ascribed to them. Mr. Bodmer made an accurate drawing of these deserted villages. The principal chief of the Arikkaras, when they retired from the Missouri, was called Starapat"—(the "Old Star" of border memory, "the Little Hawk, with bloody claws," and generally "La Main Pleine de Sang," who will be mentioned in the sequel.)

"The Arikkaras, or, as they are called by the Mandans, Rikkaras or Rees, Les Ris of the Canadians, are a branch of the Pawnees, from whom they long since separated. Their language, which is very easy for a German to pronounce, is said to be a proof of this affinity. Their number is supposed to be still 4,000 souls, among whom 500 or 600 are able to bear arms. The wife of La Chapelle, the interpreter for that nation, was an Arikkara; she had a full round countenance, and rather delicate small features, with a very light yellowish complexion. It is affirmed that the women of this nation are the handsomest on the Missouri. Manuel Lisa, a well-known fur trader, had formerly built a trading house in this country, of which nothing now remains;

though the place is still called Manuel Lisa's Fort." (Id. 334-6.)

It might be here stated, that the precise location at the Aricara villages of Lisa's trading post has never been determined, nor, with any certainty, its technical current name when in use. In Chittenden's "Fur Trade of the Far West," Vol. 3, page 956, is found this entry in a list of many trading posts, and under the sub-heading, to-wit: "Aricara Post—Manuel List had a post in this vicinity, but its exact location or particular name is not known."

What Maximilian has to say about the Mandans and, relatively in that connection, of the Aricaras, belongs rather to Part II of this paper.

Maximilian's brief historical account of the Aricaras, published in Vol. XXIII of "Early Western Travels," is exceedingly interesting, and is believed to be specially valuable. It is as follows:

"The Arikkaras on the Missouri are a tribe which, many years ago, separated from the Pawnees, and settled on the lower Missouri, where they inhabited two villages. At the time of Lewis and Clark's travels these Indians lived on friendly terms with the whites; but, in consequence of subsequent misunderstandings, they became their most inveterate enemies, and killed all the traders who ventured into the vicinity of their territory. After they had defeated the keel-boats of General Ashley, and the unsuccessful expedition of Colonel Leavenworth, they became more insolent than ever; and, as they had no longer any prospect of trading on the Missouri, and other circumstances unfavorable to them took place, they removed, in the year 1832, and settled at a great distance in the prairie, where they are said to dwell, on the road to Santa Fe, above the source of the river La Platte. Their villages on the Missouri have been entirely abandoned and desolate since that time.

"The Arikkaras are tall, robust, well-made men; some of them are nearly six feet (Paris measure) in height. Their physiognomy does not materially differ from that of the neighboring tribes, especially of the Mandans, and their women are said to be the handsomest on the Missouri, but also the most licentious. Their costume is likewise not very different from that of the Mandans; their robes are mostly painted of a reddish-brown color. They have renounced the costume, and the greater part of the customs

of the Pawnees. At the time when they left the Missouri, they amounted to betwen 3,000 and 4,000 souls, of whom 500 were warriors, and possessed a great many horses and dogs; they can now bring 600 men into the field, and are still a warlike people. Ross Cox, in his journey to the Columbia, calls them a powerful tribe, which is, perhaps, rather too strong an expression. The most detailed accounts respecting this people, with which I am acquainted, are in Brackenridge's and Bradbury's travels; yet they are very meager, though the former had opportunities of observing them for some time, on friendly terms. Perhaps he had not an interpreter sufficiently acquainted with the language. I will state what I have learned from some Mandans, especially from Mato-Tope, who lived a long time among the Arikkaras.

"Brackenridge gives an imperfect description of the construction of their huts, which does not much differ from that of the Mandans. This writer says that the villages of the Arikkaras were very dirty, and compares them with some old European towns. As it must, however, be supposed that Brackenridge had never seen European towns, where the police are more strict than in American towns, his comparison does not hold good. Both Brackenridge and Bradbury were very well received by these people, and some white men were living among them, who served as interpreters. When a stranger was once in their villages he was hospitably treated, and invited to many of their festivals. When he left, however, he had to be on his guard, especially against the war parties, who seldom spared a white man.

"The agriculture of the Arikkaras was the same as that of their neighbors. In the education of their children they are said to have been more strict, for, when the children behaved ill, they were severely corrected. Among the more northern nations also, a better system prevails than among the Mandans and Manitaries; it frequently happens, among the Chippeways, that, when a boy rudely passes before the older men, they take him by the arm and give him a good thrashing. If a young man is idle, and will not go hunting, his father has been known to drive him before him a mile, beating him all the way, and then telling him that, if he returns without any game, he shall be punished still more severely. Like most of the Indian tribes, the Arikkaras have

their bands, or unions, and likewise distinct dances. They are as follows:

"1. The band of the bears. It consists of old men, who, in their dance, wear some parts of the bear's skin, a necklace of bear's claws, etc.

"2. The mad wolves. They wear a wolf's skin on their back, with a slit through which they put the head and arms.

"3. The foxes wear fox skins on different parts of their body.

"4. The mad dogs carry a schischikue in their hand when they dance.

"5. The mad bulls. These are the most distinguished men, and wear, in their dance, the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns.

"6. The soldiers.

"Besides these bands, the Arikkaras have, at least, seven different dances.

"1. The hot dance, or the black arms.

"2. The dance of the bird's egg. They wear, on the forehead, the skin of a scheech-owl.

"3. The dance of the youngest child. Both the young and the old bands may have this dance, and wear, at the back of the head, a piece of swan's skin, with a crow's feather.

"4. The dance of the prairie foxes. They wear a kind of apron of red or blue cloth; behind, the skin of a prairie fox; short leggins, just above the knee; at the back of the head, two crows' tails crossed; and on their leggins, bells, which they make themselves out of tin kettles.

"5. The white earth dance. They wear a cap made of ermine's tails, hanging down; at the back of their head, two war eagles' feathers crossed; at the small of the back, a piece of leather like a tail, ornamented with strips of ermine and bells; they carry a large bow-lance, decorated with the feathers of the war eagles. Their robe is trimmed with fox skin and strips of ermine.

"6. The dance of the spirits. A large cap of owl's feathers hangs down behind, and goes even round the body. They have a war pipe suspended round the neck, and in their hands the skin of their medicine animal.

"7. The dance of the extended robe. If anything is given them during this dance, they receive it with their guns pointed at the giver. They dress as if they were going to battle, and only the

bravest warriors are admitted among them. If any one accepts a present, another, who has performed more exploits, pushes him away, enumerates his own deeds, till another comes and treats him in the same manner, and so on, till, at length, the bravest takes possession of the gift. They imitate in their dance the various attitudes of fighting, and, with one arm, hold their robe before them like a shield, as if to defend themselves. All the wounds they have received are marked on the body with red paint. These bands and dances are bought and sold in the same manner as among the Manitaries, Crows, and Mandans. The purchasers are obliged to offer and give up their wives to the discretion of the fathers, that is, the sellers.

"Their games are nearly the same as among the other tribes. The skin of a young white buffalo cow is likewise highly valued by them. They have the same distinctions as the Mandans for their military exploits, and the partisans observe the same ceremonies, only the Arikkara partisan has a head of maize at his breast, which they consider as a great medicine. If they are obliged to retreat they never throw aside their girdle, as the other nations do, however hot the weather may be. It is said that when many Arikkaras are together they do not fight very well, but when there are only a few they show much more bravery. No tribe has killed so many white men as the Arikkaras. The Pawnees formerly tortured their prisoners, till their chief, Petulescharu, as Say relates, abolished the custom, and the Arikkaras likewise renounced it when they separated from the Pawnees.

"Their religious ideas and traditions are in general the same as those of the Mandans. They give to the first man a name which is likewise the appellation of the wolf. They formerly reverenced the ark of the first man, but they have given up that custom. Like all the Indians on the Missouri, they have their medicine feasts and all manner of superstitious practices. The Okippe, properly speaking, is not known among them; they torture themselves, however, though not so cruelly as their neighbors. All kinds of animals are considered by them as medicine, and they choose it as the other tribes do. They never fast so long as the Mandans and the Manitaries; at the most for one day. When they would do penance and kill buffaloes, they never load their horses with the flesh of the animals they may have killed, but

often bring home a large quantity, on their head and back, from a great distance. He who bears the greatest burden sometimes gives the flesh to a poor old man, who then sings medicine songs for him, in order that he may have success in hunting, and in war, and by such actions he acquires great esteem. The lord of life told the Arikkaras that, if they gave to the poor in this manner, and laid burdens upon themselves, they would be successful in all their undertakings. It is said that they have given up all their former religious traditions except the last. This may, perhaps, be partly ascribed to the influence of the whites—a conjecture which occurs to unprejudiced persons when they consider the simple mythology of the Mandans. The maize is one of the principal medicines of the Arikkaras, for which they show their reverence in various ways. One of their greatest medicine feasts is that of the bird case, which they have faithfully retained; they esteem this medicine as highly as Christians do the Bible. It is the general rule and law, according to which they govern themselves. This instrument is hung up in the medicine lodge of their villages, and accompanies them wherever they go. It consists of a four-cornered case, made of parchment, six or seven feet long, but narrow, strengthened at the top with a piece of wood. It opens at one end, and seven schischikues of gourds are fixed at the top, ornamented with a tuft of horse-hair dyed red. See the annexed woodcut, designed by Mato-Tope. Inside the box there are stuffed birds of all such kinds as they can procure; that is to say, only such species as are here in summer. Besides these the box contains a large and very celebrated medicine pipe, which is smoked only on extraordinary occasions and great festivals. If an Arikkara has even killed his brother, and then smoked this pipe, all ill-will towards him must be forgotten. With this singular apparatus a ceremony is performed as soon as the seed is sown and the first gourds are ripe. The blossoms of the gourd are guarded, that no one may injure them; and, as soon as the first fruit is ripe, some distinguished warriors are chosen, who must come to the assembly. Articles of value are presented to them; the first fruit is cut and given them to eat. For this they must take down and open the bird case, on which occasion medicine songs are sung, and the large pipe is smoked. In the summer-time, when the trees are green, they take an evergreen tree,

such as a red cedar, peel the trunk, and paint it with blue, red, and white rings, and then plant it before the medicine lodge; the case is taken down, and the ceremony performed. This bird case is of special efficacy in promoting the growth of the maize and other plants; and he who carries this magic case to a great distance, and with considerable exertion, obtains the highest place in the favor of the lord of life. The strongest men among these Indians are said sometimes to carry a whole buffalo, without the head and the intestines, to present it as an offering to the bird case. This offering is considered very meritorious; and, when they have made it four times, it is believed that they will never be in want of buffaloes. At the beginning of the world, the Mandans, it is said, inhabited the village of Ruhptare, together with the Arikkaras. At that time the lord of life came to them in the form of a child, and directed them to celebrate the Okippe every year, like the Mandans, but not their ceremony with the bird case. Quarrels and affrays arose on this subject between the Mandans of Ruphtare and the Arikkaras, during which the lord of life remained among the former. He thought of going to the other party, which he was advised not to do, because they would kill him; to which he answered, 'They cannot kill me.' He then went to a stream, took out of it a piece of salt, with which he rubbed his whole body, and threw a part of it among the Arikkaras, by which a great many of them were poisoned. The two parties afterwards separated; the Arikkaras retained their bird case, the Mandans the Okippe, as the lord of life had enjoined them. In consequence of this great event the Arikkaras were angry with the lord of life, and called him 'the prairie wolf.'

"This bird case is likewise a calendar for the Arikkaras, for they reckon the seven cold months by the seven schischikues, beginning to count by the middle one for the coldest month. On the left hand they reckon three months till the warm weather, which lasts five months, and which they pass over, to begin at the end of the schischikues with the other cold months, proceeding to the centre where the greatest degree of cold recurs. Leaving out the five months of warm weather, May, June, July, August, and September, those which are reckoned by the schischikues are:

"1. The month in which the leaves fall; October.

"2. The month of the nose of the little serpent; November.
"3. The month of the nose of the great serpent; December.
"4. The month of the seven cold nights; January.
"5. The month which kills or carries off men; February.
"6. The month in which the wild geese return; March.
"7. The month in which vegetation begins; April.

"The Arikkaras practice a number of strange tricks and juggleries. They are remarkably dexterous in sleight-of-hand performances, which they are said to have learned from a celebrated juggler. They institute medicine feasts at which entire comedies are performed. One, for instance, disguised in a bear's skin, with the head and claws, imitates the motions and the voice of the animal so accurately that he cannot be distinguished from a real bear. He is shot; the wound is plainly to be seen, and blood flows; he drops down and dies; the skin is stripped off, and at last the man appears safe and sound. On another occasion, a man's head is cut off with a sabre and carried out. The body remains bleeding, without the head, and this headless trunk dances merrily about. The head is then replaced, but with the face at the back. The man continues to dance, but the head is seen in its right position, and the man who was beheaded dances as if nothing had happened to him. The bleeding wound is rubbed with the hand, it disappears, and all is in order again. Men are shot; the blood flows; the wounds are rubbed, and they come to life again. The Arikkaras perform all these tricks with such consummate address, that the illusion is complete, so that most of the French Canadians believe in the realty of all these wonders. No Arikkara will break a marrow-bone in his hut; this must always be done in the open air; they believe that, if they neglect this precaution, their horses will break their legs in the prairie.

"These people have at present a great many enemies. The Mandans, the Manitaries, the Crows, the Sioux, the Blackfeet, the Assiniboins, the Arrapahos, and the Pawnees.

"The Arikkaras affirm that God said to them that they were made of earth, and must return to earth; on which account they bury their dead in the ground. Various things are sometimes cast into the graves of eminent men; the corpse is dressed in the best clothes, the face painted red, and sometimes a good horse is killed on the grave. If the deceased has left a son, he receives

his father's medicine apparatus; if not, it is buried with him in the grave.

"The language of the Arikkaras differs totally from those of the Mandans and Manitaries; there is more harshness in the sound; the guttural ch occurs frequently, and there are very many German terminations, such as natsch, ratsch, ass, oss, uss, etc., etc., which are much harsher than the terminations of the Manitari language. Germans pronounce it easily and correctly. Many words again end with the syllable, hahn, rahn, wahn, pronounced as in German. Their manner of giving names to their children does not differ from that of the Mandans and other Indians of the Missouri, and the western plains at the foot of the Rocky mountains. They are often harmonious, and are changed on special occasions, such, for instance, as having performed some feat of valor, when arrived at manhood."

Charles Larpenteur, whose unique and valuable experience on the upper Missouri from 1833 to about 1873 is recorded in the work entitled "Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri," and which is substantially an edition of Larpenteur's original journals in the nature of an autobiography, by the master hand of Dr. Elliott Coues (Francis P. Harper, 1898), has but very little to say concerning the Aricaras; and it seems certain that he might have set down more upon that subject were he to have attempted to relate what he had known and learned of those Indians. The little that he does say in this connection is so disjointed and so merely incidental to his main theme—his connection with Fur Traders—that but small benefit will be derived from the following extracts. They are worth a place in this treatment of the subject, however, as any word from original autorities cannot, in justice to any historical subject in hand, be left out of account.

His journal throws some light upon the fact that the Aricaras were at war with the Assiniboines in 1837. On the 22nd of March of that year he left Fort Union (substantiallly at the mouth of the Yellowstone) with Robert Christy of St. Louis, for Baltimore; two oarsmen being the balance of the party. He says:

"The day was calm and beautiful, and we made good speed. I was young, and full of mirth at the idea of returning to my par-

ents, whom I intended to take by surprise, and many other fine plans I had formed made me so happy that I forgot the danger of Indians. Suddenly a party of them, who had concealed themselves along the river banks, rose up with their bows and arrows, ready to shoot. We were not more than 20 yards from them, and their work of destruction would have been quickly done had it not been for one among them whom we saw running to and fro with his bow in his hand, striking right and left. He finally succeeded in preventing the threatened attack; and, as one can imagine, the progress of our little craft was speedily increased. We were told, on our return, by Mr. Chardon, a member of the company in charge of Fort Clark, that we had no idea how near we came to losing our lives on that occasion. Those Indians were a party of 80 Ree [Arikaras], who had gone to war on the Assiniboines; and had it not been for their partisan's influence over them we surely would have all been killed. The Rees had had the small-pox severely, and were therefore badly disposed toward the whites. This was fright No. 1, after which I remember well the first words spoken by Mr. Christy: "Larpenteur, I think we had better stayed at Union.' But it was already too late to repent; we were under way and could not turn back." (Id. pp. 137-8.)

Another page from Larpenteur's journal reflects the fact that in April, 1847, upon the occasion of his going down the river with his family from Fort Union, accompanied by Mr. Latta, a son-in-law of William Laidlow, the latter being then in charge of Old Fort Pierre. His narrative runs:

"We had a pleasant trip, excepting some high winds, which sometimes caused us to remain as much as three days camped in the willows, and one fright from a war party of Rees.

"When we stopped at Fort Clark, Mr. Des Hotel, who was in charge, told us that a party of 22 Rees had gone to war on the Sioux in 11 bullboats, two in each boat; but remarked that there would be no danger for us, as the partisan was a young man friendly to the whites. 'This partisan is the son of Old Star,' said he, pointing to the old man, 'and there is Old Star himself;' and a very fine looking fellow he was. The following morning we left, expecting to meet them on that or the following day, as they had started the day we arrived, but it was not till the second

day, about noon, that we discovered the party. Although we had been well armed at the fort, and were not in much danger for ourselves, we could not feel entirely safe, on account of my family of Assiniboines, who were deadly enemies to the Rees; for I knew the latter to be worse than all others, in taking revenge on women. But we were soon discovered by them, and on we had to go. As soon as we came near they commenced to yell at a great rate, and in a moment our boat was surrounded. All those that could get hold grasped our boat; but this appeared to be done in good humor. As we thus drifted along with the current, they gave us some of their provisions, which were little balls made of pounded parched corn, mixed with marrow fat, and some boiled squashes; in exchange for which we gave them some fine fat buffalo meat. Ahead of us there was a boat which we afterward found contained the partisan, who, having given his orders, had gone on to find a suitable landing; and in a little while his party, who held us prisoners, landed us in his presence. He was a very fine looking man, and had his pipe ready for a smoke; but he understood so few words of Assiniboine that I could make out little of what he said, and was anxious to be out of the clutches of his party. I got out what tobacco I had, a good bundle of dried buffalo meat, and some sugar, of which I knew they were fond, and after this made a sign that I wanted to proceed on my journey; upon which he gave me the sign to go, charging me not to let any one at Fort Pierre know they were under way. Under such fair promises we took our leave of the gentleman, having fared much better than we expected.

"On we proceeded again, quite jovial, and praising the partisan, who we hoped might exchange his boats for horse-flesh, as that was what the party were after, and take some Sioux scalps, if these could be obtained." (Id. pp. 247-8.) Larpenteur, throughout his journal, uses the term "partisan" as meaning the chief of a party or band of Indians; the word being one which was early coined among the fur-traders as indicting one who was connected with a fur-trading company, or outfit, or one of the partners of such a concern.

John James Audubon, the eminent ornitholigist and naturalist, who in his "Missouri River Journals" narrates his experiences while touring in 1843 the upper Missouri, makes but the briefest

reference to the Aricara villages. Under date of June 4th, his journal runs: "We have run pretty well, though the wind has been tolerably high; the country we have passed this day is somewhat better than what we saw yesterday, which, as I said, was the poorest we have seen. No occurrence of interest has taken place. We passed this morning the Riccaree village, where General Ashley was so completely beaten as to lose eighteen of his men, with the very weapons and ammunition that he had trafficked with the Indians of that village, against all the remonstrances of his friends and interpreters; yet he said that it proved fortunate for him, as he turned his steps towards some other spot, where he procured one hundred packs of beaver skins for a mere song. We stopped to cut wood at an old house put up for winter quarters, and the wood being ash, and quite dry, was excellent. We are now fast for the night at an abandoned post, or fort, of the company, where, luckily for us, a good deal of wood was found cut." (Audubon and His Journals, by Maria R. Audubon, with Notes by Elliott Coues, Chas. Scribner & Sons, 1897, Vol. 2, pp. 3-4). He was bound upstream at that time.

The next day, after noting the passage of the Cannon Ball river, he makes this entry: "We stopped to take wood at Bowie's settlement, at which place his wife was killed by some of the Riccaree Indians, after some Gros Ventres had assured him that such would be the case if he suffered his wife to go out of the house. She went out, however, on the second day, and was shot with three rifle balls. The Indians took parts of her hair and went off. She was duly buried; but the Gros Ventres returned some time afterwards, took up the body, and carried off the balance of her hair. They, however, reburied her; and it was not until several months had elapsed that the story came to the ears of Mr. Bowie." (Id. 5.)

While at the Mandan village at Fort Clark, June 7th, he observes of the Indians there: "We observed a considerable difference in the color of these Indians, who, by the way, are almost all Riccarees; many appeared, and in fact are, redder than others; they are lank, rather tall, and very alert, but, as I have said before, all look poor and dirty." (Id. 14.) His journal of that date further shows: "After the Riccarees had taken possession of this Mandan village, the remains of that once powerful tribe re-

moved about three miles up the river, and there have now fifteen or twenty huts, containing, of course, only that number of families." And speaking of the ravages of the small-pox which had then very recently been prevalent and had committed awful havoc among the Indians, he says: "During the worst periods of the epidemic which swept over this village with such fury, many became maniacs, rushed to the Missouri, leaped into its turbid waters, and were seen no more." (Id. 15.)

On June 20th Audubon relates at length in his journal the account given him by Mr. Chardon, one of the American Fur company's leading representatives at the trading posts and who was on his way to the post at the Blackfoot headquarters, concerning the terrible scourge of the small-pox which visited all of the Missouri river tribes in 1837-8, and which disease was brought into that region by the steamer "Assiniboin." That portion of the account relating more particularly to the Mandans will be omitted, and reference made chiefly to some detached portions relating to the Aricaras more particularly. The entries show: "Most of the Riccarees and Mandans were some eighty miles in the prairies, hunting buffaloes and saving meat for the winter. Mr. Chardon dispatched an express to acquaint them all of the awful calamity, enjoining them to keep far off, for that death would await them in their villages. They sent word in return, that their corn was suffering for want of work, that they were not afraid, and would return; the danger to them, poor things, seemed fabulous, and doubtless they thought other reasons existed, for which this was an excuse. Mr. Chardon sent the man back again, and told them their crop of corn was nothing compared to their lives; but Indians are Indians, and, in spite of all entreaties, they moved en masse, to confront the awful catastrophe that was about to follow. When they reached the villages, they thought the whites had saved the Riccarees, and put the plague on them alone (they were Mandans). Moreover, they thought, and said, that the whites had a preventive medicine, which the whites would not give them. Again and again it was explained to them that this was not the case, but all to no purpose; the small-pox had taken such a hold upon the poor Indians, and in such malignant form, that they died oftentimes within the rising and setting of a day's sun. They died by hundreds daily; their bodies were

thrown down beneath the high bluff, and soon produced a stench beyond description. Men shot their wives and children, and afterwards driving several balls in their guns, would place the muzzle in their mouths, and, touching the trigger with their feet, blow their brains out. * * * For a long time the Riccarees did not suffer; the Mandans become more and more astounded at this, and became exasperated against both whites and Indians. The disease was of the most virulent type, so that within a few hours after death the bodies were a mass of rottenness. Men killed themselves, to die a nobler death than that brought by the dreaded plague. * * * The whites in the fort, as well as the Riccarees took the disease after all. The Indians, with few exceptions died, and three of the whites. The latter had no food in the way of bread, flour, sugar, or coffee, and they had to go stealthily by night to steal small pumpkins, about the size of a man's fist, to subsist upon, and this amid a large number of wild, raving, mad Indians, who swore revenge against them all the while. This is a mere sketch of the terrible scourge which virtually annihilated two powerful tribes of Indians, and of the trials of the traders attached to the fur companies on these wild prairies, and I can tell you of many more equally strange. The mortality, as taken down by Major Mitchell, was estimated by that gentleman at 150,000 Indians, including those from the tribes of the Riccarees, Mandans, Sioux, and Blackfeet. The small-pox was in the very fort from which I am now writing this account [Fort Clark], and its ravages here were as awful as elsewhere. * * * He concluded by assuring us all that the small-pox had never been known in the civilized world, as it had been among the poor Mandans and other Indians. Only twenty-seven Mandans were left to tell the tale." (Id. pp. 42-47.) Many of the most striking illustrations of extreme despair and of heroic self-destruction accompanying that terrible visitation, recounted by Audubon, have been omitted. In a note to Audubon, taken from Maximilian, Prince of Weid, who wrote under date of "New Orleans, June 6, 1838," it appears: "We have from the trading posts on the western frontier of Missouri the most frightful accounts of the ravages of small-pox among the Indians. * * * The number of victims within a few months is estimated at 30,000, and the pestilence is still spreading. * * * The small-pox was commu-

nicated to the Indians by a person who was on board the steamboat which went last summer to the mouth of the Yellowstone, to convey both the government presents for the Indians, and the goods for the barter trade of the fur-dealers. * * * The officers gave notice of it to the Indians, and exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent any intercourse between them and the vessel; but this was a vain attempt. * * * The disease first broke out about the 15th of June, 1837, in the village of the Mandans, from which it spread in all directions with unexampled fury. * * * Among the remotest tribes of the Assiniboins from fifty to one hundred died daily. * * * The ravages of the disorder were most frightful among the Mandans. That once powerful tribe was exterminated, with the exception of thirty persons. Their neighbors, the Gros Ventres and the Riccarees, were out on a hunting excursion at the time the disorder broke out, so that it did not reach them till a mouth later; yet half the tribe were destroyed by October 1st. Very few of those who were attacked recovered.* * * Many put an end to their lives with knives or muskets, or by precipitating themselves from the summit of the rock near the settlement. The prairie all around is a vast field of death, covered with unburied corpses. The Gros Ventres and the Riccarees, lately amounting to 4,000 souls, were reduced to less than one-half. The Assiniboins, 9,000 in number, are nearly exterminated. They, as well as the Crows and Blackfeet, endeavored to fly in all directions; but the disease pursued them. * * * The accounts of the Blackfeet are awful. The inmates of above 1,000 of their tents are already swept away. No language can picture the scene of desolation which the country presents. The above does not complete the terrible intelligence which we receive.* * * According to the most recent accounts, the number of Indians who have been swept away by the small-pox, on the western frontier of the United States, amounts to more than 60,000." (Id. 47-8.)

Father P. J. DeSmet, the venerable and well-known missionary of the far northwest, on his return from the Columbia river region in 1846, makes note of his meeting the Aricaras in descending the Missouri river.

Under date of September 20th, 1846, we find recorded in his

"Oregon Missions" (New York, 1847), on pages 337-8, the following:

"On the 20th we were hailed by several bands of Indians, and kindly received. We proceeded and encamped for the night near Knife river; but our fire discovered our encampment to a band of Indians. The discovery would have been fatal to us, had I not been fortunately recognized by them; for they came armed for destruction, and took us by surprise. As soon as the two leaders knew who I was, they embraced me affectionately; our alarm was soon quieted, and we passed the evening very agreeably in their company; a good smoke, a cup of well sweetened coffee, a few humps and buffalo tongues put them in a very good humor. They made me a solemn promise, that they would, in future, never molest a white man. They were Arikaras. The next day we breakfasted at Fort Madison,with the good and kind-hearted Mr. Des Autel. Shortly after leaving this fort, we passed under a scalp attached to the end of a long pole, which projected over the river. This was probably an offering to the sun, to obtain either fresh scalps or a good hunt. We were hailed by a large village of Arikaras, encamped and fortified on a point of land well timbered. They treated us with great kindness, earnestly pressing me to accept invitations to several buffalo feasts; and as time did not admit of such delay, their liberality fell little short of sinking the skiff, with the most dainty pieces of the hunt. Though late, we proceeded on our journey, principally, indeed, to avoid passing the night in feasting."

Joseph H. Taylor, now and for many years past a resident of Washburn, N.D., and formerly a resident of Yankton, makes some connected references to the Rees and their contests with the Sioux in the sixties and seventies. These, and his allusion to the origin of the Rees are well worthy of notice. In his book "Kaleidoscopic Lives," published by him in 1902, we find the following relative to this subject:

"Other than of a legendary character among the two peoples which is much at variance and without data, the cause of or stated time as to the beginning of hostilities between the Sioux and the Aricaree branch of the Pawnee nation is unknown to the historian, but probably had its commencement with the northern march of the Pawnees from the plains of southern Kansas and

northern Texas, which must have taken place at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

"The first authentic records we have of the Aricarees proper, date from the Lewis and Clark exploring expedition up the Missouri river, 1804. Some account was made as to their earlier history by these explorers and of the situation in which they found them. They made note of the refusal of the Aricarees to accept whisky from their hands and of their words of rebuke to the officers in proffering them a substance that would take away their wits. The explorers represented Aricarees at this time as serving a kind of vasselage under the Sioux owing to an open war with northern tribes, and of having to depend on the good offices of the Sioux for their supply of guns and powder and balls through their intermediary with the American fur company traders located in the heart of the Sioux country.

"In general characteristics the Aricarees were regarded by the early fur traders and voyagers akin to the Ismaelites of old, and something of the order of the fierce Stataans, that at one time inhabited the branches along the headwaters of the Platte river, before their extermination by the neighboring tribes.

"When Lewis and Clark visited the Aricarees, they were in two large villages located on the north side of Grand river where they remained until after the troubles with the fur traders which culminated in the military expedition under Colonel Leavenworth to these Indian towns during the summer of 1823. At this time the Aricaree warriors were reputed to muster about six hundred warriors while the opposing force of soldiers, frontiersmen and Sioux numbered eleven hundred fighters all told. The allied hosts appeared before the lower village on the 9th of August and the over confident Sioux made a rush for the defenders of the first town, and although inflicting a much greater loss on the besieged than they themselves suffered, yet the Aricarees at nightfall were left masters of the situation.

"On the morning of the 10th, Colonel Leavenworth brought up his artillery and began a bombardment of the hapless town. The first shot from the big guns killed the Aricaree chief Grey Eyes, an Indian of great resoluion and rare gift of command. His death threw the besieged in a panic that would have been fatal, had the Sioux supported the soldiers at that critical time in a

general assault on the frail defensive works of their enemies. But the impatient Sioux were not in a pleasant mood from the tardy action of their allies the day previous, so instead of helping the white soldiers with their bloody work contented themselves with pillaging the Aricaree cornfields." (Id. pp. 160-2.)

Concerning the famous Aricaree chief Son-of-the-Star, Taylor says: "About the time of these happenings (referring to the Leavenworth campaign) "a child was born in the Aricaree camp that was destined to be the Moses of the tribe in its equally perilous days and years that would come after. This child was brought forth by the wife of Star Robe, a warrior of much reputation. The child became known as Son-of-the-Star and in his own good time became chief councillor and head soldier to his tribe." (Id. p. 162.)

After referring to another Indian child born about the same time as Son-of-the-Star, namely, the Yanktonais Sioux, Two Bears, and who became a prominent chief of his tribe, Taylor thus reverts to the subject of the Aricarees:

"While the Aricarees were forced to give up their homes on the Grand or Rees Own River, yet theirs were of spirits unsubdued, be the calamity ever so crushing or the hope of better days a maddening dream. They were forced to bury the tomahawk with the Mandans and Gros Ventres and enter into an alliance with them for self preservation from the encroaching and powerful Sioux. The Aricarees suffered with their allies from the small-pox epidemic of 1837, and its recurring visitation eleven years later, but were never so deciminated in numbers but what they could meet every attack from their enemies by a counter move of the same kind.

"While the allied tribes had first settled near each other as neighbors, about the year 1862 the three peoples made convergence at the Gros Ventre camp afterwards more particularly known as Fort Berthold. While the village or town as a whole was in common, each tribe had its distinctive quarter. In their war raids against the common enemy each tribe conducted its own rule of conduct especially in the down river raids by bull boats. The Aricaree chief had early made himself a special terror to the Yanktoney under Two Bear's leadership as well as the

nondescript Two Kettle band located still further down the Missouri.

"In the summer of 1868, Son-of-the-Star made ready for a long promised trip to his relatives, the Wolf Pawnees of Nebraska. These Pawnes were then residing on the Loup Fork of Platte river. He took passage on a steamer returning to St. Louis from a season trip to Fort Benton, the navigation terminus of the upper Missouri. In his passage through the Sioux agencies he was compelled to keep in his cabin and be content with peeking, unobserved through the windows, to note the smiles and frowns of his enemies as they gathered, all unconscious of his presence, at the agency landings. This was particularly his situation at Grand river agency almost at the very spot, where forty-five years before, his own people had demanded from Ensign Prior the person of the Mandan chief, Big White, then on his return from Washington. * * *

"With Son-of-the-Star, while the case was somewhat analogous, the situation varied. He could see and not be seen by his enemies, and while the knowledge of his presence on the boat may have led to commotion if not to a hostile demonstration on the part of the Sioux, but the boat's captain, pilot and crew were in position to 'move on' with but little danger of bodily harm to their charge.

"At the new agency site at Whetstone creek for the upper Brule Sioux, the Aricaree chief came upon the forward deck togged out in his robes as becomes an important chief. He had passed in safety the gauntlet of personal enemies and had only the tribal ones to fear. The agency was being selected with a view of bringing the Platte river Sioux over to become permanent residents of the Missouri river country, and but few of them had as yet put in their appearance there when the steamer bearing the Aricaree chief was passing down stream. But on the bank facing the Aricaree stood a tall manly form, more haughty than he, and effected the same stoical indifference to the other's presence. This man on the bank was the noted Indian orator, Spotted Tail, chief of the Brule Sioux. * * *

"Before starting on his long journey through his enemies to the Pawnees, the Aricaree chief had thoughtfully named as his representative and possible successor his favorite son, Swift Run-

ner, an ambitious young man anxious to follow in the footsteps of his father, who was almost worshiped by his tribe. The young man had as yet seen but little practical service in the field of war and this fact spurred him on to quickly attempt something as a leader that would bring credit to himself and wholesome respect from the enemies of his people. Despite the attempts of the more peacebly disposed in the tribes to make formal peace, the hot-heads and malcontents had their way and the strife continued. Son-of-the-Star had hardly got a good start upon his journey to the Pawnees before a war party of the Two Kettle band from the Crow Creek agency appeared in the bad lands east of Fort Berthold, and for want of a more substantial catch counted their 'coos' on a party of agency haymakers. During the cold winter of 1868-9 the terror inspired by lurking bands of hostile Sioux was so great that gaunt famine stalked in almost every lodge among the allied bands at Fort Berthold. And at the opening of spring the food situation had not improved much. Village hunters became the hunted and both the ponies and the game they packed became the property of the persevering and crafty Sioux.

"What must be done? That was the question asked among the wise heads every night at the counsel house. The venerable White Shields set in his place wrapped in a pictured robe that told of deeds that had brought him both honor and fame. But he was a broken reed now with the aches and pains that follow the hardships of near seventy years in the upper Missouri country. Others must come forward now. He was done. This was Swift Runner's opportunity and he embraced it. He would lead. Who would follow?

"He would strike his enemies and strike them hard. Better to die at war than sit looking in an empty soup kittle. Who would go with him? The ice was out of the river and the snow had melted from the hills. It was time to go. Such was the harangue Swift Runner gave. To his appeal twenty young and courageous men gave answer. They would follow the bold youth whom their tried leader had chosen to carry the pipe.

"About the middle of April, 1869, at the hour of midnight, seven well manned bull boats floated out from under the shadows of the Indian village at Fort Berthold and drifted down with the swift current of the channel. The venerable Medicine Lance, the

high priest of the Aricarees, sat on the bank and smoked his pipe alone in the darkness long after the muffled sound of the voyagers had passed away. The flower of the Aricaree youths were in those boats and he made offering to the spirits of the rolling deep and asked them to be kind to those that he had just consigned to their charge."

After reciting the alleged facts regarding one Medicine Bear, chief of the Upper Yanktonais, as being a wise and peacefully inclined Indian who was on good terms with the Mandans, which tribe he visited yearly, but whose people, aside from Medicine Bear himself, were at war with almost every tribe or clan on the northern buffalo range," Taylor proceeds as follows:

"Through the avenue we here have shown, parties of Sioux announcing their arrival from Medicine Bear's camp were sure of a generous welcome from the Mandans and their allies. The stay of the visitors might run its length into days, weeks and even months, yet the burden of hospitality never grew too heavy for the entertainers.

"This was the situation when a party of eight Sioux warriors with two women entered the winter quarters of the Aricarees from the north early in April, 1869. They had come down from Medicine Bear's camp on the Poplar—and had left the old man well. Two or three of the Sioux faces were familiar to the Aricarees, but most of the new guests seemed as strangers. But placed on their tenure of hospitality they would make no especial inquiry. * * * The personality of one of the Sioux visitors was noticeable. This was the youngest of the two women. * * * When the band moved down from winter quarters to the village proper, the visitors followed, and the actions of this Sioux woman was marked in many ways. She was ever visiting from one lodge to the other and from tribe to tribe, loquacious in speech and with prying eyes. She durst not enter the medicine lodge but could see who did enter there. On the night of the departure of the Aricaree war party, the long absence of the Medicine Lance, who had went to see them safely started, not having returned to his home as early as was expected, his two brothers, Sharp Horn and Painted Man, were notified and, who, being high up in medicine lodge council, had knowledge of the point of bull boat debarkation. The place was in front of where the old saw

mill had stood on the bottom and near by a pile of logs. About two months before, among these very logs, a war party of Sioux had hidden themselves as support of a small band of assassins sent up through the village under cover of darkness to hunt out and stealthily slay their victims. But on the occasion referred to, through the blunder of a premature shot by a Sioux, but one Aricaree scalp was secured by this well planned scheme of midnight assassination.

"While in quest of their brother, Sharp Horn and Painted Man passed the log pile with their memories brought to mind of the Sioux war party in hiding, when to their mystification some one arose from the opposite side of the pile and glided away in the gloom. They seemed sure the object was a woman and one very light of tread. At the water's edge Medicine Lance was found sitting in reverie smoking away at his pipe in the darkness. He was accosted and all three went up the hill to the Aricaree quarter, when, with a mutual good night each took separate ways for his own lodge.

"On entering his domicile, Painted Man was treated to a surprise. The Sioux woman aforementioned stood at his door. It was in his house she had been quartered since coming down from the winter village, and seemed to be without wifely fealty to any one in particular, hence her whereabouts was not made note of and her absence unquestioned. When the light fell full in her face there was no confusion or betrayal by emotion, though her moccasins and leggins gave evidence from their moppled and bedraggled condition, of her having been beyond the village environments. She went to the crib assigned as her sleeping apartment, but was up and about in time to hear the village crier make his morning call from the house top of the medicine lodge. It did not occur to the Aricarees to make quiet roll call of the Sioux visitors after the departure of the war party under Swift Runner. Had they done so there would have had one marked 'absent and unaccounted for.' Also on the departure of the guests, which came to pass three days later, the party headed down stream and not up river as was to have been expected. It was plain to all who would see that it was the camp of Two Bears and his lower Yanktoneys and not that of Medicine Bear, of Poplar, they would seek.

"The camp of the Sioux chief Two Bears was frequently on the move much of the early spring and summer of 1869. During the major part of April they shifted camp along the river bends between the valley of the Hermorphidite[29] on the south and Beaver creek on the north. Two Bears had earned a reputation for success in warfare, but he was getting old and although his wise and safe counsels would be consulted as of yore, yet younger men must lead in the hardships and trials of active war. Who would be the partisan of his band to carry the pipe on the war trail?

"The answer came readily. His eldest son was ambitious to lead. The young man had followed his father through every danger since he was big enough to carry a bow or a gun or old enough to ride a horse. By close companionship he knew his father's method of war, and had profited by his wisdom in the council lodge. The sub chiefs waived all right of precedence and would cheerfully lend such aid to the young leader when the need for help would present itself.

"The call for aid came quick enough. A runner bearing word from their enemies, reigned up his tired pony before the lodge of Two Bears and told of a descending war party of Aricarees in bull boats whose purpose was to strike the Yanktoney camp. All were in excitement and tribulation now that the enemy was actually on the water and not far from above their camp, which at the time numbered thirty-seven teepes. Forty mounted warriors were started off at once under young Two Bears with instruction from the old chief to scan the river and timber points carefully until the Aricarees were met with and then to destroy them if possible, or, at any cost to themselves, kill all they could.

"Runners were started across to Fort Rice with instructions to the Sioux scouts there to scan the river carefully at that point and report to young Two Bears at once when the bull boats were sighted. The Sioux moved slowly up the east bank of the river until near the mouth of Apple creek, when two or three bull boats

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[29] Hermorphrodite creek is a small rivulet running into the Missouri from the east, a short distance north of the Cheyenne. Beaver creek is the Warreconne of Lewis and Clark and other early explorers, entering the Missouri from the east, some distance north of the mouth of the Grand, in Emmons county, North Dakota.

were found afloat in the water, but upon inspection were without occupants. A few miles further along a cache of these boats was found in a line of willows. There was here presented an enigma for the Sioux to solve. Had the Aricarees abandoned for a strike by land or were they in full retreat? The floating bull boats made the latter theory seem the most probable. The sight of the boats even as 'empties' would give warning to the enemy, and who when aroused could fill every timber point with a war party on short notice, for when common danger threatened, all the Sioux bands between Fort Rice and the Cheyenne river would stand as one. And a bull boat adrift between the points named was a signal of danger to all of Sioux blood, be they man, women or child.

"The visiting party from Medicine Bear's camp reached Fort Stevenson on the evening of the same day that they had ridden away from the Aricaree quarter of the allied village at Fort Berthold. They made camp near the scouts' new building west of the garrison and were treated as guests by chief Big John and his red soldiers in their regulation blue." (Id. pp. 163-8.)

Taylor here refers to the two Indian women above mentioned, and who accompanied the "visiting party" to Fort Stevenson, and relates that Red Dog, "a half cast Sioux and Aricaree scout," who was evidently in the government service there, had noticed the peculiar painting on the elder woman's face and her repellant manner, etc., as contrasted to the younger woman's more animated and attractive appearance and more gaudy attire. He then digresses to narrate the appearance on the west side of the Missouri in the neighborhood of Turtle creek and in the vicinity of the scene of the impending conflict between the Rees and the Sioux, whose campaigns he is relating, of a herd of antelope, which discovers first one, then another of the Indian parties, the first "near the brakes of Turtle creek" who were "of the Indian race, on foot, and with guns, pikes and bows swinging across their backs and walking along at the foot of the main ridge in a wearisome sort of way. They had evidently come without rest for some distance, as was shown in their motions. * * * When, after crossing a coulee at the base of the high ridge facing the river, saw one after the other as they arrived at this point lay flat upon the ground except one who remained in a sitting

position;" the second party of Indians thus observed by the antelope being "another line of people mounted upon fleet horses" who "came up from a deep coulee near the brakes of Turtle creek. They appeared to be traveling at a more rapid rate and were in greater numbers then the footmen who had preceded them. * * * Near the river bank opposite to them was still another party, much smaller than the others and all mounted, with two traveauxs in trailing. A mounted figure in scarlet led the advance and all were traveling at a rapid gait southward. A red waving blanket was no enticement to the antelope now, only adding terror to their hearts, and with the fleetness of a soaring bird they passed from sight and sound of the commingling clans." Taylor then reverts to his main line of narrative:

"From the antelopes' first view of what proved to be a romantic encounter, the narrator now seeks the plain statement of Two Bulls and other survivors of a drama in which the only audience were the fifty antelope, and they stampeded at the raising of the curtain in the first act.

"The party of footmen that had first appeared to the antelope was the war party of twenty Aricarees under Swift Runner. They had been traveling all night, and were without food or blankets. The little stock of parched corn and dried buffalo meat that they had started from home with was exhausted. It was nearing the noon hour when the advance came to a small circle of unburned prairie across the coulee, a little north of west of the present site of Washburn, McLean's capital. Having no blankets, these tufts presented the only opportunity for a nap, though thoroughly moistened by a constant falling of sleet and snow.

"In ten minutes after their arrival nearly everly warrior was in slumber save the sentinel, who faced their backward trail. He too, was almost asleep when his heavy eyes caught sight of something raising from a coulee a mile away, when he yelled in alarm: 'Sonona-Sonona' (Sioux- Sioux) and a moment later thirty Sioux warriors all mounted on fleet horses with uncovered guns in their hands moved down upon the startled half-dazed sleepers, yelling like demons. The Aricarees followed down the coulee, shooting as they ran, until the little group of hills formed by an old land slide was reached. Here another party of Sioux fired from am-

bush and a Sioux woman urged her warriors 'to be strong.' She was killed and scalped and another war woman in scarlet pulled from her horse and scalped alive. Young Two Bears, the Sioux leader, being superbly mounted, Fighting Bear, an Aricaree brave, from his position in the slide, shot and killed him while leading a flanking party trying to intercept his enemy before they could reach the timber. Bear Robe, supporting Fighting Bear, rushed forward and secured the Sioux chief's horse amid a shower of arrows, buckshot and bullets but came forward with his booty, unscratched. The Aricarees, being fought in front and flank by twice their number, retreated to the west or upper end of the dunes or hills, thence to the river bank. Here Swift Runner, oblivious to his own personal safety, standing on the edge, seeing that his men were all safe, drew attention from a Sioux marksman and fell over the bank mortally wounded. He was helped to the captured horse and tied on the saddle. The Aricarees finding their young leader shot became so wrought up that they climbed the high point from the river only to find the Sioux in full retreat bearing their dead on traveauxs

"In the early morning of May 24, 1869, the chronicler of the events herein narrated, was moving about the Aricarees quarter of the Indian village at Berthold when cries and lamentations issuing from Son-of-the-Star's lodge attracted attention, and I entered its spacious room to find a hundred or more Indian women crying, cutting off fingers and otherwise mutilating themselves. On a couch lay a form breathing heavily, surrounded by the medicine men and chief councillors of the tribe. This scene witnessed the closing moments of Swift Runner's life, the end of his father's hopes and his own ambition." (Id. pp. 169-181.)

In speaking of the firmer hold upon the affections of the tribe, of the leaders who were essentially peacemakers, in comparison with those who were war chiefs, as illustrative of the innate respect of the Indians of all tribes and nations for the counsel of the peacemaker, Taylor refers to various renowned chiefs of the Sioux and Aricaras, among the latter Son-of-the-Star, of whom he says:

"Son-of-the-Star, an Aricaree chief, was another example of the peacemaker chief, and the writer believes no leader of any people was more idolized while living or whose memory is more revered

since death than was this honest hearted chief by the little neighborhood of Aricaree farmers around Six Mile creek, or the winding coulee of Four Bears." (Id. p. 297.)

In the fall of 1823, and after Colonel Leavenworth's campaign against the Rees was ended, Waneta, the renowned Sioux chief, whose headquarters had been on Elm creek in the James valley, removed to the Missouri at the mouth of the Warreconne (Beaver creek, Emmons county, North Dakota), and the now weakened Rees were induced by him to place themselves under his protection, which relation is said to have continued until he died in 1848. Doane Robinson, in his "History of the Sioux Indians" (Vol. 2, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 106), thus speaks of this subject: "In August of that year (1823) Colonel Leavenworth, having punished and reduced the Rees for their hostility to General Ashley's men, Waneta removed his home from the Elm river to the Missouri, at the mouth of the Warreconne * * * where he set up a protectorate over the Rees and Mandans, exacting tribute from them in horses, corn and furs, in consideration of protecting them from the Dakotas," citing McKinney and Hall, Vol. 1, 110; Catlin, and Rev. John B. Renville. A quotation from McKinney and Hall found in Donaldson's Catlin, p. 55, on this head, is as follows: "After the Ricaree villages were burned in 1823 by Colonel Leavenworth, Waneta took up the scepter of ruler and reigned over the Ricarees and Mandans for years. His village was between the Ricaree and Mandan villages. He died, it is supposed, in 1848."

As we have seen, some of the Aricaras went down the Missouri to visit their former home there, about 1833; but it does not appear that they seriously contemplated remaining there. Nor does it seem to be warrantable to assume, from the evidence extant, that while there they became, as some writers seem to suppose, the chief element of danger as between the Indians and emigrants and those engaged in the fur trade. Major Chittenden, in characterizing them as treacherous and warlike towards the whites, states, it is true, that it was "their depredations and murders committed upon trading parties in that region that induced N. J. Wyeth and others in 1833 to return from Green river to the states by way of the Bighorn, Yellowstone and Missouri, rather than risk the journey across the plain; and also led to the military

expedition to the upper Platte under Colonel Dodge in 1835." (P. 862, Fur Trade, etc.) Yet in another place (p. 301), in relating the return from the mountains of Wyeth's party on the occasion mentioned, he says: "It was intended to return to St. Louis by the way of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, probably in order to meet William L. Sublette, who was coming up the river this year with a strong outfit in opposition to the American Fur company," and then adds, as if regarding the statement he is about to make as at least inconclusive: "Wyeth says that this route was selected because of the danger from the Aricara Indians, who were at this time infesting the Platte route with their marauding parties."

Colonel Henry Dodge started from Leavenworth on his expedition of 1835 to the Rocky mountains, on May 29th of that year; and after meeting the Otoes at their village and holding a council with them, announcing his mission of peacemaker among the warring tribes of the Platte and the Arkansas, and urging them to engage in agriculture and stock-raising; he held a similar council with the Omahas at the Otoe village. He proceeded up the Platte valley to the Pawnee village, eighty miles west of the Otoes; Angry Man, chief of the Grand Pawnees, having gone out to meet him, and informed him "that the Pawnee Loups had been stealing horses from the Pawnee Peets [Picts], and were otherwise rather troublesome and disposed to war; he endeavored to prepossesss the colonel in his favor, by telling him how well he had conducted himself, while his neighbors had behaved very badly; in explaining the relations he stood in to the neighboring tribes, he appeared to possess all the ingenuity of a modern politician." (Ex. Doc. 1st Sess. 24th Cong. 1835-6, Doc. No. 181, pp. 2-7.)

Says Colonel Dodge's report: "The Pawnee village is built after the same plan with that of the Ottoes, but it is not so neat in its appearance; the space between their lodges is occupied by horse-pens, where they confine their horses every night, to prevent their being stolen by the neighboring tribes, with whom they are at war. The Pawnees, at the time of our arrival, were in rather a turbulent state; the Pawnee Loups had been stealing the horses of the Pawnee Peets, which had produced some difficulty between them and the Grand Pawnees." (Id. p. 8.)

The divisions of the Pawnee tribes is thus stated in the Dodge report:

"The Pawnees are divided into four tribes, who live in separate villages, and have different chiefs; there is the Grand Pawnees, who live in the village through which we passed, and whose principal chief is called the Angry Man; the Pawnee Republic, whose chief is called the Blue Coat; The Pawnee Loups, whose chief is the Axe; and the Pawnee Tappeiges [Tappage], at the head of which is the Little Chief. The Arickaras had been living with the Pawnee Loups all winter, but were scared away previous to our arrival by a lying Kansas, who told them that Colonel Dodge was coming to their village with a large body of troops, and would kill every one of them; it also alarmed the Pawnees considerably, until they were satisfied of the peaceful intentions of Colonel Dodge. The different villages are about the same size, with the exception of the little Republican village, which is much smaller than the others, containing only a part of the Pawnee Republics; the others living with the Pawnee Tappeiges. The Pawnees have been for a long time at war with the neighboring tribes; they have carried on a predatory warfare with the Sioux, for many years, sending out frequent parties to steal horses and murder any stragglers they may find; they often return with a few scalps and a great number of horses; they appear to be inveterate in their hostility on both sides, and it would be difficult at present to make peace between the two nations. They were also, at the time of our arrival, at war with the Cheyennes and Arepahas [Arapahoes], but Colonel Dodge afterwards established a peace between these tribes. They are the most numerous nation of Indians originally west of the Mississippi, with the exception of the Sioux and Blackfeet, and if not restrained by the influence of the whites, would be very formidable to their enemies." On June 23rd a council was held with the Pawnees, in which Colonel Dodge corrected the false report as to his having intended an attack upon them, and, as in all of his addresses to the Indians on this expedition, informed them of his last year's mission to make peace between the Pawnee Picts, the Comanches and the Kiowas, and to the Pawnees calling them "your friends." He further informed them that he was going "to the forks of the Platte, and wish to see the Arickara or Ree Indians. I wish you

to let them know that I am friendly to them, and not going to make war upon them, as they have been told." In his reply Angry-Man, among other things, wanted to know of "Axe" of the Loups "what they have against me. I remain at home. It is for him to say why his war parties follow our peace parties. I go because I am advised to do so by the whites." To which the "Axe" responded by admitting the truth of Angry-Man's impeachment, but claiming that the stealing was done "without my consent," that his "young men" had disregarded his counsels, etc. Angry Man's rejoinder was to the effect that this admission was what he had desired to hear; that it was for the Indians' good to make peace, etc., as advised by the whites, and added: "Some of our friends accuse us of being squaws; but it is because the whites have given us this advice. You advise us to make friends with those around us. I wish to do so; but that makes some of our neighbors say we ought to wear petticoats. * * * These are the things I want you (the Axe) to explain, why your young men had talked of us in this manner." The Tappage chief wound up his harangue with saying: "I am well satisfied and well pleased with all, both red and white men. I am between the people you see backbiting each other, but have nothing to do with it. * * * The Loups cannot says anything against me." The Republican chief concluded his remarks by requesting Colonel Dodge to assist him in getting back his horses. "Early last spring the Arickaras stole the whole of my horses, but I have neven taken any steps to recover them. They have got the horses, and they have sent me word if I would come up and bring something with me, I could get them back again, but I have never been." June 24th: "Captain Gantt started for the Loup fork, for the purpose of bringing in some of the Arickaras who were at that village, and who were afraid to come to council with the Pawnees, on account of their late hostility to the whites." Thus the journal entry. On the 26th: "Captain Gantt returned to camp, and informed the colonel that the two Arickaras he was sent for were a few miles in the rear, and would be up during the day. They would then go to where their people were, inform them of the peaceful intentions of Colonel Dodge, and collect them together by the time he arrived." (Id. pp. 10-13.) On the 28th: "The two Arickaras arrived * * * accompanied by three Pawnees; one of them

the brother of Axe. The Pawnees wished to accompany Colonel Dodge to the country of the Cheyennes and Arepahas, for the purpose of making peace with these nations." On July 1st: "Captain Gantt left the camp with the Arickara chief, the Star, for the purpose of collecting the Arickaras together, whom he had heard were near the forks of the Platte." This chief, "The Star," was doubtless the father of the famous Son-of-the-Star, the Aricara chief of the upper Missouri in later days, and grand-father of the Ree, Sitting Bear, interviewed by the writer at Fort Berthold in 1905. On July 3rd they "found the deserted camp of Arickaras, and about half a mile beyond it another, which appeared to have been recently occupied. Their lodges, which they make of bushes, covered with blankets and skins, were placed around in the circumference of a circle, the diameter of which was three or four hundred yards in length. In the center of their encampment was placed what is called their medicine lodge, a large circular lodge, built of poles, in the form of a cylinder, surmounted by a cone. The cylinder was about fifteen feet high, and the axis of the cone about eight feet. They had tied one of their red coats upon the top of the centre pole, and had suspended red blankets and buffalo skins from different parts of their lodge. One of the Indians had cut off his finger near the second joint, and had suspended it, together with a little crooked stick, on the centre pole, about eight feet from the ground. There were traces of blood around the whole interior of the lodge. Some one, while bleeding, appeared to have run around the centre pole. They had two buffalo heads arranged on one side of the lodge, pointing towards the east. This was for the purpose of bringing the buffalo from the west towards this point. These Indians frequently scarify their bodies, and inflict corporal pain upon themselves, for the purpose of appeasing the anger of the Great Spirit, that he may make them successful in their hunts, and against their enemies." (Id. pp. 13-14.) At the top of a hill in sight of the forks of the Platte: "We found more medicine. The Indians had collected a large number of buffalo heads, and arranged them around in a circular form, their heads pointing towards the centre. This was for the purpose of bringing the buffalo from every direction to this point, that the Indians might find a plenty of them here, next year, when they came here to hunt." The journal of July

5th runs thus: "Captain Gantt arrived with the chiefs and principal warriors of the Arickaras. The Arickaras are considered the wildest and most savage tribe of Indians west of the Mississippi, and have always been characterized by a want of faith in their promises, and an inveterate hostility to the whites, killing all they could meet. They are at war with most of the surrounding nations, and large numbers of them are killed every year. They formerly lived on the Missouri river, but were driven from this country by the Sioux, with whom they have long been at war. They have now no land that they can call their own, and are wandering about like the Arabs of the desert, killing and robbing almost every one they meet. They were originally a band of the Pawnee Loups, and had been living with them for some time previous to our arrival; and had, no doubt, by their influence, kindled that warlike spirit which seemed to exist among the Pawnees at the time we were at their village. The Loups, it appeared, had treated them with great hospitality and kindness; in return for which they had stolen a number of the Pawnee horses. They were the best looking tribe of Indians we had seen, and were dressed in a more gay and fantastic manner. Their dress consisted of a shirt of buffalo skins, finely dressed, either of a white or yellowish color, and ornamented with different colored beads. It was trimmed along the sides, and around the neck, with long coarse hair of several colors. Their leggins and moccasins were made of the same material, but were generally white, beautifully embroidered with beads. There are now about two thousand two hunderd of them in all, numbers of them having lately been killed by their numerous enemies. They begin to feel sensible of their true condition, and the necessity of making peace; and if they could get the piece of land they desire so much. they would probably reform, and become a peaceful and industrious nation." (Id. pp. 14-15.)

Colonel Dodge, in council with them, told them of his mission of peace and of the falsity of the report as to his alleged contemplated attack; that they should cultivate the soil and raise corn and cattle, and change their course and live at peace with their red brethren, that by pursuing their present course their numbers were being greatly reduced; that if they would follow the advice of their great father "you may still exist as a nation, and have a

home where you can raise corn and live at peace. * * * I will recommend to your great father that you should have a small country set apart for you, if possible, next your friends, the Pawnees. Situated as you are, traveling over a large extent of country, you are viewed as the common enemies of all nations; you are charged with killing small parties of the Americans, when you find them weak and defenseless; stealing their horses, robbing and plundering them. * * * You are now charged with stealing horses from the Delawares, and your friends, the Pawnees. These horses you should not hesitate to deliver to their owners." That it was the wish of the president that they bury the hatchet, etc. The principal chief, Bloody Hand, replied to the effect that he hoped that what had been spoken would enter "the young men's ears;" that he was glad "that you would give us some land to live upon; I am traveling all over this country, and am cutting the trees of my brothers; I don't know whether they are satisfied or not, but we have no land of our own. * * * We would like to live upon land near the Pawnees, and have the privilege of hunting as well as them." Two Bulls, another Ree chief, spoke in the same strain: "It is true, our young men have stolen horses, but we have returned them to the Grand Pawnees. My father, we wish you would give us the land on this side of the river below here," meaning the south side of the Platte, near the forks. He promised that if the whites were met by the Indians in the prairie, "they will have no cause to complain of us." The Big Head, or Star, then spoke, saying he had been traveling "from nation to nation, trying to make peace, and when I had made peace, my young men would steal horses. I hope now they have heard you, they will listen to what you have said. * * * My father, I never yet have killed a white man; when I have seen them in danger, I have always tried to save them. I love the whites, and have always endeavored to do them good. * * * We were very poor, but now that you are to give us land, we will no longer be poor." (Id. pp. 15-18.) This council occurred on July 5th at a point about twenty miles above the forks of the Platte. "The Indians were seated around in a circle, with their pipes in their hands, listening with the most profound attention to every word that was uttered. They appeared like prodigal children returning once more to their father's home. The whole

scene was one of the most grand and impressive I had ever witnessed; and such a one as the pencil of the painter, or the imagination of the poet, would delight to portray." (Id.) The journal relates that the Rees left the expedition the next day with "many thanks and expressions of gratitude. They told some Delawares that were with us, if they would accompany them to their village, they would return them the horses that had been stolen from them last year."

The party continued on toward the mountains and came within sight of Pike's Peak, July 27th. The record shows: "The whole route from the Platte to the Arkansas is frequented by large parties of the Blackfeet, Crows, Snakes, and sometimes the Eutaus, who live upon the waters of the Rio del Norte, but frequently come over through the mountain passes to steal horses from the Arepahas and Cheyennes." (Id. p. 23.) Colonel Dodge crossed over the divide from the Platte to the Arkansas and turned eastward down the latter stream on his return trip, by way of Bent and St. Vrain's Fort, where two villages of the Cheyennes were found encamped, to whom Spaniards from Taos had been selling whisky, for which article they would part with "everything else they possessed." That band was said by Colonel Dodge to be "in a state of great disorganization. They had just killed their principal chief, and had separated into three villages, and were wandering about the prairie without any leader. They were at war with the Comanches, Kiowas, Pawnees, and Arickaras;" that they left the upper Missouri shortly after 1825 and came to the south fork of the Platte and joined the Arapahoes, with whom they had since been in strict offensive and defensive alliance. That some Gros Ventres of Fort du Prairie, being a band of Blackfeet, were living with the Arapahoes; that a large band of Kiowas "also frequent this portion of the country. All of these Indians frequent the Arkansas and the Platte near the mountains, for the purpose of killing buffalo," all having large numbers of horses, etc. In addressing the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Gros Ventres and Blackfeet, on August 11th, Colonel Dodge advised them to make peace with the Pawnees and Aricaras; that the Cheyennes do likewise with the Comanches; expressed himself as pleased to hear that the Arapahoes and Osages had made peace and that the latter had gone with the former to visit the

Comanches. Little Moon, in responding for the Cheyennes, said that one of their war parties had gone to the Comanches, another against the Pawnees and Aricaras and that his heart was "with them." A Pawnee who had accompanied the expedition "for the purpose of making peace with the Cheyennes and Arepahas" spoke along those lines. Colonel Dodge records his opinion that if an agency were established there (at Bent's Fort) "in a few years peace might be restored among all the different tribes in this portion of the country," as it was a central point "where the Indians near the mountains all collect;" that all the tribes above mentioned save the Osages "frequent this section of the country." Fifty miles below Bent's Fort they met the third band of the Cheyennes, where, the next day, a party of Pawnees and Aricaras came "to make peace with Cheyennes." Colonel Dodge told them his advice to the Pawnees and Aricaras had been followed; that the road was now open for the Cheyennes to "go and see the Pawnees and Aricaras." His report indicates that they desired peace with those tribes. "A large party accompanied a party of Arickaras and Pawnees, who were going to visit the Arepahas, for the purpose of making peace with them. The Cheyennes and Arapahas are to meet the Pawnees and Arickaras on the Platte next winter, and hunt buffalo with them. The Pawnees are to bring along with them a large quantity of corn, to give feasts, and trade with the Arepahas and Cheyennes." (Id. pp. 24-30.)

Colonel Dodge gives this account of then recent history of the Aricaras: "The Arickaras were formerly on very friendly terms with the Cheyennes, and lived with them for some time; many of them still speak the Cheyenne language well. After the Cheyennes had concluded an alliance with the Arepahas, the Arickaras commenced stealing their horses. Still they would not go to war; they said they did not care for a few horses. The Arickaras soon after killed several whites, who were trading with the Arepahas. They then determined to declare war against them; and soon after, the Arepahas, meeting a war party of twenty or thirty Arickaras, who were coming to steal their horses, they attacked them, and killed them all, not one escaping. The Cheyennes soon after met a war party of Arickaras, and killed them all, except one; him they told to go home, and tell his people that it was the

Cheyennes who had killed the party. Since that period they have carried on a predatory warfare, until the present time. This peace is, no doubt, the result of the advice given them by Colonel Dodge." The report also relates that "The Star" afterwards told Colonel Dodge he would go to meet the Cheyennes with a peace party, which he did, etc.; that chief had always been more friendly to the whites than the others, and that he told him "he was constantly impressing upon their minds the necessity of listening to the advice their father had given them, and of making peace with their enemies." (Id.) The expedition returned to Leavenworth over the Santa Fe trail, arriving there September 16, 1835. His mission was undoubtedly a successful one, and the authorities at Washington, as the record shows, not only so regarded it but characterized what he had accomplished as services reflecting upon him the highest honor and credit.

We have embodied in the foregoing reference to the Dodge expedition some of the facts appearing in the official report concerning the various Indian tribes other than the Aricaras and who were at war with each other in and about the upper Platte and Arkansas at that time, the purpose being to make it clear that, whereas the Aricaras, who had and claimed no home or establishment there, but were known to have gone there from the upper Missouri to visit the locality as their former but remote habitat, have been pointed out by various writers and in not a few of the chronicles as having been the chief terror of emigrants and traders during the period involved. It is undoubted history that practically all of the Indian tribes from the Mexican border to the sources of the Missouri were at war with each other; that among the wanderers the Cheyennes shared the day with the Rees; that horse stealing, of which it is too true that the Rees were guilty to a degree, was and had been for centuries an Indian art, the practice of which caused no qualm of conscience in the breast of any denizen of the plains among the aborigines, who recognized it as a perfectly legitimate expedient as the source of traffic, even in times of peace, though it sometimes led to war, and (as seen from Dodge's report) it was at that time participated in by some of the other tribes as well as by the scape-goat Aricaras; and that as to the extensive marauding and murdering of whites which went on for years along that great thoroughfare

which became so famous as the Oregon trail, and which for a time became a reproach to American civilization, it seems far from proven that the Rees and Pawnees were, even in a roughly substantial sense, the sole miscreants of the Platte. It is recorded by Colonel Dodge that the Aricaras pleaded for some land in those quarters, which they might call their own, and that they were led to believe that their request would be granted if it was possible for the government to make the proper provision. How far this promise was or could be kept is not so clear, and it seems probable that practical difficulties arising from the tendency toward settlement by whites and consequent loosening of the ties which bound the resident Indians to the soil of Nebraska made it inexpedient for the federal authorities to create a reservation in those quarters for the use of the Rees.

The Aricara and Pawnee language is, as to some of the words in common use early in the last century, illustrated in the comparative table appended to this article, and prepared by Prof. Robert F. Kerr, vice-president of the State Historical Society. Upon the supposition that the language as spoken by the Aricaras before they originally separated from the balance of the Pawnees on the Platte was identical with that used by their allied bands, the differences, as well as the similarities shown in this table are interesting as indicating changes occurring during substantially two centuries of time.

No attempt will be made in this paper to describe all, or nearly all, of the Aricara village sites to be found within the borders of South Dakota; as any such attempt, with the limited and inadequate information at hand, could but prove fruitless.

In a general way however, and before descending to descriptions of some of the sites which have been examined, it may be said that the number of such former habitations extant within our state limits is large; that they are found all the way up the Missouri river from the mouth of the Niobrara to the mouth of the Little Missouri, or its immediate neighborhood, in North Dakota; that their characteristics are everywhere the same, as far as proofs from present remains can furnish the basis for conclusions; that the specific descriptions of their lodges as set forth in the various accounts of the early explorers, incorporated into this article, are borne out by the prehistoric remains referred to, and

which go to prove that the floors of the lodges were from two to four feet below the natural surface of the soil, that entrances or passage-ways were constructed whose floors were also underground and graduated from slightly below the surface at the outer extremity to the level of the lodge-floor at the inner end, speaking substantially; that the communities centered in individual villages were as a rule so numerous as to indicate a total of from 150 to 800 or more inhabitants; that they invariably lived adjacent to a stream, usually one of considerable size, that they cultivated the soil and were in a substantial sense regular and permanent agriculturalists; that while they wandered on the hunt and made excursions on the warpath, yet that the exigencies of their tribal life did not fail to leave them substantially settled in communities, and from time to time pioneers along well defined courses of progress which were consistent with their instinct and their tribal economy; that (as shown by evidences within historic times) they were competent swimmers and boatmen; that their social economy and the policy of their wars combined to evidence their close relationship with the regime of the buffalo, their skill in making those monarchs of the prairie their prey being second to that of no other Indian nation; that while expert horsemen and possessing herds of them in numbers indicating a prominent traffic which became a leading characteristic, yet that in more remote times they became famous as predatory agents on foot in quest of that animal, with results which were remarkable for cunning and valor; that they made pottery in such variety as to substantially meet all requirements of domestic economy; that they were workers in stone and in bone-ware to the extent at least of providing certain accessories of the household and for certain exigencies of war; that they were not given to begging; scorned and refused strong drink; that it is almost certain, if not entirely so, that within historic times they made stone arrow-points and spear-heads, although it must be admitted that among all that has been quoted or asserted in this paper no proof of their having been actually known to have done so is furnished; and that while certain observers who came in contact with them on the upper Missouri early in the last century, as well as a few writers of later days, and who are entitled to respectful, in some instances high consideration, as authorities, have asserted that they were excep-

tionally unprincipled and treacherous; yet we challenge proof of the proposition when applied to the Pawnees while living in the Nebraska country, while averring a belief that a fair reading of their history as herein set forth and after the Anglo-Saxon came in contact with them in that region will show that they were as honorable in modes of warfare and in abiding by agreements and understandings as were American Indians in general; and that as to their behavior at the so-called Aricara villages in the first quarter of the last century, circumstances, most of which are known, some of which will probably never be known, will or would account for acts which have been made the subject of those charges, upon a theory other than that of innate and exceptional lack of principle. Some of those circumstances will be referred to herein later on.

We have likewise seen, that the Aricaras, at every stage of their existence during which the whites came in contact with them, fortified their villages through the two-fold means of a ditch surrounding in whole or in part the village proper, and of palisades erected inside of the ditch. We believe that this was found to be true of every actually inhabited village found by the early explorers, and several sites then recently deserted bore evidences of palisade defenses. It is believed that this proves satisfactorily that all of their villages now regarded as prehistoric were similarly defended. No reason seems to exist why they should be regarded as having been without this characteristic means of resisting enemies at any remote period of their existence; indeed, we find every account of them, however far back towards the Columbian period, accompanied by this element of home fortification. All this shows the Pawnee nation and its tribes, certainly all those whose members thereafter became known as Aricaras, to have been brave in the defense of home and community, and consistently so. That those who came over to the Missouri river from the Platte and thenceforth for themselves struggled northward to their fate, conquering season and clime, encountering by increasing degrees of danger the hostiles of the powerful Sioux, holding their own and progressing up the great stream in spite of them, and never worsted until opposed by numbers far greater than their own and cut off from the free use of the buffalo which for centuries had been their chief source of

sustenance and the leverage of trade, whose fate was sealed, not by surrender to Indian enemies, but by the blight of disease brought to their doors by the relentless whites and against which it were folly to battle, thus finally yielded up their prestige and power, is demonstration that the Aricara was something more than a capricious spirit whose presiding genius was treachery and whose stock in trade was corruption.

The Aricara attack upon the Pryor expediton in 1807, when the Mandan chief Big White was being escorted back from the states to the Mandan villages, is one of the main instances of alleged treachery of the Aricaras against the whites. What were the salient circumstances of their surroundings at that time, and what their then recent antecedent relations regarding other Indians and the representatives of the United States? The Lewis and Clark records show the Rees to have been of friendly disposition and inclined to listen to the advice of the head of that expedition; and they expressed an earnest desire to become allied with and to live among the Mandans, urging upon Lewis and Clark to assist them to that end. They were, in fact, hemmed in on all sides by Sioux, Mandans, Gros Ventres and Assiniboins, far outnumbering themselves. But they occupied a position of strategic importance on the upper Missouri; their villages were, and continued for years thereafter to be, the great landmark in that region. They could levy tribute on passers-by bent on Indian trade; therein was no treachery, else the Yankee pale-face condemns himself by examples without end. One of their chiefs had gone down the river in 1805 with representatives of the government, and when Lewis and Clark were on the return trip they were reminded by the Aricaras that he had not yet returned and they knew not his fate; he was in fact dead, and trappers who came up the river with the news imparted it to that expedition, but the records fail to show that information thereof was given to those Indians. But Big White, a Mandan, with whom the Aricaras were at war in 1807, was being safely conducted back to his people above the Ree villages by the United States government. With the Pryor expedition were two trading outfits, one headed by a man who soon became the most powerful factor the Missouri river and western fur trade was ever to know—Pierre Chouteau—bound for the Mandan villages; the other, headed by young Dorion, was destin-

ed to the Sioux headquarters and had stopped there. Beyond a doubt all these facts were known to the Rees before the Pryor expedition, with the allied element of the Chouteau outfit, reached their villages, or became known before the conflict then enacted was begun. Added to all this is the fact that that arch manipulator of Indian covetuousness and cupidity, whose record for "smooth work" among the Indians is matter of history—Manuel Lisa—had just passed up the river and, having been halted by the Rees, who wrested from him substantial concessions, including guns and ammunition, before allowing him to pass on had represented to them in order to get by their villages to trade with tribes above, that "a large party with the Mandan chief would soon arrive;" a party, too, whom he had agreed to accompany, but, it is alleged, came on ahead for advantage in trade. When that party arrived the Rees, in the process of detaining them, told them that Lisa had informed them "that it was the intention of the present party to remain and trade with them." In the stern expedients resorted to in the endeavor to hold the expedition there in order to receive the benefits of trade, they demanded that the Mandan chief go on shore with Pryor; if they could effect this much, trade would follow, and the head chief of the enemy would or might be, for the time being, in their power. What was there in all these tactics but such coercion as advantage and motive would suggest to any community, white or red? The alternative was to allow all trading outfits and military escorts free passports through this gateway, which was in a substantial sense a key to success or failure to the traders and to the military, for neither element had met with trouble below, although both expected it. The Rees insisted and carried insistence to the point of the strong hand. Can it be said with probability that had some terms been made by which some trade with the Rees at their own door, when trade was the watchword of the hour, had been secured to them, bloodshed would not have been avoided? The circumstances do not seem to admit this conclusion.

It seems to the writer that had any community of Indians, or of Anglo-Saxons, been seated at those Indian villages at that hour, with the advantages at hand which they possessed and in the light of what had already occurred since the first contact with

up-river expeditions had transpired, they would have fought for trade and for prestige in the war which was then waging; that the challenge for rights, if spurned by the opponent to whom it was given, would not have ended in parleys, but blood would have been spilled. This is no plea for immunity from criticism against the Rees. It is a conclusion upon the narrative calculated to suggest that the Aricaras in the year of grace 1807 did not practice exceptional or monumental Indian treachery.

The Aricara attack upon General Ashley in June, 1823, cited quite generally as another instance of perfidy and treachery on the part of those Indians, seems to have been masked under the guise of friendship, and to have been inexcusable. Major Chittenden, in his indictment of them for their action on this occasion, truly says that in 1811, "The Missouri Fur company and the Astorians had no serious trouble with them," but he fails to mention that on the latter occasion McClelland, of that company, wantonly and in cold blood, shot a Ree, aiming at him across the river, no justification whatever being alleged unless, forsooth, to shoot an Indian from mere caprice or braggadocio were justifiable. From that day until the event of 1823 the chief objective of Aricara hostility seems to have been the Missouri Fur company, the machinations of whose managers for prestige in the fur trade and to preserve the balance against rival concerns had brought into requisition, first the genius of Lisa, and later, now that he was dead, the abilities of his successor, Pilcher; while the interests which were gradually concentrated in the American Fur company were a constant factor in this process upon the upper Missouri; Ashley's promotion of the Rocky Mountain Fur company being still another element in the grand play. As above stated, and as all accounts show, the Ree villages were, in a large sense, outfitting stations, especially in the furnishing of horses and in no small degree of provisions, for various expeditions during the years now in question. If facts and circumstances which the limits of this narrative will not permit of recording, were arrayed, it would not need to rest in presumption that the Aricaras were used as instruments of assistance to trade on one hand while abused as agents through whom to visit injury or revenge upon competitors on the other, by some or all of the contending forces ambitious for ultimate supremacy from St. Louis to the moun-

tains. Only a few months prior to the unfortunate experience of Ashley, the Rees had attacked several stations of the Missouri Fur company near and above the Big Bend. Ashley expected trouble with them in his passage up-river and "had reason to expect that they would be in a revengeful mood on account of the recent loss of two of their warriors," and his interpreter, the renowned Edward Rose, warned him, notwithstanding their apparent friendliness the day preceding the attack, that indubitable signs indicated their hostility. If the Indian side of this event and its antecedents could be fully made known, it is believed that the seeming perfidiousness of their action in making terms of trade in horses with Ashley, followed by an unexpected midnight attack upon his party, would be modified to some extent. Whatever factual elements lurk invisible behind that event, it has doubtless passed into permanent history as evidence of the trickery which must pass for Indian tactics on the part of a tribe whose shrewdness as well as boldness on occasion became proverbial.

The most southerly of those of the Ree village sites visited by the writer of this paper and located on the Missouri river in South Dakota, is the one found about three-fourths of a mile below the mouth of Fort George creek in Stanley county, and something over twenty miles below Fort Pierre. This is one of the two Ree village sites visited by him which have ditches extending entirely around the village site, including the river bank. All of the others, examined by him, were furnished with ditches extending around three sides only, leaving the side next the river with but the natural bulwark of that bank as a protection.

The site of this village is most prominent for various strategic purposes, in view of the general topography of that vicinity. The bluffs proper are from a mile to a mile and a half back from the river; and this site is upon an eminence immediately overlooking the river, the banks at that point being some fifty feet above the water line (then quite low); while skirting the prairie in a wide sweep between this eminence and the bluff-line is a lower stretch of country; thus enabling the occupants of the village to detect from far away the approach of an enemy. The river at this point runs southeast-east; and the circle encompassing the village site, being oblong in shape and longest up and down the riv-

er, extends, on the river side, along the very edge of the high bank. Notes taken at the time of viewing this site, September 3, 1901, show: the circle is 425 feet in length, and 320 feet in width; that there is a deep and very plain ditch all around the site, being in some places four or five feet deep and twelve to fifteen feet from crest to crest; that there are forty-eight lodge-circles or holes inside the circle, nearly all very distinct, and many large ones. The larger lodge-circles were from 25 to 40 feet in diameter; the depth of these lodge-bottoms was from one and one-half to two and one-half feet. It is probable that this site cannot be less than 150, while it may be at least 200, years old or upwards.

No arrowheads or other Indian implements were found at this site; but only the surface of the ground was examined for that purpose.

On October 20, 1903, the writer and Mr. N. P. Christensen, photographer of Pierre, visited the site for the purpose of procuring a photograph of it, and particularly of the circle around it. By contriving, with the aid of Louis DeWitt, an old resident upon Fort George creek, to erect two ladders from a wagon box, the camera was placed some fourteen feet from the ground at a point some twenty rods from the northwest end of the circle.

This site is about three and a half miles below a point opposite the mouth of Medicine creek, which empties into the Missouri at Rosseau, in Hughes county, South Dakota; and is also opposite the lower end of what was in early days known as Fort George island, now known as Airhart island; and as the site of Old Fort George is about twenty rods northwest from the mouth of Fort George creek, this village site is distant from the old trading post by less than a mile.

The first Ree village site found north of Old Fort George, on the same occasion, is about half way from that post site to the second Indian village site described next hereinafter. It is composed of some eighteen large lodge-holes scattered along in somewhat irregular succession between two "draws" or small ravines, and a few are south of the southern ravine, and all are near the river bank, which latter is from thirty to forty feet high in that locality. This site is also substantially just below a point opposite to the upper end of Airhart island, which latter can be easily discerned as being wooded. One or two of the most southerly

lodge-circles are but a short distance from the northwest end of the site of Old Fort George. A corn field of Jacob Retland runs across the north end of this village site(some three holes are in the cornfield). Retlund's house is about 300 feet northwest of the north ravine mentioned. No certain indications of a ditch around or at any point flanking these lodge-circles are discernable.

The second village site, northwestward from Old Fort George, and visited upon the same occasion, is located as follows: The northwesterly end abuts upon what is locally known as Indian draw, and the southeasterly corner and part of that end abut upon another small "draw." There are about twenty-four lodge-holes in this village, some three or four of which at the southwest corner are indistinct. There is no ditch about this village, at least none clearly distinguishable as such. The northerly end of this site is about one-fourth of a mile below or south of a point opposite to Sorensen's log house on the east side of the river, which house is one and a half miles below Rosseau. There are some twelve to eighteen more lodge-holes south of the south "draw" above mentioned and on to another "draw" some sixty or seventy rods below, some are quite indistinct. Ole Anderson's house stands some 150 feet west from the east end of the south "draw" and about 100 feet north from the most southerly of the lodge-holes at the southwest corner, and his barns stand about 200 feet northwest of his house. A log house stands about fifteen rods west-southwest from the house; a corral stands about 125 feet northwest from the log house, and at the east side of a bottom leading to Indian run outlet. Obadiah White, an Indian, lives on the north side of Indian draw, north of this village site.

The village last above described is about 1,350 feet long, extending from southeast to northwest, by about 500 feet wide. The lodge-holes are mostly strung along the east side of the village and at or near the river bluff line. Two very large and deep ones are situated near but somewhat north of the center of the village.

We will now pass some twenty miles of space between the village site last described, and will give some account of the three Ree village sites above Fort Pierre; leaving for consideration later on the fortified plateau at Mush creek, Hughes county, South Dakota.

The Lower Ree village above Fort Pierre, Stanley county, South Dakota, is located a little more than a mile above the site of Old Fort Pierre trading post, which latter site is two and seven-eighths miles above the mouth of Bad river (formerly known as Teton river) and slightly west of due north from that post site. It is about 500 feet long by about 200 feet wide, being oblong in shape and extending substantially parallel to the line of the river bank, but is some distance therefrom, as by pacing it was determined to be substantially 285 feet from the east side of the village site to the water's edge. There are thirty-eight lodge-circles within the inclosure formed in general by the surrounding ditch, but the ditch, which is very distinct though not so deep as that at the site below Fort George and those to northward of the one now under consideration, is terminated at both its eastern extremities at the edge of a subordinate bluff-line separating the bottom-land between it and the river from a second bottom some five or six feet higher, this slight bluff-line seeming to have formed the sole bulwark on the east side of the village. Along substantially the southern one-third of the site, on the west side, there are two ditches separated from each other at the northern extremity about 125 feet north from where they meet and merge into one ditch again about twenty-five feet north of where the outside ditch begins to curve towards the south end; and these ditches run about twenty-five feet apart at the widest distance between them; there being a prominent mound between the two ditches at about twenty-five feet north of where they join together. That this double ditch was intended to better protect the village site seems certain, but as to how the space between the ditches, in connection with the mound (which was when seen on July 17, 1899, not more than two feet high) was utilized for purposes of defensive warfare is matter of some speculation. Possibly the mound may have been used as the station of a sentinel, in connection with a village stockaded on all but the east side and with a double stockade east of the two ditches.

There is a much larger lodge-circle at about the center of this site than the average of those found here; while there are several other large ones arranged around this central one, all, however, being smaller than the central one.

The second Ree village site above Fort Pierre is situated somewhat more than two and three-fourths miles above the site of Old Fort Pierre, and about one and one-half miles above the second Fort Pierre (built after the old landmark had been sold to the United States); and it fronts at a high bluff (some twenty-five feet above the water-line), at the foot of which bluff are scattering trees and shrubbery which at high water are close to the water-line, but now (at nearly low-water) separated by some 125 feet from the water. It is of course mere speculation whether these conditions surrounded this village when occupied by the Indians, save as to the high bank. This site is some 390 feet long, north and south, but about 300 feet wide. The ditch, which encircles the entire site except along the river bank, is deep, as are the depressions showing the ancient lodge-circles, which are twenty-five in number; there being here also a large one in the center, surrounded by some six somewhat smaller ones which are, in turn, larger than the remainder; those so grouped about the central one seeming to indicate quite distinctly a circle in form.

The third Aricara village site above Fort Pierre is the somewhat famous one which has already been referred to in this paper as having been observed by Lewis and Clark, Brackenridge and others among the very early explorers, and may be designated the upper Ree village. (See photograph of same.)

This village site is by far the most strongly fortified by nature against the approach of an enemy, of all the Ree villages on the west side of the Missouri river and which have been or will be described herein; in fact it is overshadowed in this respect by but one other ancient Indian village site on the Missouri river, so far as known to the writer, namely the plateau at Mush creek, Hughes county, South Dakota, which will be referred to hereafter.

This upper Ree village site is upon a plateau some thirty-five feet above the water-line and immediately overlooks the river. It is situated at and well towards the upper or westerly end of the bend of the Missouri where it turns south, below Peoria bottom, so-called, from an easterly course. It is flanked on the easterly or east-southerly side by a deep ravine which breaks through the bluff-line at that point, the gulch being so deep and precipitous as to render it very difficult for a horseman to reach the plateau from the opposite side of the ravine. This ravine is met and

joined by a lesser one extending from a westerly direction and furnishing a substantial barrier against approach from the rear of the village site, the junction point being some twenty rods back from the river. The main ravine is in such close proximity to the eastward side of the site as to practically flank it; while the subordinate one is some fifteen rods from the ditch at the rear of the village. Thus the high river bank in front, the deep ravine on the east side, and the collateral one at the rear, leave the plateau with only its westerly side exposed to easy approach from outside. This rendered it necessary, in order to complete the defense of the village, to construct a deep ditch along the westerly side. This supposition is borne out by the fact that the encircling ditch, which surrounds the village site proper on all sides save that fronting the river, is deepest at the southwest corner and thence along the westerly side. No other village site along the Missouri in South Dakota has, its is believed, so deep a protecting ditch as has this one. Even now, over a century after Lewis and Clark saw the site, the ditch for some distance along the southwesterly side is not less than from five to six feet deep, while from crest to crest of the ditch the distance is from twelve to fifteen feet. In the rear of the village, and flanking it westward and southeastward for long distances, are the high and irregular back-bluffs of the Missouri, from one of the nearer spurs of which the photograph above referred to, and some thirty rods away, was taken, the camera being pointed slightly east of due north. Across the river to northwestward is the long sweep of the Peoria bottom, with its timbered border next the river, and extending some distance below a point opposite to the village; while Snake butte, some four miles below on the east side of the river, shows up prominently as viewed from this site. The long level bottom on the west side of the river and extending from Bad river to within about a quarter of a mile of this village, while affording vantage ground for an attack upon this stronghold, is quite effectually cut off from it by the rough ground to southeastward from it, reinforced by the deep ravine. To any one desiring to visit this village site, two landmarks now exist which will prove faithful guides—said ravine, and the north line fence around the "Scotty" Philip buffalo pasture in Stanley county, South Dakota, which fence passes due west some eight or nine rods to south of

the ditch referred to. This site is something over two miles northwest from the second Ree village site already described, and probably somewhat less than eight miles from the mouth of Bad river.

There are thirty-seven lodge-circles within the area surrounded by the ditch and the river bank, most of which are deep and larger and more rugged in outline than are those in the two lower villages. At the center of the inclosure a very large lodge-circle is located, and near it another of about the same diameter. The longest diameter of the circle is from east to west, about 500 feet, the shortest about 350 feet. Considerable quantities of fragments of pottery have been found here, some of which are larger than have been found elsewhere south of the Cheyenne river; while arrowheads, beads, bone implements of various kinds, are also in evidence. These, in smaller quantities, have also been found in the two lower villages. Immediately outside of the ditch on the easterly side, and within a few feet of the river bank, is found a sort of refuse-heap of materials which were apparently thrown away by the inhabitants of the village.

Nothing definite seems to have been preserved as evidence by the Sioux as to precisely when the final struggle of the Sioux to overthrow the Rees domiciled in this village took place. But tradition lends her willing hand to weave the teeming narrative to the effect that this was the last and greatest stronghold of the Aricaras against the encroachments of the Sioux south of the Cheyenne; and the tradition borders on the definite in announcing that it required the successive attacks of forty years after the Sioux were practically established west of the Missouri in that region to drive out and northward the most ancient dwellers thereof known to historic times. If this tradition speaks the fact, then the struggle to oust the Rees from this fastness must have begun about 1760, since Lewis and Clark seem to have learned definitely that this village was deserted by the Rees only four years prior to their passage up the river in 1804. It will be remembered that Brackenridge and Bradbury, who went up with the Hunt-Astoria expedition in 1811, still found portions of the old stockade or "palisadoes" standing upright inside this ditch.

These three village sites above Fort Pierre were first visited by the writer in July, 1899, he having been accompanied by J. K.

Breeden, now county judge of Hughes county. Several subsequent visits were made to them all, but more particularly to the upper village.

Another group of Ree village sites is found in the neighborhood of and below the mouth of the Cheyenne river, on the west side of the Missouri, in Stanley county, South Dakota.

On June 13, 1900, the writer, accompanied by Prof. E. J. Warner, then superintendent of St. John mission, an Indian school then located about six miles below the mouth of the Cheyenne and since discontinued, visited the three sites in question; or, rather, the lower one of the three sites was not visited but was passed on the return trip and seen from a short distance.

This southerly site is eastward of a wire fence which precluded passage into the site at that time; is situated some forty or fifty rods northeast of the Fort Bennett postoffice, which latter was at that time at the Lounsberry ranch, which later in turn was located some distance, perhaps twenty or thirty rods, north of the mission school. The north end of the grounds of the old Cheyenne River Indian agency at Fort Bennett is probably half a mile south of the mission building and upon a broad and rather high bottom. Whether this village was fortified by a ditch cannot be vouched for, but local report was to the effect that there is a ditch there. Upon the statement of one Felix Benoist (pronounced locally Benway), who had resided at the Cheyenne agency some twenty-five years, made to Prof. Warner and by him communicated to the writer, there is a large stone near the center of this site, under which the sacrifices, gifts, etc., made by the Indians to the presiding deity were deposited. The number of lodge-circles was not ascertained. Benoist is also authority for the statement that he was informed by an old Sioux Indian at the Cheyenne agency that this village is fifty years older than that at the mouth of the Cheyenne, to be described later.

The middle one of the three Aricara village sites in this region is that at the southern end of Little Bend, and is two and one-half miles slightly west of due north of the mission school site. Its greatest dimensions are from east to a little north of west, being 670 feet, while the greatest width is 400 feet. Within the ditch inclosure are thirty lodge-circles. There is a small "draw" or depression in the prairie which flanks the east end. The north side

borders on the high river bluff, probably forty feet above the water level, an intervening bar with scrub timber separating the actual water line from this bluff by something like one-eighth of a mile. The ditch encloses the entire site save on the river bank, and it is possible, though not at all certain, that some part of the bluff frontage has been washed away since the trenches were dug and that there was originally a continuous ditch around the entire site, as at the village at the mouth of the Cheyenne and which will be next considered. The ditch is much more shallow than that around the village above, not more than one-third to one-half as deep. The writer found upon this site many fragments of Ree pottery, some metal arrow points, some stone points, and three pieces of metal of brass or copper, or a mixture of both, some beads, etc. Some of these specimens are shown in the photograph.

It is difficult to more than surmise as to the source or sources from which these metal pieces were derived or transported by the Indians. One thin flat piece seems to differ materially in its character from the others, being seemingly of much more ancient date; while one of the others shows indications of probable manufacture in the United States, the third (being a sheet rolled up in the form of a cylinder) giving no certain clue as to the degree of its antiquity.

There is a well-defined tradition, of which the writer has heard as coming more particularly from the Sioux Indians at the Pine Ridge and Rusebud Indian reservations in the southern part of South Dakota west of the Missouri, that the ancient trail from old Mexico to Lake Superior followed the Bad river (or Teton) and crossed the Missouri at Fort Pierre. It is not improbable that some of this metal in question may have been brought from Spanish settlements in Mexico, or it may come from the copper regions about Lake Superior. Hardware men in Pierre to whom these specimens of metal have been shown do not seem to be able to determine from inspection as to the precise character or antiquity of them, further than that they seem to be mixtures of copper and brass.

The third or upper Ree Indian village site so visited, at the mouth of the Cheyenne river, is likewise oblong in shape, extending from southeast to northwest, substantially parallel to the

shore line of the Missouri (which stream at this point has just ended its sharp curve at the upper end of Little Bend and runs southeast, the Cheyenne coming in at that point). The westerly end is about twenty to twenty-five rods southeasterly from the water-line at the south bank of the Cheyenne at its mouth; it is upon a high bank of the Missouri, fifty to sixty feet above the water-line, the bank being very steep. The site inside the circle is 385 feet long and 335 feet wide. There is a continuous and deep ditch all around the village, including the river side. There are twenty lodge-circles within the inclosure. A deep ravine flanks the northwest end, a small one marking the east end. There are twenty-seven lodge-circles outside of the ditch at the east end. This site is about six miles northwest from the St. John mission site, and about five miles above the next lower village last described. The ditch is from three to five and one-half feet deep, and is deepest on the south side, but on the river side it is very marked and precisely the same in character as the balance of it. From crest to crest of the ditch is from eight to thirteen feet.

This is the last village occupied by the Aricaras south of the Cheyenne river. The writer was informed by Felix Benoist that an old Sioux at the Cheyenne agency informed him that this village was deserted by the Rees 123 years prior to the date of the information so given, which latter was in 1888. From other data at hand and referred to in connection with the Lewis and Clark expedition, etc., it is believed that the Indian was in error, that the abandonment of this village was more recent. But if it is to be credited, we are met with the certainty that the stronghold above Fort Pierre, referred to by Lewis and Clark, Brackenridge, etc., as having been abandoned about 1800, must have held out against the Sioux for forty-seven years or thereabouts after the village at the mouth of the Cheyenne, some thirty-eight miles farther up the Missouri, succumbed to the enemy, since the dates given by the Indian to Benoist would bring its desertion back to about 1753.

There is a large stone near the center of this village, said to cover a receptacle used by the Rees for offerings to their presiding spirit. This receptacle was not examined by Prof. Warner and the writer; but Benoist informed them that he at one time

caused the stone to be lifted and that a receptacle was found underneath some eighteen inches square and probably two feet deep, in which he found some old decayed cloth, etc.

Numerous fragments of pottery, a stone arrowhead, etc., and many fragments of stone which had evidently been subjected to the hewing process were found here. The river bluff towards the westerly end of this site has caved away at one point, which break approached very closely to the outer edge of the ditch, but the entire ditch on the river side was still absolutely intact.

Coming now to the east side of the Missouri, we will describe several Aricara village sites examined by the writer between the Little Bend and Medicine creek below Pierre.

The first one in order is that situated a short distance, probably from one-half to five-eighths of a mile, south of the area formerly occupied by the buildings and inclosures of Fort Sully, the latter being about twenty-five miles north-northwest from Pierre. This site is flanked on the north by a large ravine bordering the southern boundary of Fort Sully plateau, and extends along the high prairie bordering upon the Missouri river bluff line, but some three-fourths of a mile from the water-line. It contains a very large number of very broad and deep lodge-circles, say 130 to 160 in number; the general direction of the village being from north to south. This site was merely crossed by the writer upon his return from the trip to the mouth of the Cheyenne above referred to, the view being from a wagon seat, and only a rough estimate of the number of former habitations could be arrived at. There is no ditch or fortification of any character around any portion of this village, which is about half a mile in length and extends back from the bluff-line from fifteen to twenty-five rods east and west. A slight tracing or depression, however, extends across the northern boundary from southeast to northwest, resembling more a buffalo or other trail than a ditch.

This fact was noted by the writer, as regards both this site and the one next south and above Oahe (described below), as distinguishing them from the Ree villages west of the river, viz: That both have many more lodge-circles than any Ree village west of the river, and in both the circles are deeper than in any on the west side, with the possible exception of some of those in the

upper Ree village above Fort Pierre; that the one now under consideration is without fortifications, while the one above Oahe contains so many lodge-circles outside of the ditch as to place the settlement at large beyond the protection of a ditch and post barrier.

The Ree village site above Oahe, Hughes county, South Dakota, is situated substantially two and one-half miles northwest of the Oahe mission buildings, which latter are on Peoria bottom, near the upper end of that long level stretch of bottom-land extending from a point opposite to Chantier creek (flowing into the Missouri from the west) eastward to where the Missouri turns south towards Fort Pierre, Oahe being about fifteen miles northwest of Pierre. The site is on the high plateau overlooking the river to the southwest at about the point where the river, from its wide curve to westward, thence southward, turns eastward at the upper end of the bottom; its front being some 100 to 150 feet back from the bluff-line. There is a continuous ditch around the more central or inner group of lodge-circles, but a large portion of it is not as easily distinguished as the balance; in fact, when the writer first visited this site, September 22, 1899, he did not discover more than that part of the ditch which is most prominent and which flanks, in somewhat circular form, the great central lodge which was evidently the headquarters of the village and near the southwest side. On October 12, 1904, however, when Doane Robinson and Prof. Lange accompanied the writer to that location, the entire ditch was traced; it being different, in the proportions of the area surrounded by it, from any other Ree ditch ever seen by any of the persons forming said party. In other words, instead of the ditch being substantially oblong, with easy curves, it is made up entirely of straight lines, set at varying angles with each other; the northwesterly side being represented by a very long straight line, one of nine lines varying in length from 18 to 320 feet. The longest diameter of this inclosed area, from south to north-northeast, is 400 feet, while the distance across at right angles with the other diameter line is about 365 feet, those distances being found by pacing and are of course only approximate. The same is true of the length of the entire ditch, which, according to the writer's estimate made in the same manner, was found to be 1,006 feet,

while that found by Mr. Robinson was 1,059 feet. Lack of time prevented a more satisfactory measurement, but if a compromise were made by "splitting the difference" and calling it about 1,030 feet in length, no great violence would be done to the fact. There are twenty-eight lodge-pits inside the inclosure, aside from some five additional depressions not counted in. The large central pit is located towards and some seventy-five to a hunderd feet from the southwestern end of the inclosure, is some seventy-five feet in diameter and from four to five feet deep. There are scattered about, outside of the inclosure, for considerable distances, but to a much greater distance to southeastward, a great number of lodge-pits, making the total number in and about the village about 200, the entire space outside thus covered being three or four times that of the inclosed area. The deeper pits, for thus we must refer to them in order to convey an adequate idea of their form and character, are from four to five feet deep, and one or two of them perhaps even deeper, while their diameters will measure from twelve or fifteen to fifty feet. Their circumferences are very prominent. They seem to exemplify to a degree, as remains of Indian habitations, Catlin's account of the Mandan structures; yet, save as to their depth and the prominence of many of the outer rims, they do not differ materially from those found on the west side of the river. In one other respect, however, they furnish evidences not found in the other villages, namely, in that many of them have plainly defined entrance ditches or passageways, showing upon which side or sides the doors were placed, as many of them have several entrances.

The fragments of pottery are here very numerous, while flint thumbstones or scrapers, arrowheads, etc., are in evidence. Most of these specimens are found in ash or other refuse heaps about the site, more particularly outside of the inclosed area. A piece of copper or of copper mixed with brass was found here by the writer, some two inches long and rolled up into cylindrical form (see piece in upper center of photograph).

This site above Oahe is so situated relative to the curve of the Missouri around the peninsula extending eastward from the village, and to the country to southward, as to form a strong strategic defense to the approach of the hostile Sioux; and when taken in connection with the upper Ree village above Fort Pierre, which

is substantially seven miles east-southeast from the former, should have constituted a substantial reinforcement to a general defense from both sides of the river in that locality. However, there seems to be an obstacle to the theory that these two strongholds were contemporaneous habitations. One cannot well escape the impression that this Oahe village and the one south of the Fort Sully site are of later origin and use than was the upper village above Fort Pierre. This idea is, moreover, borne out to some extent by traditional evidence, said to exist among the Sioux, that the Rees, after being driven out of the region above Fort Pierre, and perhaps after deserting all the villages on the west side of the river below the Cheyenne, held for some time a foothold east of the river below the Cheyenne. Now, there being no fortifications in connection with Fort Sully site, it seems not improbable that that village and also the one above Oahe may have been occupied for some period of time after the final struggle for supremacy on the west side was ended, and when defensive warfare may not have occurred in the same degree that had obtained on the west side. Still there is room for but a very short space of time during which this supposed lingering process among the Rees could have continued; since Lewis and Clark make no mention of any Ree being east of the river below the Cheyenne in 1804.

About two miles below Pierre, and about one mile east from East Pierre, is another group of village remains of Aricara origin, this location being immediately west of the Indian Industrial school and about five miles above the mouth of Mush creek in Hughes county. There is no encircling ditch, nor is there any indication of a defensive inclosure in the form of an arc of a circle and which could be regarded as a partial construction of such a defense; the only outline of any ditch being that mentioned below. The group of lodge-circles now found here is, it is understood, but part of what formed a more extensive group stretching to eastward, the latter portion having been built over in constructing the Indian school buildings and grounds. The evident headquarters of this village were at what now appears to be the east end of the group—immediately west from the Indian school. There are found several very large lodge-holes or circles and other and smaller ones in connection. There are forty-seven lodge-

circles comprising the group, those at the western extremity being scattered widely. The entire site has a frontage of some forty rods east and west by from twenty-five to thirty rods north and south; the southern frontage being at the crest-line of the second level back of the river, the ground being from ten to fifteen feet above the lower level. The latter was in all probability the limit of the water-line of the Missouri at some time in the past; but it does not follow that this was the case when this site was inhabited.

One of the lodge-circles above mentioned is the largest in diameter of any ever observed by the writer in South Dakota, and such is the experience also of Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, who with the writer made another visit to the site October 24, 1906, for the purpose of taking some measurements of those circles. One of them, seemingly, from its relations to others near it, was the war-lodge of the village band, measured ninety-five feet from outer crest to outer crest of its rim, while the diameter of what was believed to be the inside of the structure when the walls were erect is sixty-two feet. The next smaller one measured eighty-nine feet from crest to crest. These foundations are now from three to four feet deep; but as the rims are quite prominent and considerably elevated above the general level of the ground, these holes appear somewhat deeper below the natural level than they really are.

Running along substantially between the two largest lodge-circles in this village are sections of what appear to have been ditches, seemingly leading (by sudden divergences of the general course) to these habitations when constructed, yet having directions indicating that they might have been thoroughfares leading by them and out westward into what seems to have been an area which might have served as a general outside meeting place between lodge-circles found surrounding it. This area is, however, quite limited, not more than twice or three times as large as the principal lodge-circle, but oblong east and west. If these apparent ditches were used in connection with palisades as defenses, they would perhaps have served as such to the large lodges, yet only on one side of each at most, and there is no apparent strategy in such an arrangement. The area in question is some seventy-five feet westerly from the two principal lodges.

Between the western end of the city of Pierre on what is known as the "first bench," and the mouth of Medicine creek some eighteen miles below, are to be found numerous lodge-circles of the general character of those described at large in this paper. Sometimes there are from several to enough to form a substantial group of them in close neighborhood; then there will be found extended spaces over which none are found. No encircling or other ditch it found around or in connection with these remains. From among their ruins innumerable pieces of pottery, and many arrow-heads and other products of Indian workmanship have been found, and may still be found by diligent search. The fact that these lodge-remains when inhabited were not defended as are the Ree villages in general, may be significant in connection with the fortified plateau at Mush creek, now to be described. For if, as appears not improbable, the stronghold mentioned was used as a general defense in extremity for all the dwellers upon the river front from Medicine creek to where the high bluff-line appears at western Pierre where the lower bench terminates, that fact might account, in part at least, for the absence of encircling ditches in the extended region in question. Still it would be impracticable if not impossible to have fortified some of these scattered habitations, in any event, as is the case with the string of circles found above the Fort George fortified village hereinbefore described.

The last among the supposed Ree fortified sites on the east side of the Missouri in South Dakota which will be the subject of reference in this paper, is the plateau in Hughes county situated on the east side of what is known as Mush creek gulch, and located about seven miles east-southeast of Pierre, and about one mile below the lower end of Farm island.

From all evidences and indications at hand, this plateau in its naturally strategic qualities, supplemented by entrenchments, seems to have been regarded and actually used by the Indians who appropriated it, as a stronghold in the sense of a general and last resort against enemies.

The Missouri river runs a little south of due east at this point. Along the "second bottom" or level next above the lowest bottom-land on the north side of the river are evidences of Indian village sites, or what may perhaps be regarded as different quar-

ters of the same village, some located above, some below the mouth of Mush creek, the indications being substantially of the same character as those marking the other Ree village sites already described, save as to the absence of a ditch or other indication of defense around any part of it. In other words, the Indian implements found here are of the same character as those found at the other sites referred to; or, if any differences exist in this respect, they do not seem to have become observable.

In the rear of the level on which these village remains are located is another and third stretch of land somewhat higher, and rising gradually towards the base of the plateau in question, and (in connection with the lower levels) separating the water-line of the river from the bluffs terminating the plateau by between three-fourths of a mile and a mile. Some timber stretches along near the river bank below the lower village remains, while the condition of the bottom land next to the water seems to indicate that the brush covering portions of it has grown up more recently and since the river channel shifted from the borders of the next level, southward. The opposite or south bank of the river does not yet immediately approach the base of the precipitous and obdurate bluffs which, for miles above and below, flank that shore of the river in this vicinity.

From the northerly limits of this third bench rise the Missouri river bluffs, forming the southerly edge of the plateau in question, and which is substantially a part of the prairie formation extending indefinitely northward, although the surface is very slightly elevated in that deviation, and considerably broken immediately northward of the ravine formations; and the entire plateau, with the exception of a small portion of the extreme north, is inclosed by prominent natural barriers—Mush creek gulch on the west, a smaller ravine whose southerly outlet is at the P. F. McClure ranch on the east, the river valley on the south, and a branch of Mush creek and the initial "draw of the McClure ravine on the northwest and northeast quarters. The area thus inclosed by nature's bulwarks may be roughly estimated at from 130 to 150 acres, being widest at the southerly extremity, narrowest at the northern end, and on the whole somewhat oblong north and south. Roughly speaking, the width of the plateau at the river bluffs is thirty to thirty-five rods; there is a

marked depression at that end of it which divides the southern end of the plateau, leaving the larger portion to westward. Immediately in front of the main bluff line, yet forming part of it, is a very prominent hill which narrows sharply at the top, rising slightly above the level of the main plateau, and, to the observer, seeming to stand as a sentinel guard over all that surrounds it for miles—Indian villages at its feet, valley, gulches, plateau and both of the grand bluff lines of the Missouri above and below.

To what would thus appear to be one of the most unique and effective citadels of nature's handiwork must be added another feature which, in the hour of extremity, furnished another and indispensable element of defense, viz., a series of springs which at one time undoubtedly appeared along the river bluff-line in front of the plateau and about two-thirds of the way up, in greater profusion than is seen today, but whose reality is proven to any observer by the different color and character of the grasses which line the bluff-side at this point, showing unmistakably a once marshy softness where water was wont to run. To-day there are several of these springs which furnish water in plenty, one of which is utilized by a watering trough; this spring being well-toward the eastern extremity of what was once the range of these various spring formations, and near the center of the front line of the plateau. From several of these springs there extend to the level of the plateau narrow and once deep trenches, which were evidently used as passage-ways from the stronghold above to these sources of life when, no doubt, the inhabitants were close pressed by besieging enemies.

Practically every foot of the outer limits of this extensive plateau is inclosed by a ditch line, whose courses follow in grand outline the trend of the bluffs where they break off into gulch or ravine. On the westerly side this trench may be said to commence at the southwestern corner of the plateau; and in its extension northward, wherever there is met a depression or secondary "draw" leading down into Mush creek bottom, there will be found a loup in the ditch, evidently calculated as a guard against approach of an Indian or squad of them through such depression, such loup being from ten to twenty feet in length and from eight to twelve feet broad; the area thus substantially inclosed within the loup being doubly guarded, partly by the outer ditch and

partly by the ridge of earth thrown therefrom in process of its excavation. In the entire circuit of the plateau by this ditch there are twenty-four of these loups, some of which are at the northern extremity and some (though less in number) on the east side; and their recurrence in connection with the successive lateral depressions, etc., is regular and unfailing everywhere. To this last statement one exception should be made, however; for where the westerly outline of the plateau swells outward towards the gulch, along the central portion of the westerly line, the ditch fails to veer towards the west but proceeds straight across the prairie some distance from the rim; and here it is more shallow and less easily tracable. It is found however, that in this locality there are no lateral depressions such as are the evident occasion for the loup formations. At what particular point at the southeastern corner of the plateau the trench ends is not easily determined from observations made, but that it extends far enough to substantially flank all approaches which, but for the trench, might be utilized by an enemy, is fairly plain to any observer.

Within this enclosed area there are indications, particularly near the southern end, of lodge-circles which were doubtless the sites of Indian habitations; while over most of the entire space inclosed no such indications are found. Some few mounds are seen, which are probably identical in character and purpose of construction with those found in other Indian village sites of undoubted Aricara origin. Some, yet comparatively few, Indian relics, such as arrow-heads, beads, etc., have been found in this inclosure; and it is not deemed probable that it was ever permanently used for village purposes, but was rather a stronghold for protection of the Indians who ordinarily lived in the villages in the river bottom and were, by stress of warfare, driven into this resort on the hill in order to escape defeat.

The ditches, or continuous ditch, encircling this plateau, is seemingly similar to those heretofore described and found at the Ree village sites above or below the site of this plateau along the Missouri river. It is possible that, taken as a whole, this ditch is not as deep, as it is in places not quite as distinct as are some of those surrounding the Ree village sites at other places indicated. But, aside from the fact that the area embraced within the ditch is so much greater in this case than that of any other Ree defense

found in the region in question, there does not appear to be any point of substantial dissimilarity which should result in referring this particular earthwork to an older Indian civilization than that of the Rees. In other words, it does not seem to the writer that there is any resort to strained reasoning necessary in ascribing the Mush creek fortifications to an origin identical with that of the other village sites along the upper Missouri, and which are universally regarded as of Ree origin.

There are places where the ditch on this plateau is still between three and four feet deep, and from six to ten feet across from crest to crest. On the other hand, while the great length of the ditch affords occasion for greater variation in depth and width, perhaps, than would obtain in the encircling of an ordinary village site, it is not clear that the ditch where narrowest and most shallow is markedly more so than at some points in the other ditches mentioned, except along the westerly side where this ditch fails to follow the outer rim of the plateau as stated, and where it is less distinct than any other similar formation observed by the writer.

This point of possible difference of origin of these earthworks at Mush creek, as compared to the Ree fortifications, is dwelt upon here more at length because, as it is surmised, a different view has been expressed by one who has given this Mush creek site special study and who has made it the subject of a paper published in the "Monthly South Dakotan" for November, 1898. We refer to Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson of Pierre, whose treament of the subject is justly entitled to high rank. In speculating as to who were the builders of those earthworks, he says of their implements:

"The pottery-shards, spear and arrow heads found here are similar to those found in relic mounds and village sites of the valley. Within easy distance, there are four village remains which cover several acres each. The population of these must have been considerable. Away from the village, there are many isolated lodge mounds scattered throughout the valley for several miles in either direction, indicating a people given somewhat to agriculture, and who used this fortress as a place of refuge and last defense." (Id. p. 112.) Again, referring to the supposed builder of these earthworks, he observes: "That he did not be-

long to any of the branches of the red race who occupied the valley at their first contact with the Europeans is probable, since the evidences of his superiority and ability over the red man is too marked, and the results of his industry too stupendous. Nor is it at all certain that be belonged to any era directly preceding the advent of the red man, since there is no reliable traditionary history among the Indian tribes concerning the various earth-works and mounds and those who built and occupied them." (Id. p. 113.) Further on he seems not disinclined to recognize these evidences as of Ree origin when he states: "It may be that the Rees, during a time of dire necessity, conceived and constructed these fortifications and lived in the adjacent villages, but it is hard to believe that they were the builders of the mounds and earthworks discovered at the head-waters and at different points along the Missouri and its branches." (Id.) This last-quoted language has reference in part to certain earthworks said to have been discovered by Prof. J. V. Brower at the head-waters of the Missouri and which the discoverer declared he did not regard as of Aricara or Mandan origin.

But all the evidences, traditional and strictly historic, of the Rees is to the effect that they were of agricultural proclivities. Nothing is more certain concerning them than that they did cultivate the soil regularly, especially when not on the warpath for long periods, that they raised corn, beans, squashes, etc., in profusion; and this is true of their latest phases of life as tribes. Why, then, refer the conditions now under discussion to an origin older than that of the Rees of Coronado's time, of the Loup fork of the Platte, and of the upper Missouri? And, since the undoubted fact remains that the Rees did entrench their villages and did cultivate the soil, from time immemorial, and since they are regarded, probably with good reason, as part of the Siouan stock and are thus of the "red man," it may possibly be doubted whether the deduction that the builder of the trenches in question "did not belong to any branches of the red race who occupied the valley at their first contact with the European" is tenable.

On the north slope of the Ree hills, in Hand county, South Dakota, are some Indian earthworks which are attributed by tradition and current belief to the Aricaras; being in the form of de-

fensive ditches or redoubts, as is understood. Those hills were named for the Ree Indians in connection with these earthworks, as is believed. The writer never visited the site in question, which is some miles southwest of Miller, South Dakota. There is no evidence at hand to show that the Rees ever lived there for any length of time; on the contrary, it seems to be the general understanding that at some time during the latest stages of the final struggle between the Rees and the Sioux south of the Cheyenne river some of the former became separated from their fellows and were driven to bay at the Ree hills, where a battle was fought between those contending forces, and some accounts are to the effect that the entrenched suffered great losses, but the precise outcome is not clear.

Doane Robinson very kindly contributes the following account of his visit to the site of the old Aricara villages in 1902:

"I visited the site of the Arickaree villages, on the right bank of the Missouri river, six miles above the mouth of the Grand river, at the point I have arbitrarily designated Arickara, on the seventy-ninth anniversary of Colonel Leavenworth's affair there, that is on August 10, 1902. The two villages destroyed by Leavenworth are still well defined. At this point the Missouri runs almost directly from east to west. The sand bar which was forming in Leavenworth's time has taken complete possession of the channel and diverted the stream almost a mile further south, and where the traders' boats were anchored great cottonwood trees, from three to five feet in diameter and exceedingly high, over which banners of grape vines are festooned, grow in a beautiful grove. The villages were separated by a small stream which comes in from the north, called Cottonwood creek, but the stockade, the line of which is still discernable, by the remaining row of decaying stumps, crossed the creek and enclosed both towns in one field. These stockades were of ash poles averaging about five inches in diameter. They had been laboriously cut with dull axes. I brought away one of these stumps, which is now in the museum of the historical society, and it is wonderfully preserved, considering it had been exposed to the elements for eighty years. The villages were directly upon the bank of the old river and must have been perilously near the high water mark. They were located upon the level flood plain, which here is about five hun-

dred yards in width. The remains of the dwellings, scattered about within the enclosure were still discernable and we were able to verify Leavenworth's count of seventy-one in the lower village and seventy in the upper. A good deal of laborious excavation revealed no relics of note. A short distance below the town the outlines of Leavenworth's entrenched camp could be followed. The old cornfields, lying upon the flood plain just east of the villages, have been claimed as an allotment in severalty, by an industrious Sioux Indian named Iron Cedar, who has fenced it and it is a testimonial to the fertility of the soil that he is still growing excellent crops of corn and vegetables on ground that has had a hundred years of the indifferent cultivation by Indians, without artificial fertilization of any kind. I made a map of the villages and vicinity, locating upon it the positions occupied by Leavenworth's troops. I did not visit the site of the old Ree town, on Grand river island, in the Missouri, described by Lewis and Clark, but was told by reliable persons residing in the vicinity that no trace of the village can now be found upon it, and it is probable that the island—as is the habit of Missouri river islands—has traveled up stream a sufficient distance in the last century to have sloughed the portion upon which the Rees then lived into the river. The villages at Arickara are about five miles above the new steel bridge upon the Pacific extension of the Milwaukee railroad.

"About two miles east of the upper village, where the river turns around a high point, turning from south to west, was one of the fortified lookouts of the Rees. This lookout was about one hundred feet above the river level, and only a half dozen dwellings had been within the enclosure. No one of the early writers mentions it. The Sioux Indians residing in the vicinity give a novel but probably mistaken explanation of these lookout establishments. They say they possessed no stragetic importance, but that when in the hot summer weather the mosquitos became insufferably insolent upon the low lands, the chiefs, leaving the plebians to mind the gardens and cornfields, retired to these eminences to enjoy the breezes and escape the tormenting insects."

That the Aricaras, long before they parted from the balance of the Pawnees in Nebraska, were skilled in pottery-making, seems to be abundantly proven from remains of their handiwork there

and farther south. In addition to what already appears from records of explorers, set forth in this paper, we find the eminent authority, George Bird Grinnell, making the following observations upon the subject:

"Years ago, on the sites of the abandoned Pawnees villages, on the Loup fork and on the Platte, fragments of pottery used to be found among the debris of the fallen lodges. The manufacture of this pottery was no doubt abandoned long ago, and has probably not been practiced to any considerable extent since they met the whites. A man about fifty years of age stated to me that he had never seen these pots in use, but that his grandmother had told him that in her days they made and used them. He said that they were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, on which stones were rested, which were afterwards pounded into fine power or sand. This pounded stone they mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of the proper consistency they smeared it over the rounded mould, which was perhaps first of all greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smooth on the outside, they took a small sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dried, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire, and while it was baking, put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and thus made it hard as iron. This may mean that it gave the pot a gloss on the inside. In this pot they boiled food of all kinds. Mr. Dunbar informs me that these pots were also made in later times within a framework of willow twigs. The clay, made very stiff, was smeared on this frame, the inside being rapidly smoothed with the moistened hand, and but little attention being given to the appearance of the outside. After they had been sun-dried, such pots were baked without removing the frame, which burned away in the fire, leaving the marks of the twigs visible on the outside of the pots." (Ethno. Rep. 1898-9, pp. 58-9.) And this further record is made, concerning Pawnee pottery of the Beaver creek, Neb., Pawnee village in eastern-central Nebraska: "They exhibit unusual variety of form and ornament, but nearly all appeared to represent small pot-shaped vessels, a striking characteristic being the many handles. In this respect they suggest the handled pot of western Tennessee. * * *.

The best of this ware is gray, with dark fire-mottlings, and it is very hard. It is tempered with sand and, in cases, with grains of some dark crystaline. In general appearance the vessels are very much like those of Mandan manufacture. The rounded bodies of the vessels, as a rule, have been finished with cord-wrapped or ribbed implements, and the necks, handles, and rims have been smoothed off to receive the decoration of incised lines and indentations. In some cases the body has been rubbed smooth and left plain, and in others the nicest ornamental markings have been carried down over nearly the entire surface." (Ethno. Rep. 1898-9, p. 199.) Dr. Hayden is quoted as follows in another record: "All along the Missouri, in the valleys of the Little Blue, Big Blue, Platte, and Loup fork rivers, I have observed the remains of these old dirt villages, and pieces of pottery are almost invariably found with them. But on a recent visit to the Pawnee reservation on the Loup fork I discovered the remains of an old Pawnee village, apparently of greater antiquity than the others, and the only one about which any stone implements have as yet been found. In and around the site of every cabin of this village I found an abundance of broken arrow-heads, chipped flints, some of which must have been brought from a great distance, and a variety of small stones, which had been used as hammers, chisels, etc. I have gathered about half a bushel of the fragments of pottery, arrowheads, and chipped flints, some of which I hope to place in the museum of the Smithsonian next winter. No Pawnee Indian now living knows of a time when this village was inhabited. Thirty years ago an old chief told a missionary that his tribe dwelt there before his birth." (Hayden, Smithsonian Report, 1867, p. 411.)

The above description of the Pawnee pottery applies with great aptness to many specimens of Ree pottery found in the abandoned villages on the Missouri river. While with few exceptions the fragments there found are so small that comparison of them with the Pawnee handiwork in question (the fragments of which as found by Grinnell were no doubt larger) would be a somewhat imperfect test of the question of identity of workmanship, yet there can be no substantial doubt that the Aricaras continued the same processes with substantially similar results in this art, after leaving the Loup fork. Innumerable pieces in

large variety of decoration mark the potshards everywhere in evidence where once those tribes dwelt in the Dakotas. And the latest specimens found at the upper villages in the neighborhood of the present location of the remnants of the Rees are but the duplication of preceding products of their artisanship.

Nor does there seem to be any room for substantial doubt that from the remotest known haunts of the Aricaras, beginning with the village sites examined by Brower and his co-laborers in Kansas and continuing northward to the Platte and its tributaries, the long-time home of the Pawnees at large, and onward to the Missouri under the regime of the Aricaras, chert or flint arrowheads and other Indian implements of stone, necessities in domestic economy or in warfare or the chase, likewise found among the remains of their one-time homes, were fashioned by their own hands, in a broad and substantial sense. We mean that either they made them, each and every tribe for its own use, or some tribes through their skilled workmen manufactured them for more general use among the Indians, generation after generation, century after century. And we believe this process went on until the time when, through contact with the scions of European civilization who came among the aborigines, those rude but sufficient instruments of the red man's sustenance and defense were by degrees supplanted by the handicraft of the Latins and the Anglo-Saxons.

When we compare, for instance, what Brower found in the workshops of "Harahey," where Indian craft held sway in Coronado's time (see photograph), with specimens of arrow-heads, etc., picked up in many of the upper Missouri village sites of the Aricaras (see photographs), and realize, as it seems one must, that the more ancient are one in Indian tribal origin with the most modern specimens which it seems impossible to believe were not used by the Rees, the conclusion is almost irresistable that implements thus found in their homes were used by them. And if used, and found behind them as they advanced from stage to stage in the general northward movement, and if all species of those implements are substantially identical, and the quarries or the workshops thus left behind bear evidence that some human hands made these things, is it too far-fetched to conclude that the inhabitants of those communities themselves furnished that skill

and wrestled from the earth the raw material out of which they were made? Is this theory less probable than that which ascribes all this energy and art to the genius of the stone age?

In this connection, and regarding Aricara arrow-heads, the writer will refer to some correspondence had by him with Mr. E. R. Steinbrueck of Mandan, N. D., who has given considerable time to the examination of both Mandan and Aricara village sites in North Dakota during several years last past; and who also maintained correspondence with J. V. Brower upon the subject of the pottery and the chert and flint implements of both of those tribes. The writer, who met Mr. Steinbrueck in August, 1905, on his way to Fort Berthold and Elbow woods, but for a brief moment during which no opportunity of discussing these subjects personally was afforded, has since requested information upon the subject in hand. From the correspondence which ensued the following is gleaned:

From Brower's letter to him of December 2, 1903: "Yes, the pink chert blades are scattered from Mandan (city) to Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri, where the chert colored by iron is plentiful. Aricara."

From same to same, March 4, 1904: "The object of this letter is to request you to preserve with great care the pink colored chert recently found. I visited the chert quarries of that color at the headwaters of Sac river, southwest Missouri, and traced the Aricara to the upper Missouri river by that long line of pink colored chert implements. They were at Heart river with the Mandans about twenty years before they quarreled and separated."

From same to same, August 24, 1904: "* * * The pottery from the Cannon Ball you have sent is modern and of recent type, undoubtedly of the time of the Aricara occupancy of that country. You must remember that before 1804 the Aricara (Ree), who were an offshoot from Platte valley Pawnees, Nebraska, for more than twenty years lived at the Mandan villages and learned how to make pottery." Mr. Steinbreuck explains in his letter from which the last above quotation is taken, that he has found pottery "from Heart river to Cannon Ball river, and from Cannon Ball river to four miles below Fort Yates. That would indicate that the Aricara, after living with the Mandans before their quar-

rel previous to Lewis and Clark's visit, moved down the river again, after having come up from the south. Then afterwards they moved up the Missouri again to join the Mandans at Fort Clark. Of the thirty or thirty-two villages found so far from four miles below Fort Yates to six miles below Knife river, many are Aricara, built and occupied later than Lewis and Clark's expedition and before Catlin's, hence between 1804 and 1834." This further quotation is made from Brower's said letter of August, 1906: "The twenty years' association of the Aricara with the Mandans at (?) Heart river before A. D. 1800 gave the Aricara all the clay vessels, form of houses and other arts of the Mandans." Mr. Steinbreuck adds, as to his own experience: "Where the coarser pottery is found and lodge-circles detected, there are Arikara villages after the emigration down the river from the Heart river. * * * The Mandans moved up the Missouri; not down. We know that much for certain. * * * The Aricara may have made pottery before they came in contact with the Mandans. Why not? I would like to see some of your potsherds from below the Cheyenne river, but the Aricaras were with the Mandans near the Cheyenne river, as I understand it." He adds: "We have here village sites, of which some have been designated as Mandan villages by old authors. Some village sites not mentioned by them, and from a later period, on the trail of the Aricara up the Missouri after the Mandans (at Fort Clark) contain a pottery of an entirely and remarkably different character, coarser in design, thicker and soluble through longer soaking in water, as I have observed this winter while washing the specimens. I don't believe that the Aricaras met with the Mandans first at Heart river. They lived there together, after the Mandans had lived there alone for some years. That I think I can vouch for by my investigations and the finds I made, higher or lower below the surface. I rather believe that they were old acquaintances, just as you suggest. Very little or nothing of the Aricara character in pottery is found at Heart river and as far as five miles above Mandan, which stretch embraces about nine miles." And, speaking of the various deserted villages which he had explored, he says: "The village sites look all alike."

In another letter to the writer Mr. Steinbreuck says: "The Arikara, or rather a portion of them, had lived with the Mandans near and above Heart river. They had a quarrel with the Mandans, separated and moved down the Missouri. Nevertheless some of the Aricara stayed and moved with the Mandans, who migrated up the river, twenty years previous to Lewis and Clark's visit, to the abandoned villages near Heart river. Lewis and Clark found the Arikara in South Dakota, while the Mandans then lived about eight miles below Knife river. Later the Arikara were deciminated by the hostile Sioux and by disease. Then they moved gradually up the Missouri again, too weak to reject the enemies successfully, with the end in view to join the Mandans and those of their own tribe. Their villages, during this migration, are scattered along the border of the Missouri between villages of the Mandans. So far as I could discern, their pottery was coarser in design and heavier in material. It appeared to me also when washing the different potsherds, that the Mandan pots had been thinner and harder, while the Aricara pottery was thicker in average and more brittle." And, referring to some pottery fragments sent him by the writer and taken from the Aricara villages in South Dakota, he says: "It appears to me that they resemble in their whole character that pottery here which I concluded to be Arikara." He further observes: "Difference in material may be subject to different clay of the respective localities." He makes this further very interesting reference to the two forms of arrow-points found by him in the Mandan and the Aricara villages, respectively: "The difference between Mandan and Arikara arrow points is, for instance, that the former always had a straight base, while the Arikara were very particular in making a curved base." And he illustrated this point by rude but significant drawings showing the base of the Mandan arrow-head to be as indicated by a straight line, while two specimens of the Aricara are shown as having concave bases indicated by a curved line, and one of them having one side of the base extended much more than the other and somewhat prong-shaped. He adds, relative to another implement: "Further, I found that the bone fleshers of the Arikara were longer, say nine to ten inches long, while those of the Mandans were from five to six inches long only. * * * And the difference in pottery

designs and general character helps me in discovering the different occupants of the various village sites."

While the writer believes the Mandans came up the Missouri, he does not feel so certain that he knows this to be true as does his correspondent in Mandan—but of this in the next paper. The excuse for making any reference to the Mandans at this point arises upon the observations of Dr. Brower as quoted (and without doubt with entire truthfulness) from his letters to Steinbrueck, in connection with the Aricaras.

Without dwelling upon the point, the expressed supposition of Brower, that the Aricaras learned from the Mandans how to make pottery, is dissented from. Whether he intended thereby to indicate his belief that the Aricaras, once possessed of the art while living in the south, but having at some time lost it, had recovered it in a modified character by contact with the Mandans, or whether they had until that contact been oblivious of the handicraft by which those implements were fashioned, is not clear, but we presume the latter theory was in his mind. The evidences of pottery all along the highways of Ree and Pawnee existence are too numerous and too convincing to admit of any reasonable doubt that they themselves made these things which they invariably left behind them in successive migrations. Besides, Brower's well-established theory that those Indians are tracked by their art of arrow-head manufacture from Missouri to where, if at all, they learned how to make pottery from the Mandans, is not without weight in the argument that similar species of pottery are traceable from the same sources to the same destination.

The above quoted suggestion and interrogation by Mr. Steinbreuck as to the Aricaras having made pottery before they came in contact with the Mandans, was in response to a communication to him from the writer, to the effect that there were believed to be abundant evidence of those Indians having made pottery at their villages in South Dakota. And the fact that the specimens taken from the latter villages are declared by Steinbreuck to be substantially identical in character with those found by him in Aricara villages, while differing in thickness, skill in manufacture, and hardness of material, from the handiwork of the Mandans, leaves no substantial room for doubt that there were two

types of pottery substantially independent of each other, and that the Rees possessed an original genius in this line.

As regards the forms of the bases of the arrow-heads found in the Aricara villages in South Dakota, however, it cannot be disputed that they furnish evidence conclusive of three forms, the straight end, the concaved and the convex. It is believed that the great majority of them are of either the concave or convex form of base; but those having the latter curvature have not the niches for use in fastening them into the arrow, at the sides near the base, and this is true also of many of those having a concave base. (See photographs.)

To revert to the subject of the manufacture of arrow-heads, etc., by the American Indian in historic times, and in connection with the theory advanced by Dr. Charles Eastman that these implements were never made by those Indians, it is but fair to that gentleman that his position should be clearly stated, as understood by the writer; in refutation of which theory some additional evidences will be given below.

Dr. Eastman stated in the presence of Doane Robinson, Prof. Robert Kerr, late professor of languages at the South Dakota Agricultural college, and the writer, in September, 1906, while at Pierre, that his belief is that no arrow-points were ever made by the American Indians; that they were of the stone age; that they are found in all Indian villages and sites, and elsewhere; that Indian children would pick them up and preserve them as curios; that these arrow-heads were universally regarded by the Indians as evidences of the evil spirit which existed before man was created. That this theory carries the tradition back into the mythology of the Indians, to the effect that the first being was dominant over all animals and nature; that he (or it) fraternized with animals, loved them, etc.; that this being or spirit finally married a beaver which resembled man from its claws, etc.; thence the bear, wolf, etc. Then, after these developments out of the animals, the animal nature became less and less, etc., and then came woman. This train of mythology is not entirely relevant to the immediate subject in hand, but is stated because, in unfolding his theory concerning the arrow-making, the background of myth with which it was connected necessarily came out in the narrative.

He further states that the stone or flint arrow-head is not calclated to be effectual in penetrating the hide of the buffalo or other animals, but on the contrary is forced through such material with great difficulty; the inference being (although the writer cannot from personal knowledge affirm that this was directly expressed by Dr. Eastman) that this fact is additional proof of non-manufacture by the Indians.

Without further discussing this interesting theory, we will end the subject by quoting from three widely separated but highly respectable authorities long known in the literature of this subject; prefacing the same by extracts from letters received in October, 1906, from W. H Holmes, chief of the bureau of American ethnology, who is well known as an eminent student of ethnology and some kindred sciences, and who under date of October 18, 1906, sent a communication upon this subject to the writer in response to an inquiry for evidences, made by the latter. He expresses surprise at the theory of Dr. Eastman, declaring that it is well known that "stone arrow-heads were made by the Indians and that they are still made to some extent in the far west. Many authors have described the process in some detail, and I will not undertake to give you more than that of George Catlin, one of our most reliable students of the American Indian," following which he quotes the detailed description by Catlin of the process in question, quoted below. He then adds: "That the Indians made their own arrow-heads at the time of the arrival of the whites is clearly shown by the writings of such authors as John Smith of the Virginia colony. Captain Smith says of the Virginia Indians: 'His arrow-head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of a splint of a stone or glasse in the form of a heart, and these they glew to the end of their arrows.'". To which Dr. Holmes adds:

"I have myself practiced the making of stone implements of all kinds and with fair success, following the processes described by the various observers, and have visited and examined many important quarries where the stone was obtained and roughed out. The roughing out of the blade from which the arrow-point, spear-point, or knife is made is accomplished with stone hammers of globular or discoidal shape, and the finishing after the blade becomes too delicate for the strong blow of the hammer, is accom-

plished by means of pressure with bits of bone. An expert arrow maker ought to be able to complete an arrow point in five minutes or less, the more elaborately finished ones, of course, taking somewhat longer."

The quotation from Catlin is as follows:

"Every tribe has its factory in which these arrow-heads are made, and in those only certain adepts are able or allowed to make them for the use of the tribe. Erratic bowlders of flint are collected (and sometimes brought an immense distance) and broken with a sort of sledge hammer made of a rounded pebble of hornstone set in a twisted withe, holding the stone and forming a handle. * * * The master workman, seated on the ground, lays one of these flakes on the palm of his left hand, holding it firmly down with two or more fingers of the same hand, and with his right hand, between the thumb and the forefingers, places his chisel (or punch) on the point that is to be broken off; and a co-operator (a striker) sitting in front of him, with a mallet of very hard wood, strikes the chisel (or punch) on the upper end, flaking the flint off on the under side, below each projecting point that is struck. The flint is then turned and chipped until the required shape and dimensions are obtained, all fractures being made on the palm of the hand." (Catlin.)

The following excerpt from "The Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1871," page 420, by General George Crook, was obtained from the archives at the national capital for use in this connection:

"Like most of the tribes west of and in the Rocky mountains, they manufacture the blades of their spears and points for their arrows of flints, and also of obsidian, which is scattered over those volcanic regions west of the mountains; and, like the other tribes, they guard as a profound secret the mode by which the flints and obsidian are broken into the shapes they require. Their mode is very simple, and evidently the only mode by which those peculiar shapes and delicacy of fracture can possibly be produced; for civilized artisans have tried in various parts of the world, and with the best of tools, without success in copying them."

Extract from a letter from General George Crook, U. S. A.: "A great portion of the country east of the Sierra Nevada and

Cascade ranges of mountains, has quantities of small slivers of obsidian scattered over its surface. The Indians collect these, and by laying their flat side on a blanket, or some other substance that will yield, they will, with the point of a knife, nick off the edges of this to the desired shape with remarkable facility and rapidity, making from fifty to one hundred an hour. In their primitive state they probably used buckskin or very soft wool instead of the blanket, and a piece of pointed horn or bone for the knife." A note to the above paragraph states: "The Klamath river Indians often made arrow-heads from broken junk bottles."

"In selecting a flake for the arrow-head a nice judgment must be used or the attempt will fail; a flake with two opposite parallel, or nearly parallel, planes is found, and of the thickness required for the center of the arrow-point. The first chipping reaches near to the center of these planes but without quite breaking it away, and each chipping is shorter and shorter, until the shape and edge of the arrow-head are formed.

"The yielding elasticity of the palm of the hand enables the chip to come off without breaking the body of the flint, which would be the case if they were broken on a hard substance. These people have no metallic instruments to work with, and the instrument (punch) which they use, I was told, was a piece of bone; but on examining it I found it to be a substance much harder, made of the tooth (incesor) of the sperm whale, or the sea lion, which are often stranded on the coast of the Pacific. This punch is about six or seven inches in length and one inch in diameter, with one rounded side and two plane sides; therefore presenting one acute and two obtuse angles, to suit the points to be broken.

"This operation is very curious, both the holder and the striker singing, and the stroke of the mallet given exactly in time to the music, and with a sharp and rebounding blow, in which, the Indians tell us, is the great medicine (or mystery) of the operation." (Donaldson's Catlin, Smithsonian Report 1885, part 2, pp. 743-4.)

The foregoing extract from Catlin refers to the handicraft of the Apache Indians in 1835.

We will observe, that whatever may be the evidences against the theory that Indians did or do make flint arrow-heads, there are those who are inclined to credit the claims made in that direc-

tion who are doubters of the alleged ease with which these implements can be or were made. And as the subject is certainly one in which very many throughout this country are interested, and as next year a national celebration and exposition is to be held upon the very spot where Captain John Smith, three centuries ago, supposedly saw Indians making such implements, and as it seems to be believed in some quarters that there are yet Indians in the west who make them, a demonstration of this craft by an Indian, at said exposition, would doubtless serve the double purpose of entertaining great numbers of observers while, at least to those actually witnessing the spectacle, putting this somewhat mooted subject at rest as an issue. We know of no authorities under whose auspices such a useful and interesting feature of Indian life during the centuries following Smith's advent to the Virginian shore could be exploited than the bureau of ethnology.

On September 5-7, 1905, the writer, for the purpose of gaining some further light upon the present status of the Aricara and Mandan Indians at and in the neighborhood of Fort Berthold, North Dakota, and of learning if possible something concerning their origin through interviews of some of their prominent men, made a visit to that locality. Proceeding northwesterly from Washburn, North Dakota (a point about forty-five miles north of Bismarck and a mile or so east of the Missouri River where it turns from an easterly course southerly, and about five miles north of the Painted woods) by wagon to Coal harbor, some twenty miles distant, and some two miles east of the river at the lower end of an abrupt turn from east to south of the stream, he took an evening ride thence around the bend, thence west by the site of Old Fort Stevenson (some ten miles northwest of Coal harbor) to the present postoffice of Fort Berthold, about twenty-five miles beyond Stevenson, having passed through the southern rump of the Band Lands a few miles east of Berthold. This latter point is about twenty miles east of Elbow woods, the present headquarters of the Fort Berthold Indian agency and school, the latter being some six miles east of a point opposite to the mouth of the Little Missouri. In other words, Elbow woods is about seventy-five miles west by northwest from Washburn, or 120 miles by rail and wagon northwest of Bismarck, and in the south-

eastern portion of the present Fort Berthold Indian reservation. Fort Stevenson site is near the east end of what had been until some two years previous a military reservation, extending some eighteen miles east and west by about five to seven miles north and south, the Missouri river running some two miles north of its southern boundary line. While the group of buildings at Fort Berthold are located a short distance, from sixty to eighty rods, east of the site of the old Mandan, Gros Ventre and Aricara community village. Mr. Ira Matheny, the then postmaster of Fort Berthold and who was in charge of the buildings there, was assistant of the superintendent of the schools and agency at Elbow woods, very obligingly entertained the writer over night and until he left on his quest the following forenoon.

The first illusion which was dispelled from the mind of the visitor to those parts was the supposition that, although the strictly tribal relations of the allied Indians was understood to be a thing of the past, yet he had hoped to be able to find several groups of Indian settlements which would furnish the means of his coming in contact with a number of leading Indians in each group, from whom he might secure information as stated. No such settlement, large or small, was found, however; and he was obliged, for want of time, to content himself, so far as Indians were concerned, with communicating, through interpreters, with but two Aricaras and two Mandans; the effort to find whom was made in circumstances requiring him to act in conjunction with the stage running to and from Coal harbor, which, however, he missed on his way out and while interviewing the Aricaras, and an improvised private conveyance was the result.

The Mandans and Aricaras as well as their long-time family brethren, the Gros Ventres, have for over seventeen years been practically dissolved as an urban community and have become scatterred over the Fort Berthold reservation almost as effectually as would have been the case had they, like the whites, been immigrants from the eastern and middle western states and foreign countries. They have their little log cabins or, more frequently, modest yet comfortable frame dwellings, their separate pieces of land held under the Indian severalty laws of congress, their livestock, and their cultivated fields, all proving that, however slow the process, their civilization is in progress and the na-

tional arm is being held out to them in good faith to the end of their uplifting. Schools are in operation so that all Indian children may and do have an opportunity of securing an education in the fundamentals. Their parents look into the tribal and dominant past with the regrets which have ever accompanied the servient races in their extinction or their amalgamation with the higher civilization, but who shall say their humiliation under this submissive regime is not the essential leaven to more noble ends? We of the white race will believe that all this is for the best. But every Indian knows that this procedure is the end of the Indian race in America; hence his fond dwelling among the traditions of his former heritage of a free field according to his instinct and his wont.

On the morning following his arrival at Fort Berthold the writer walked over from Mr. Matheny's headquaters to the site of the famed village where for over a quarter of a century the three tribes lived almost as one family, though each had, roughly speaking, a separate quarter in the inclosed village; and endeavored to make a detailed examination of the site and its present landmarks. The result is set forth in the account given below from notes taken at the time; which includes some description of the high cut-bank of the river in front. As the sketches made by Rev. C. L. Hall, Congregational missionary at Fort Berthold agency since 1876, of the river bank and the relations of the channel to the high bank, at three stages of the period in question, and referred to in the account below, cannot be reproduced on paper in connection herewith, it may perhaps be explained: That in 1876 and thereabouts, the river channel swung far away from this high bank which bounded the village on the south, the water performing three-fourths of a circle, first to southward, thence eastward, thence north, approaching the river bank again nearly a mile to east; that a mill stood under this high bank, between which and the sweep of the river was an extended bottom-land; that the peninsula comprising the village plateau headed as a whole about southwest, and the river channel, just above where it turned southward to form the loup, was close to the high bank which receded northward from the southerly point of the plateau and turned westward some three-fourths of a mile from said point. That in 1883 the channel had ceased

to follow the high bank northwest from the village point of the plateau, but came eastward and struck said point after passing to southward of an island which had been formed by the new course of the river, back-water extending northward where the former channel had been; the new channel following along the high bank for some eighty rods, then gradually leaving it and flowing due east, leaving a wide bottom to southward, a sort of willow bar, there being a pond near the center of the former loup; the bluff-line on the south side of the river being some two miles from the north bank. In 1905 and for years prior thereto the channel had again broken over into the southern part of the former loup, but came in directly from the west and not far from the southern bluff-line, leaving a sand-bar between the river and the island mentioned, and a wide bar mostly covered with willow and cottonwood timber and brush between the village point and the river, which latter runs to northeastward and substantially parallel with the northern bank after passing the point, but nearly two miles from said bank, leaving a low bottom against the bank commencing half a mile or so east of the village. The description of the village site follows:

The village of the three tribes, Gros Ventre, Mandan, and Aricara. Piles of brick and small fragments of same found scattered around near edge of bluff on south side or end. Many cache holes in southern and western quarters of the village site, from three to five feet deep now, were deeper originally; lower portion is wider than top; diameter of holes, from three to five feet at top; in some of them bones are found sticking out of edges of the hole some one foot to two feet under ground.

Palisade ditch on the west side runs to cut-bluff. Starting from cut-bank, it runs north by northwest direction for a few rods, then turns north and runs near the edge of the high bank of river bluff, from one to three rods east of the bank. It is here a broad, deep ditch on the west and northwest side of village. It turns northeast and crosses a north and south line wire fence now found on the site of the village, which fence runs north from the river and two-thirds or three-fourths of the way from the east side of the village. The ditch continues northeast after crossing the fence, but grows quite indistinct towards the extreme north end of the ditch inclosure. The point where this ditch

crosses the fence line is about fifty feet north from the flagpole erected by the federal surveyors (as is understood), and which pole is said to be on the east line of the present Fort Berthold Indian reservation. The ditch at the northern extremity is eighty to a hundred rods north from river bluff or cut-bank. Ditch on north end seems to come to an end about ten rods eastward from the fence; and at this point there seem to be several old roads running into the east end of a little draw which leads down northwest into the river bottom land, these roads converging from various directions to the northeast and southeast. The ditch line from this northerly point is comparatively indistinct, but it seems to run southward, veering a trifle to eastward of south line at a point some twenty rods from north end. The ditch on the east side of village is in places quite indistinct, especially along the south half of the line, but the south end of it on east side seems to be at or about the top of the cut-bluff line. (See account of Nagel's statement, below.) The distance between the east and west sides of village ditch is from twenty-five to forty or fifty rods. I noted also that there seems to have been a ditch running north and south through the western portion of the village and close to the wire fence and on east side of same, and there seems to have been a ditch still to the east of this last one, running north and south; and there is a slight indication of an old ditch near the northeast corner of the village and running northeast; but all three of these seemingly interior ditches are more or less indistinct, though the one near the fence is quite plain for a long distance, especially towards the south.

The cut-bank extends along the south end of the village site about thirty rods; it is a high bank and appears to have been worn away by the river water,—it is difficult to judge as to how much of the bank has been carried away, but it is probable that the greatest amount of waste has been at the westerly end of the high bank where it turns northward. Bones are found scattered along the slope of this cut-bank in great profusion in places. This bank then turns abruptly north and away from the old river channel, continuing north some thirty rods, then curves to northeast for some eighty rods, then turns northwest, leaving a very broad low bottom land to the south of the bank. The present river water channel is about one and one-half miles south of the

south end of the Indian village, or from the river bank at that point, and such channel is about that distance south of the north high bank for many miles above and below this locality. The cut-bank, extending eastward, curves somewhat to northward of an east line, from a point near the southeast corner of the Indian village. (See sketches of the river bank, the old, the later, and the present channel of river, the islands, bars, etc., drawn by Rev. Hall.)

The east side of the village is, roughly estimated, about fifty to sixty rods west from Keyes' cottage, and from seventy-five to eighty-five rods west from the Colton cottage and the larger school building first above described.

The Indian graveyard is located east and northeast of the northerly portion of the Indian village, and is north and northwest from Keyes' cottage, being at its nearest points about twenty-five rods from the cottage, and as to the village, from fifteen to twenty rods from the northeast corner; this last is a very rough and probably unreliable estimate, as I did not explore the graveyard to its western extremity. There is at the east end of this graveyard a small fence inclosure, with two graves therein, but no headstone.

Some notes were likewise taken by the writer, descriptive of the existing buildings at Fort Berthold, as follows:

There are two graveyards on east end of general grounds (inclosed).

School building two stories high, with wing on west end. Laundry building to northwest. Large barn in rear to west of school building. Corn crib southeast of barn, near edge of bluff. Shop between school building and barn.

School building or church about eight rods to the north of first school building above described, and known as Colton cottage; was commenced about thirty years ago; was first a church and school room, boys' dormitory and teachers' sitting room.

Two log houses by barn, to north and east; one the old stage barn, the other used as hen house.

Dwelling house some twenty rods somewhat north of west of barn; known as Keyes' cottage; Mr. Ira Matheny now in charge as assistant of the superintendent of the schools at Elbow woods school and agency (twenty miles further west); is the most re-

cently built of all the structures at the Old Fort Berthold site; Rev. Hall used to live there. Site of the old dining hall a few feet in rear (west) of the cottage, and was burned down before the cottage was erected.

The detailed account of the salient facts connected with Fort Berthold, Fort Atkinson, and Fort Stevenson will be found in the editorial notes, by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, to Dr. William M. Blackburn's "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," published in Vol. 1 of the South Dakota Historical Collections (see page 134); and the writer of this paper has attempted, on pages 359-360 of the same volume, in his notes to "Old Fort Pierre and her Neighbors," to give some account of those establishments. The limits of this paper, already for outstretching the bounds originally set for it, will permit of but the briefest reference to those posts, in order to give some color and setting to this narrative. After the Hidatsa (Gros Ventre) Indians came to this village site from Knife river in 1845, the trading post was established by the American Fur company, the Indians assisting the Mandans having come there soon after. In 1859 Fort Atkinson was built by an opposition company a short distance northeast of Fort Berthold and in the same general settlement. The Aricaras joined the other Indians at this village in 1862, the American Fur company then taking over Fort Atkinson, and it was thenceforth called Fort Berthold; abandoning the old stockade, which was nearly destroyed by Sioux in 1862. Three sides of the quadrilateral of Fort Atkinson were burned in 1874, which was then and for some time thereafter occupied as an Indian agency. The first military occupation of the post was in 1864 by General Sully in the Sioux campaign, and in 1867 the troops were transferred to Fort Stevenson, twenty miles to eastward. When troops were first placed in Fort Berthold the traders moved out and built quarters for themselves, and when the troops were withdrawn they moved back in, for a short time, then made way for the Indian agency.

The Ree Indians, Strikes Two and Sitting Bear, living about forty rods west from the buildings (for they do not amount to even the smallest hamlet) known as Armstrong, about six miles west of Fort Berthold, were mentioned by Mr. Matheny as being prominent and intelligent Indians from whom it was probable

some information concerning their tribe and its past might be obtained. The writer accordingly sought them out and interviewed them through an interpreter of somewhat indifferent ability, yet whose translation was probably faithful and fairly competent; the narrative having been shorthanded by the writer; and the result is set forth in the accounts which follow. It will be seen that Strikes Two refers the origin of his people to some place across the ocean; that there was a scattering; then the story comes down to a very modern date when the tribe was probably at the Little Bend at the mouth of the Cheyenne on the Missouri. As to the word "Wa-hoo-a," used by Strikes Two, it is a mere surmise that it may have a meaning akin to the Sioux word "Wa-ho-si"—to bring or carry news. The "big timber" east of "the bend" is not improbably intended to refer to the location on the Loup fork of the Platte from which the Aricaras departed when they came to the Missouri river. Much of the narrative as to events occurring north of the Little Bend is confused as to localities, as given by the interpreter.

Sitting Bear, a son of the noted Ree, Son-of-the-Star, refers the origin of his tribe to the place indicated by Strikes Two, and speaks of the place where they resided after coming from beyond the ocean as "where the sun rises." All that occurs thereafter, so far as his account goes, had its locus north of the Cheyenne river; and tradition as he had treasured it up as to inter-tribal relation is in line with the general account of both Indian and historical evidence, that there were ten tribes. It should be added that the interviews of the Mandans, Little Owl and Bear's Ghost, had by the writer the next day on the west side of the Missouri near the Elbow woods agency headquarters, elicited an unfolding of Indian lore much more lengthy, but which as to the remote abiding place of the Mandans likewise took the listener across seas while telling of boats that went without oars, believed to be none other than sailing craft. And as the Mandans and Rees have been so long together, it is not improbable that the traditions of the two tribes have become more or less intermingled or confused through constant reiteration by members of the different tribes, upon the subject of the remote American residence of their ancestors; while as to the flood legends, also dwelt upon by the Mandans, it is believed that their contact with the Gros Ventres

has given color to that branch of the subject. The Mandan narratives, however, will be reserved for Part II of this paper. The interviews with Strikes Two and Sitting Bear are given below:

Strikes Two.—"I am a full blood Ree; born at Fort Clark; 62 years old; have lived at Fort Berthold agency 45 years; came from Fort Clark here. A long time ago I heard my grandfather, he used to tell me that we [the Rees] came across the ocean together; and we scattered; when we came across the ocean we came, it was a kind of, it is a kind of a big bend place, we used to call it Fox Woman; it was some other kind of a tribe, I don't know what they mean, Wa-hoo-a, they came to that place. They made a village there. [Here Strikes Two drew a map which seems to indicate clearly the Little Bend of the Missouri at mouth of Cheyenne river.] They had a village there, and another village the other side of the bend [indicating on map, probably at mouth of Grand river], on the Missouri river. My grandfather's name is Chief Horse; he was an intelligent man. My grandfather remembers that place, Fox Woman; he was born there; he lived there three years and he began to remember something [i. e., he was old enough to begin to remember events, etc.], and he came to the next place below [above?]. They called the river still water; on the east side of the Missouri river, the place above the bend is called. The Creek Rees called it Big river, running into the Mississippi [Missouri?] above the bend from the southwest. There is another village just above the junction; we used to call it Long village; we used to throw arrows as far as they could, and threw seven times to measure the village. There is another creek comes in above, and it is the other side of Standing Rock, Grand river; two villages at the mouth of Grand river. My father's name was Ree Chief; he was judge of the court of Indian offenses at Berthold, 1885 [shows paper]. From the bend right straight east there is a big timber where they used to live together, three tribes, Pawnee and Sinin and Aricaree tribes; that big timber is the place we all got scattered; that is what my father used to tell me.

"We had a battle at Fort Lincoln [indicates at the upper village on his map]. They never had a battle at either of the villages above the bend. The time we had a battle was at the second valley above the bend, the Moreau river.

"At Fort Berthold, I can't tell how many lodges we had of the Rees when the Indians scattered out around from the village some seventeen years ago. There are less of us now than when we scatted out. My Indian name is Ta-ta-ree-mee-che. My son's name is Marion Winans."

Setting Bear.—"Was born at Fort Clark; am 64 years old; am full blood Ree; my grandfather's name is Star; my father he got the same name, Star. I have been in Washington twice; have been right this side of Washington where the sun rises.

"From where the sun rises we had different tribes; before they scattered they came through the same place as Strikes Two said. They scattered out and they built three large medicine lodges, a kind of long village. We were so many Aricara tribes. They met in their village; I think you know that river, the first river above the bend; just one village. I can't tell how many years they lived there; the second village, my grandfather was a boy and knew something at that time; he was three or four years old at that time. The third village, there is a kind of creek, that's the third village; they had a village between the creek, there is two villages.

"My father was born at the two villages of the Grand river. My father's name is Son-of-the-Star.

"I was in the battle between the Rees and Sioux at Fort Clark, where I was born.

"We are the same tribes that they used to call different names; we are about ten different tribes, but we are the same tribe that used to have ten names."

The writer, while at Fort Berthold, interviewed Mr. John C. F. Nagel, who, as appears from his statement, has lived among the Mandans and Rees many years. Following is his account of Old Fort Berthold, the Mandan federal village, and Fort Stevenson:

"Was born in 1840, June 15, on the ocean the third day out, in the British channel; landed at St. Louis when I was two months and fifteen days old; lived in St. Louis until the civil war broke out, and enlisted in the Third Missouri Cavalry; staid there until the close of the war; discharged at Little Rock, Ark., and staid in St. Louis two years. I came up here (to Old Fort Berthold) in 1867 and landed at Fort Stevenson in June. I have been a resident

here ever since. I traveled to Fort Peck and Fort Buford and back. I made a trip to Fort Totten several times. I made trips to Fort Rice several times with mail or express. I was on the road most of the time.

"When I came up here there was a stockade building southwest of the mission, about 800 yards; a log stockade with two-story bastions on two corners, on the northwest and the southeast corner, two-story bastions. That was the old fort; they called it Berthold at that time. There was other buildings around it, the agency and other buildings, and all the Indians were there at that time; they numbered 2,600. The Indians were all in a cluster of about eighty acres of ground, or less. The ditch, they had a stockade, surrounded the village, a high stockade about ten feet high, so a man could ride horseback and couldn't touch the top. Around the outside of the stockade they had a trench dug, with the dirt thrown up against the stockade. The stockade when I came here was pretty well broke down. They didn't think there was as much danger as there used to be. The lodges contained from two to five families. I can't tell how many lodges; there must have been about 300 lodges and log cabins inside of the circle. The ditch was the largest, when I came here, on the east side, east and north.

"At Stevenson, when I came up they had two companies of soldiers, numbering about thirty-five men to a company. They had two small log cabins for quarters. They had their commissary buildings and quartermaster's buildings, one building for each. The first winter I was here they had tore down half of these buildings for firewood; the snow was so thick they couldn't get any. When spring opened they made adobes with mud and hay, adobe buildings were about, one company on the south and one company on the north, their quarters, and they made a guardhouse and they made a commissary building, a quartermaster's building and four officers' quarters. The soldiers' quarters were about 150 feet long by 20. The officers' quarters were about thirty feet square, which was afterwards weatherboarded and shingled over. The only building that is now left is the head officer's quarters, the colonel's quarters. The other buildings were all the same size as this one, except the log cabin on the north end where the adjutant lived was about sixteen by twenty.

These buildings remained there until 1882, when the military left there. Two years afterwards it was turned into an Indian school; and on the side that they kept the boys in was burned down; some of the boys carelessly threw some coals of fire on the floor. So they let it go into the girls' side, the south side of the quarters; they divided them up. Another fire took place in the laundry in 1887 or 1888. That cleaned it up, stopped the school, and the children had to go to school then at home. The buildings that were left, the two stables and the blacksmith shop and the officers' quarters, all the officers quarters, they were sold at auction in 1889."

No attempt has been made herein to trace the events of the Aricara career from year to year since their movements became a matter traceable in current history (the limits of this paper will not permit), nor was a descent to those particulars contemplated by the writer. Such a narrative will be found to interweave with nearly all that has occurred on the upper Missouri during the last century. Not all of the material for full treatment of that phase of the subject is at hand in the ordinary sense of raw material of history.

We have traced the Aricaras from less than fifty years after the Columbian discovery of America down to the present day. During those nearly four centuries they have been in contact with three distinct Caucasian races, the Spaniards, the French and the Anglo-Saxons. We know of no other race of Indians who have migrated from so far south to regions so far north. They have fought the contest for existence and prestige with all other Indians from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Winnipeg and the far mountains. We have seen them and their kindred tribes making the American desert blossom in agriculture long before the white man believed it possible to dwell there as a tiller of the soil; they helped to make tangible the tradition of ages that corn reigned over the aborigines as a presiding spirit of earth's abundance. If the Ree of today could recount what his ancestors saw, heard of, or participated in, all that has occurred in the new world from the time when from Peru to Mexico the Spaniard reveled over the remains of previous and vast civilizations, down to his late submission to the new American, would form the material of his marvelous narrative; the dreams of Napoleon for

western empire; how England, fighting her battles in the western world, checkmated the Spaniards and vanquished the French; only to succumb later to her children, whose foothold on those shores was to become all-powerful and dominant. And the sanguine gold-seekers in California and the northern mountains, blazing the way for dedication of the great plains to the white man's plow. If his maraudings on horseback from Mexico to the confines of Canada were heralded for what they were in enterprise, encounter, daring and cunning, the days of chivalry anywhere else on the globe might be found exemplified by his tourneys, even though the reputation of today denies him the honor and integrity which belong to real chivalry, however barren of those qualities may have been much of the errantry of Don Quixote's time. And while all but incessant wars, most ably reinforced by dire disease, have reduced his once numerous and long-powerful tribe to a bare fragment, he yet may boast that no other aboriginal tribe, coming from so far down the receding ages and buffeting with so many and so various foes and conditions has a living representative at this day. From the time when his remote ancestor became the faithful guide of Coronado to the famed Quivira, to the days when Astor's ardent quest was encouraged by Ree horses, something substantial will be found to have existed along the line of his activities, in village remains and in the valor which will not die. And if the final word in history shall record him as less manly and straightforward than the rank and file of Indian tribes of the west, it will be because the refining processes of time in discounting conditions and the conflict of ambitions among white men still leave him discredited in the comparison. Whatever shall be his fate in those annals, the record will be written by the dominant race, whose estimate of the dying one is instinctively disparaging. The remonstrances, the appeals and the revenges of the brave yet despairing Indian of America go, indeed, to make up a partial record from the other side; but the half of the wrongs, the tyrannies, the frauds and that assumption which makes it just to despise the red man as a factor in affairs, will never be told. It is a silent element which the poor Indian is speechless to unfold and to weave into the varicolored blanket of history.

Pawnee-Ree Vocabulary

The following brief comparative vocabulary of Arickaree and Pawnee words was compiled by Prof. Robert F. Kerr, vice-president of this society, from the works of Prince Maximilian and from the journal of Major Long's expedition:

	Pawnee (Long)	Arikaree (Maximilian)
arm	pe-eru	winu
arrow	leksho	nishu
bean		attikahunan
beard	rarosh	hakaranuh
black	katet	tekati
blood	hato	pahtu
blue		tishedanahuish
bone	kesho	jeshu
bow	teragish	natche
brother	erare	inahn
chief		daschan
child	perou	pirau
cold	tapeche	tipsi
day	shakoroesharet	tiuene sakaritch
devil	tsahekshkakohrawah	ziritch
ear	atkaro	atkan
earth	oraro	honanin
evening	watatekatatikea	hinach
eye	kereko	chiriko
father	ateash	hiakti
fire	lateto	hanitu
fish	kattsheke	chiwatch
forehead	pakshere	nikakin
friend		sinau
God	tlouwahot	pakkatch
hair	oshu	uchu
hand	ikshere	eschu
head	pakshu	pachu
heat	touetsto	taweristu
heart	petso	wissu
horns	areko	warikaran
house	akkaro	akan
ice	lasheto	naketu
I	ta	natu
knife		nisitch
leg	kasho	kachu
man	tsaeksh	with
maize		nashu
medicine		tiwaruchi
moon	pa	pa
morning	kakarushka	hinaktit
mother	aterah	shakti
nose	tshusho	sinit
night	erashuate	wettekati-sia

pipe		naushkatch
pumpkin		nekase
rain	tatsoro	wettasuhe
red		tippahat
river	kattosh	saha-nin
snow	tosha	hunaho
star	operet	sakka
stone	karetke	kanetch
sun	shakoro	shakun
tobacco		nawishkan
ugly		kakuchne
water	ketso	sto-cho
white	lataka	tetche-shauata
winter	pitshekat	hunaka
wood	lagish	na-ku
yellow		tirackata
yes	nawa	haa

a=ah e=a i=e

ANIMALS, ETC.

bear	koroksh	kunuch
dog	ashakish	chatch
elk		wanukus
fox (gray)		chiwako kusso-tarawish
horse	arosha	chawaruchta
wolf		pakkatch
bird	lekotske	nix
fish	kattsheke	saszch

NUMERALS

one	asko	acku
two	petko	pittcho
three	touwet	tawit
four	shketiksh	chetesh
five	sheoksh	sihuch
six	shekshabish	chapis
seven	petkoshekshabish	tawishapiswan
eight	touwetshabish	tawischapis
nine	loksherewa	nochenewan
ten	lokshere	nochen
eleven	askolokshere	pitkochenewan
twelve	petkoshoshere	pitchochin

a=ah e=a i=e

APPENDITORY NOTE

Since the foregoing history of the Arickaree Indians was in type, the ninth volume of the Kansas Historical Collections for 1905-1906 has been received by the Department of History. The volume contains an exhaustive history of the Missouri river, by Captain Phil E. Chapell, in which he mentions a letter from Bienville, dated April 22, 1734, stating that a Frenchman, having lived several years among the Pawnees, had ascended the Missouri river to the Ricaras, who had never before seen a Frenchman. That letter is taken from Margry, Vol. 6, page 455. The writer has not had opportunity to examine this matter, but it is the earliest account found of white visitation to the Arickarees, as well as to the upper Missouri, antedating Verendrye by at least four years.

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